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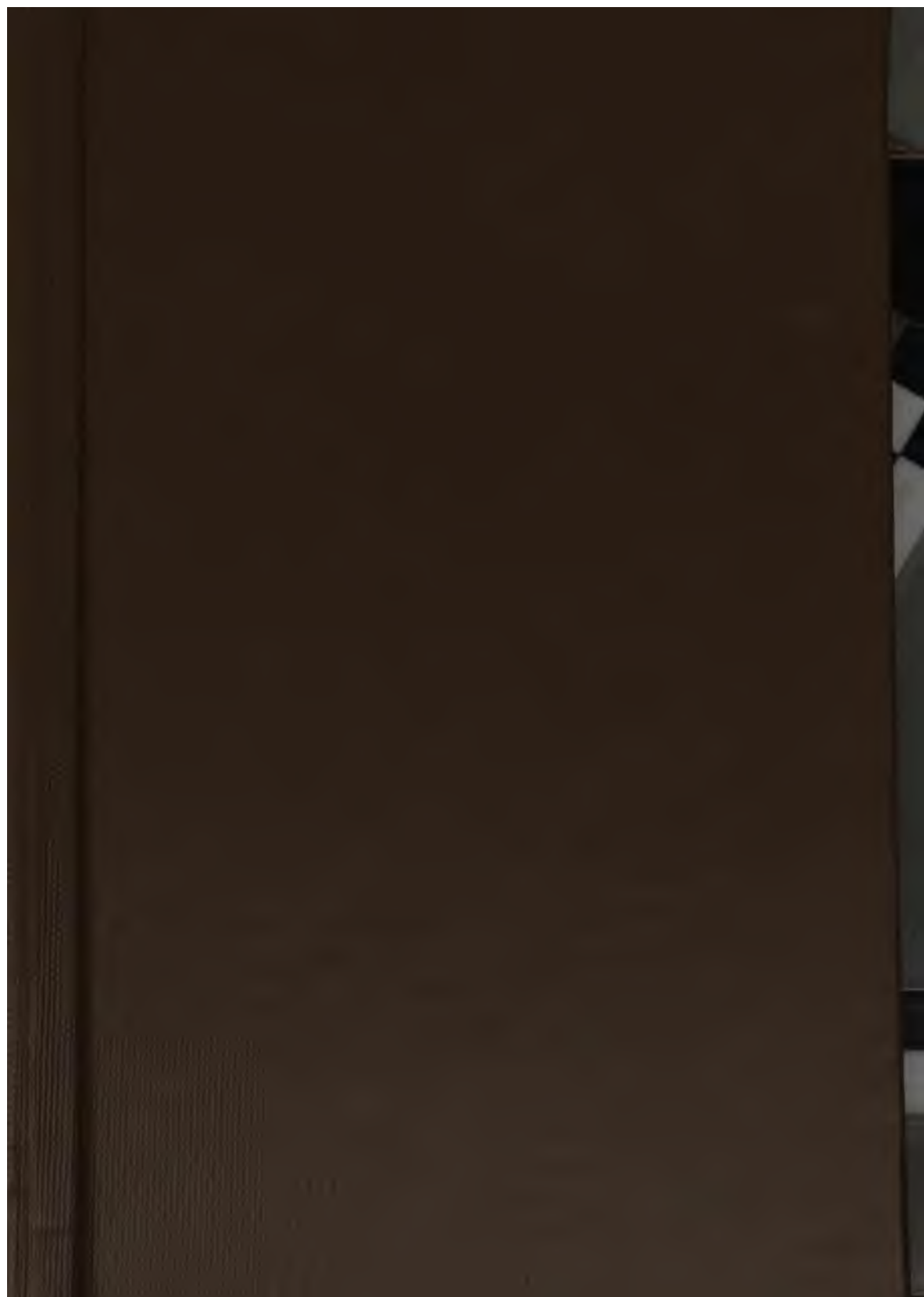
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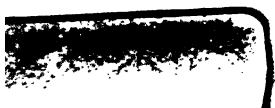
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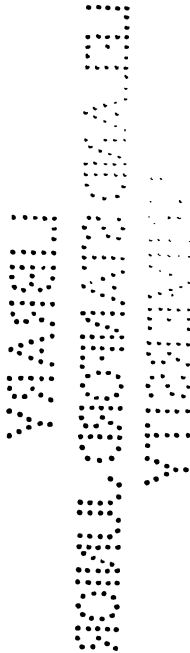
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CONTENTS

CF

No. 303.

ART.	Page
I.—1. Madame de Staël: a Study of her Life and Times; The First Revolution and the First Empire. By A. Stevens, LL.D. London. 2 volumes, 1880.	
2. La fin du dix-huitième siècle. Par E. Caro, de l'Académie Française. Études et Portraits. Paris. 2 tomes, 1880	1
II.—1. India in 1880. By Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I. London, 1880.	
2. Reports on the Condition of India, presented to Parliament, 1880, 1881	50
III.—1. Studien über Erdbeben. Von Dr. J. F. Julius Schmidt, Director der Sternwarte zu Athen. 2te Ausgabe. Leipzig, 1879.	
2. Die Erdbeben u. deren Beobachtungen—Auf Veranlassung der Erdbeben-Commission der Schweiz. Naturforsch. Gesellschaft, verfasst von Prof. Alb. Heim. Zürich—Basel. 1880.	
3. The Great Neapolitan Earthquake of 1857. The First Principles of Observational Seismology. Report to the Royal Society. By Robert Mallet, C.E., F.R.S. 2 vols. 1862.	
4. Scepticism in Geology and the Reasons for it. By Verifier. 2nd Edition. 1878	79
IV.—1. Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII. on the Restoration of Christian Philosophy in Catholic Universities, according to the mind of St. Thomas Aquinas, the Angelic Doctor. Translated by Father Rawes, D.D., with a Preface by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. London, 1879.	
2. Doctoris Angelici Divi Thomæ Aquinatis Opera Omnia. Studio ac labore Stanislai Eduardi Fretté et Pauli Maré. 33 vols. Paris, 1871–80.	
And other Works	105

66 09 125572 53 605 XL 2 9 12 188

ART.	Page
V.—1. Field Paths and Green Lanes: being Walks chiefly in Surrey and Sussex. By Louis J. Jennings. London, 1875.	
2. Rambles among the Hills. In the Peak of Derbyshire and the South Downs. By Louis J. Jennings. London, 1880.	
3. Lavengro. By George Borrow, author of 'The Bible in Spain.' London, 1851.	
4. The Romany Rye. By George Borrow. London, 1857.	
5. Visits to Remarkable Places. By William Howitt. London, 1856	141
VI.—Charles Yriarte. Florence: L'Histoire, Les Medicis, Les Humanistes, Les Lettres, Les Arts. Orné de 500 Gravures et Planches. Deuxième Edition. Paris, 1881	164
VII.—Ilios: the City and Country of the Trojans: the Results of Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Troy and throughout the Troad in the Years 1871-72-73-78-79. Including an Autobiography of the Author. By Dr. Henry Schliemann, F.S.A., F.R.I. British Architects, Author of 'Troy and its Remains,' 'Mycenæ,' &c. With a Preface, Appendices, and Notes, by Professors Rudolf Virchow, Max Müller, A. H. Sayce, J. P. Mahaffy, H. Brugsch-Bey, P. Ascherson, M. A. Postolaccas, M. E. Burnouf, Mr. F. Calvert, and Mr. A. J. Duffield. With Maps, Plans, and about 1800 Illustrations. London, 1880.	205
VIII.—1. A History of England from the Conclusion of the great War in 1815. By Spencer Walpole. London, 1878-80. 3 vols.	
2. Memoir of the Public Life of the Right Honourable John Charles Herries. By his Son, Edward Herries, C.B. London, 1880. 2 vols.	
3. A Letter to the Editor of the 'Edinburgh Review.' By Edward Herries, C.B. 1881	239
IX.—1. Analysis of the Board of Trade Returns, from 1869 to 1880. London, 1881.	
2. Trade and Navigation Returns for 1880-81.	
3. The History of British Commerce. By Leone Levi. London, 1881.	
4. The Policy of Self-Help. Two Letters by W. Farrer Ecroyd. Bradford, 1879.	
5. Speeches by Richard Cobden, M.P. London, 1880.	
6. Protection to Native Industry. By Sir E. Sullivan. London, 1880	271

CONTENTS

OF

No. 304.

ART.	Page
I.—1. The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, translated out of the Greek : being the Version set forth A.D. 1611, compared with the most ancient Authorities, and Revised A.D. 1881. Printed for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, 1881.	
2. The New Testament in the Original Greek, according to the Text followed in the Authorized Version, together with the Variations adopted in the Revised Version. Edited for the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, by F. H. A. Scrivener, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., Prebendary of Exeter and Vicar of Hendon. Cambridge, 1881.	
3. 'H KAINH DIAΘΗKH. The Greek Testament, with the Readings adopted by the Revisers of the Authorized Version. [Edited by the Ven. Archdeacon Palmer, D.D.] Oxford, 1881.	
4. The New Testament in the Original Greek. The Text revised by Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D. and Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D. Cambridge and London, 1881	- - - - - 307
II.—First Annual Report of the Constitutional Union. London, 1881	- - - - - 369
III.—Christian Institutions: Essays on Ecclesiastical Subjects. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Second edition. London, 1881	- 414
IV.—1. Parliamentary Blue Book—'Lighting by Electricity,' Aug. 13, 1879.	
2. Exposition Internationale d'Electricité, Paris. Catalogue Général Officiel, Aug. 11, 1881	- - - 441

ART.	Page
V.—The works of Alexander Pope. New edition, including several hundred unpublished Letters, and other new materials. Collected in part by the late Hon. John Wilson Croker. With Introductions and Notes by Rev. Whitwell Elwin, and William John Court-hope, M.A. Vol. III.—Poetry. With Illustrations. London, 1881 - - - - -	462
VI.—Histoire du Luxe, Privé et Public, depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'à nos Jours (History of Luxury, Private and Public, from Antiquity down to our Time). Par H. Baudrillart, Membre de l'Institut. Deuxième Edition. Quatre Tomes. Paris, 1880 - - - - -	486
VII.—1. The Attic Orators from Antiphon to Isaeos. By R. C. Jebb, M.A., Fellow and late Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow. London, 1876.	
2. Selections from the Attic Orators Antiphon, Andokides, Lysias, Isokrates, Isaeos. By R. C. Jebb, M.A. London, 1880 - - - - -	526
VIII.—1. Le Congrès des Économistes à Bruxelles et le Libre Échange. Par J. Borain. Bruxelles, 1880.	
2. The Promises of Free Trade Examined. By G. B. Dixwell. Cambridge, 1881.	
3. Circular of the National Fair Trade League. London, July 1881.	
4. The Silk Manufacture. A Paper read before the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 1860.	
5. Papers on the Ribbon Trade and the Commercial Treaties with France. By William Andrews, 1878.	552

THE
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2. *La fin du dix-huitième siècle.* Par E. Caro, de l'Académie Française. *Études et Portraits.* Paris. 2 tomes, 1880.

THE shores of the Lake of Geneva are associated with the lives of three individuals of the highest distinction in letters—Voltaire, Gibbon, and Madame de Staël. Taken together, they may be said to fill up the circle of human gifts—brilliant wit and ready invention; stupendous learning and grand eloquence; passionate feeling, deep thought, and fine morality. All must live; but the last qualities, which are especially those which distinguish Madame de Staël, can never even be out of date, for the fashion of this world which passes away is not imprinted on them. Her sympathy for suffering and knowledge of the human heart must be prized as long as there are sorrows to soothe, her judgment needed while there are follies and errors to correct, her thought appreciated wherever there are healthy minds to respond. Women, especially, are bound to honour Madame de Staël, for there is no female name in literature which does the sex, whether in head or heart, such credit.

Many signal worldly influences presided at the birth of Necker's only child: a great name, a great fortune, and a theatre and age of tremendous events, were her inheritance; and her own endowments, with certain important exceptions, outdid even the favours of Fortune. The choicest gifts that Minerva and the Muses could bestow were laid in profusion at her infant feet; while, if no other offerings flowed from those powers supposed to be indispensable to female success, it was that the world was destined for once to see the ascendancy of a woman who had no beauty but that of mind, and no charm but that of speech.

more lively, more receptive; understanding subjects and delighting in topics above her age, listening with avidity from her earliest years to conversation, and, by the time she was ten years of age, joining in it. But there was no unhealthiness in this precocity. The mind helped itself, with the instinct of a young animal, to the food suited to it, and found that food both in its studies and its pleasures. Her education gave her the range of the best Latin and English writers, in addition to those of her own country. She delighted also in the theatre, where she was taken frequently and to the best pieces. It was only when driven into strait and narrow grooves by her pedantic mother, that signs of over-strain became apparent. She was about fourteen when her health began to fail, and when, thanks to Doctor Tronchin of Geneva, Voltaire's old attendant, salon and lessons were alike forbidden, and country air and idleness strictly prescribed. With such a mind, however, idleness is but a relative term. Holiday to her was the unrestrained exercise of her imagination. With a companion of her own age (afterwards Madame de Rilliet), she wandered in her father's grounds at St. Ouen, dressed alternately as Nymph or Muse, declaiming verses, improvising poetry, and composing little dramas, which they afterwards acted. Madame de Staël looked back on this time with the greater interest, as having given her the inestimable benefit of more of her father's companionship. Her freedom took advantage of every moment of his leisure. Day by day Necker became more enamoured of her ripening intelligence. But, though his smiles flattered, his words criticized. No absurdity or exaggeration in word or manner on her part escaped his gentle raillery. She was accustomed to say in after life, '*Je dois à l'incroyable pénétration de mon père la franchise de mon caractère, et le naturel de mon esprit. Il démasquait toutes les affectations, et j'ai pris auprès de lui l'habitude de croire que l'on voyait clair dans mon cœur.*' Madame de Staël's nature was so rich and large, so eager to imbibe, so powerful to assimilate, so formed to discriminate, that it is almost futile to analyse the influences that acted upon it. They came to her as with the winds of Heaven. The mind itself is not always correct in tracing the agencies that have contributed to fashion it. In the breast of this young French girl there resided more great qualities than are usually found compatible together, and no one at the cost of another. That 'many-sidedness'—a word of German creation, and which in Germany applies only to a rare combination of intellectual power—extended in her to all the gifts of the highest humanity. She united sensibility and thought, enthusiasm and judgment, gentleness

gentleness and power, poetry and common sense—a mind made to rule, with a temper able to submit—all so many facets by which she received and imparted light—all so many opposing forces which preserved the balance of the whole. The frivolity she witnessed, the adulation she received from her earliest years, never disturbed her intellectual aspirations; the fallacies of a brilliant philosophy never lowered her moral standard. A more ordinary intellect would have been frittered away—a weaker moral sense would have been unsettled. But the true secret of Madame de Staël's superiority—her real safeguard, not only amid the dangers of a corrupt atmosphere, but against those of her own genius—lay solely in the greatness of her heart. To this she owed her influence over others; the absence of all irony, sarcasm, or arrogance, in her style; the sure discernment, equally of all that is noble, as of all that is base, which marks her pages. The heart is the sun to the human system. Only by its warmth and light can the latent forces of the mind be healthily quickened, developed, and matured. Without it, the fruit is sour, and the flowers without fragrance. With this clue alone can the wealth of her ideas, and the intensity of her sympathies—whether seen in the fine analysis of her '*Allemagne*,' or the passionate devotion and anguish of her '*Corinne*,'—be understood. Without her truthful nature and her power of love, it may be said that her exuberant and stupendous abilities would have been unmanageable. But the heart that has left to the world the ineffable charity of that immortal saying, '*Tout comprendre serait tout pardonner*,' has with that given the key to her pre-eminence.

The aim to impress this central truth upon the reader—to show that it was the soul of this great woman, and not her intellect, which made her what she was—runs through the pages of the *Notice* by her eloquent biographer and cousin, Madame Necker de Saussure, and runs through them with a power and beauty worthy of attention for themselves. We give a few specimens:—

'Nothing that proceeded from her pen can be compared to herself. Superior in mind to her most famed writings, and in heart to her most generous actions, her soul was a focus of warmth and light, of which the scattered rays exhibit but feeble emanations. . . . With her all came from the heart, even her thought. The study of Madame de Staël's character is so much the more interesting as it is, so to say, a study of our common nature magnified. All was original with her, nothing "bizarre." Her nature had had no foreign stamp impressed on it. Her very education had left no profound traces. She shared
all

all emotions, understood all enthusiasms, apprehended all points of view. . . . Her charm was irresistible ; she astonished at first, but soon captivated. There was in her so much truth, love, and greatness. The heavenly spark was so ardent in her soul, so luminous in her mind, that one seemed to obey the noblest instincts in loving her. The prodigious emotion, the passion revealed in her writings, could not be slaked in the destiny appointed to her. Her soul, if I may so express myself, was more alive than that of her fellow-creatures. She loved, perceived and thought more than others, she was capable both of more devotion and more action, sometimes of more enjoyment ; but, on the other hand, she suffered with greater severity, and the intensity of her grief was terrible. Too acute in its pains, life was too monotonous in its pleasures ; and that beautiful proof of the immortality of the soul—the disparity between our desires and our lot—assumed, as one studied Madame de Staël, fresh evidence. She gave one the impression of a higher intelligence. . . . The superiority of Madame de Staël was indubitably a great natural phenomenon, rather than the result of labour or circumstances.'

This tribute, one of the noblest eulogies ever passed on man or woman, throws a further light on the passionate love she bore her father, and on its elevating effect on her character. This love may even be said to have been a necessity in her life ; for a being so constituted could only receive the highest education—first through her affections, and secondly through the sorrows inseparable from them.

After this catalogue of merits, it may justly be asked what were '*les défauts des qualités*' ? and doubtless there was one defect too much attested by numerous contemporary anecdotes to be held in doubt—namely, the defect of vanity. But vanity, '*insatiate cormorant*,' has Proteus forms (one may almost say of it, '*Quot homines, tot vanitates*') compatible with intellect of the highest order, but never with true greatness—of terrible capacity for misery or happiness, but both based on littleness of mind. Especially does she delight herself among the sons of literature. We know the malicious vanity of Voltaire, the morbid and irritable vanity of Rousseau, the pompous and jealous vanity of Chateaubriand, the overbearing and grandiose vanity of Göthe ; in the great German poet's case the secret of the strange mediocrities and inanities of some of his works, which made him, in Madame de Staël's discreet and gentle words, '*le plus insouciant des hommes, parce qu'il est sûr de son public*.' All these varieties of the same ignoble thing may be traced in the works of these men as clearly as they were known in their manners. But what form of vanity, we ask, is found in Madame de Staël's works ? Neither that of malice, nor morbidness, nor jealousy

jealousy of others, nor the carelessness of overweening self-esteem. She is even singularly devoid of that parade of style which pervades a large amount of French literature, both of her time and ours. Her style does not attract attention to itself, far less to herself. Her thought is her style. If it be true that '*le style c'est l'homme*' (or '*la femme*'), then it would be difficult to find a mind at once clearer, profounder, and simpler, and therefore less accessible to the delusions of vanity. Nor can we attribute to her a vanity of personal charms. She had superb eyes, beautiful hands, white arms, and a fine person; and she would not have been woman had she not made the most of those gifts; but no one knew better than herself that beauty in the usual sense had been denied her. The form of vanity mentioned by Madame Necker de Saussure was almost inseparable from the openness of her character. She knew her own greatness, and admitted it, as she did that of others. She had a *bonhomie* and *naïveté* which made her repeat the compliments and praises she received with all the simplicity and enjoyment of a child. But this is not the vanity which was usually attributed to her. Here we come again to that question of national differences of meaning which has met us before. Out of French society, and on first acquaintance, she was felt to be an overpowering woman, bent on effect and display, and with a confidence of manner which received another name. The following anecdote from Madame Sophie Gaye's *Salons célèbres* will illustrate what the Englishwoman, but not the Frenchwoman, would designate as vanity.

During the occupation of Paris by the Allied troops in 1815, Madame de Staël prided herself on attracting the Duke of Wellington to her salon, and awaited his first visit with impatience. As the great Captain entered her rooms with his usual simplicity of manner, she exclaimed, '*Il porte la gloire comme si ce n'étoit rien,*' observing aside, '*Il faut avouer pourtant que jamais la nature a fait un grand homme à si peu de frais.*' Then, preparing herself to converse with him, she asked the Duke whether it was true that the Lord Chancellor of England addressed the Sovereign on his knees. '*C'est vrai,*' said the Duke. '*Mais, comment fait-il?*'—'*Il lui parle à genoux, vous dis-je.*'—'*Mais, comment?*' she repeated. '*Vous le voulez donc,*' rejoined Wellington, and threw himself on his knees at her feet. '*Je veux que tout le monde le voie,*' exclaimed the lady, radiant with triumph. It does not appear that this scene was looked upon as a piece of effect by the bystanders, for the narrator gives the anecdote without a remark,

but it would hardly have escaped criticism on the part of an English lady.

We are bound, however, constantly to remind ourselves and others, that this was not only an exceptional woman in an exceptional period of society, but in a society as much fitted for her element as the air for her lungs. Her vocation was the expression of thought and feeling; her need was the expansion of her own mind, especially in the form of speech. She talked as a bird sings. Unless we grant this, we have no comprehension of her. The human necessity for speech is but a relative term; some people neither want it nor use it more than they can help. They are, to say the least, not less exceptional than the woman who needed it and used it as never woman did before. Nor did speech always suffice her; her love of acting was another vent for the high pressure of feeling within her. It may be doubted, if she had remained unmolested in her Paris salon, whether she would have written as she did. Her writing was a power, but not a need. These considerations also apply to the indifference to the beauties of Nature, of which she is accused; but such comparative indifference was only consistent with a mind which fed, not upon Nature, nor even upon Art, but upon the minds of others, and upon great moral and political questions. She said of herself, 'I am not of a contemplative nature'—that nature which expresses itself silently through the pencil or the pen. It would be difficult to find a description of natural beauties in her works, except those imbued with classic associations. Still, it was only the playful exaggeration of a deep sentiment under circumstances of 'mal du pays' that made her declare her preference for the gutter that ran through the centre of the Rue du Bac to all the waters of Lake Leman. But to return to her youth.

After the first protest of her young powers against the undue pressure of a pedantic system, the course of Mademoiselle Necker ran smooth. At fifteen she had attained the intellectual ripeness of twenty-five. She already took part in the portraits, characters, and 'éloges,' which were the literary fashion of the day: her productions in this line were sent by Grimm to his various royal correspondents, including a drama she wrote in her twelfth year, which was acted by her and her young companions in the drawing-room of St. Ouen, and brought Marmontel to tears. By fifteen years of age she had mastered some of the profoundest works in the French language, had made extracts from *L'Esprit des Lois*, had commented on them with precocious acuteness, and had been requested by the Abbé

Raynal

Raynal to contribute to his *Histoire philosophique* an essay on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It is the less wonder, therefore, that, with her ardent interest in all that concerned her father, we should find her addressing him an anonymous letter upon his celebrated *Compte rendu*, and as little wonder that he recognized her mind and hand in it. Everything at this time ministered to that intense sensibility, which entered into all she thought and did. Like St. Francis, she had the fatal gift of tears—fatal because predestined to be developed; the praises of her parents brought them—the sight of celebrated persons made her heart beat. It was natural that such a fresh apparition of youth and power, destined to lead a new set of ideas, should produce a sensation in the stereotyped world of a decrepit court circle. The women of fashion watched every opportunity to criticize her; the slightest deflection from the prescribed etiquette, especially in the number and depth of curtsies and the details of dress, condemned her. On paying a visit of ceremony to the Queen's favourite, Madame de Polignac, had she not left her bonnet in the carriage? No one enjoyed such stories more than the young culprit herself, or told them with more zest.

The time approached for Mademoiselle Necker to be given in marriage, an event for which the negotiations had been going on ever since she was thirteen years of age, and with no less a power than the crown of Sweden. It was not among the empty and arrogant *noblesse* of France that the daughter of the 'Grippe-sou Genévois,' as Mirabeau called him, could expect a husband, or Necker desire a son-in-law. His official rank, the large fortune to which she was heiress, and her own distinguished abilities, demanded a man who could place her in a high social position, who should not separate her from her parents, and who was a Protestant. These conditions were found in a Baron de Staël-Holstein, *attaché* to the Swedish Embassy in Paris.

There is evidence that Count Fersen, the correspondent of Marie Antoinette, and the arranger of the flight to Varennes, had also hoped to win her hand. He was younger than M. de Staël, and singularly handsome; and we now know also for certain, though with no small surprise, through the letters from the archives of Coppet, that there was another extraordinary suitor for her hand—no less a man than Pitt himself. The Necker trio met him when on a visit to the Court at Fontainebleau, in 1783, Mademoiselle Necker being then seventeen. This union promised all the parents could desire, and the mother especially set her heart on bringing it to pass; and in

a letter a year later, when she thought herself dying, she thus reproaches her daughter for resisting their wishes :—

‘It was my desire that you should marry Mr. Pitt. I should have wished to place you in the arms of a husband of great mark, to whom I could have confided the care of your poor father, and who would have felt the value of the trust. But you have refused to give me this satisfaction.’

The imagination fails to conceive the strange anomalies of such a marriage ; the part which the lady would have played by the side of a man so utterly antagonistic to her in opinions and habits of thought. Her greatest enemy’s greatest enemy, it is true, and the Heaven-born Minister of the country she honoured, and in which at the commencement of the Revolution she delighted in foreseeing ‘la France future,’ but, at the same time, the bitter opponent of Republican as well as revolutionary doctrines, and the implacable foe of the France she loved for better and for worse. But she was spared such a conflict of passions ; her instincts came to her rescue, and the invincible repugnance of the young lady vetoed the project.

The negotiations with M. de Staël, therefore, proceeded. No such could be conducted without intrigue, and no intrigue without women. In 1842, the correspondence and documents bequeathed by Gustavus III. to the University of Upsala, on condition of not being opened for fifty years, came to light. They included letters to the genial King from Madame de Boufflers, and other great ladies in Paris, with whom ‘le petit Staël’ was popular, and one of the topics was his projected marriage with Mademoiselle Necker. It depended on His Majesty’s consent to raise the Baron to the head of the embassy, which he subsequently did, to render so advantageous a *parti* possible. The letters of Madame de Boufflers, a *médisante* of the true Court type, were by no means complimentary to a young lady who not only talked over-much for a ‘*jeune demoiselle*,’ but was listened to, and moreover held very independent opinions, to say nothing of a trick of leaving her bonnet in coaches.

‘She has an assurance which I have never seen at her age, or in any position of life. She argues at random upon everything, and though she has some cleverness, one might reckon up five-and-twenty absurdities in all she says against one thing worth hearing. The partisans of her father extol her to the skies ; his enemies pick a thousand holes.’

Gustavus had the opportunity of judging for himself after her marriage, which took place in 1786, when the young lady,
by

by his wish, became his reporter of all news from Paris, under the title of 'Bulletins de nouvelles.'

It was evident that this was a mere 'mariage de convenance,' and it may create astonishment that a woman of such independence of mind should, in so important a matter, have followed, unresisting, the artificial rules of French society. But, however independent in her modes of thought, Madame de Staël was not the woman to throw off the customs of the polite world. She stood upon its topmost steps—a great lady—teeming with thoughts of popular freedom and constitutional government, but with no ideas of self-emancipation from the customs around her. Parents arranged these things for their children's good, and no child had a better father than she; still, though no hint appears in her published works or letters that she regretted her own lot, she implies it by her determination that her only daughter should select for herself. 'Je la contraindrai,' she said, by a happy paradox, 'à faire un mariage d'inclination.'

M. de Staël was a poor specimen of humanity. Nevertheless, the salon of the young ambassadress was the most brilliant in Paris, and he fulfilled the prescribed conditions of a husband on these occasions, being either 'poli, nul, ou absent.' After the execution of Louis XVI., and the unrepresented interval which ensued, he was the only ambassador, accredited to the French Republic by a foreign power, and in this position he occasioned the Convention some embarrassment as to what to do with him. Determined not to err by any lack of respect, they assigned him, at their deliberations, a 'fauteuil' opposite the President, and the privilege of speaking, seated. Here he gravely took his place, day after day, receiving with like stolidity the most flowery compliments or the grossest insults—the last, on one occasion, being directed against his own wife. This residence in Paris, and the protection of the ambassadorial flag, enabled her, from the commencement of the Revolution, to take a part which was equally an important chapter in her life, and an index of her character. So close did she view the excesses, so near did she approach the frightful eddy, that the fact that she was not sucked into it was a marvel. To redress, protect, and save, now became her absorbing aim, in which her position, her youth, and her eloquence, were utilized to the utmost. Not only her husband's place in the Convention, but her own opinions and her father's, brought her into contact with some of the most notorious 'Men of the People,' who were flattered by admission to her salon, and whom she turned, with a woman's ready wit, into tools for the recal of the banished, or the rescue
of

of the proscribed. She persuaded Barras to recal Talleyrand from America. She flattered the literary vanity of Manuel, the Procureur of the Commune, who had written a poor Preface to Mirabeau's Letters, and obtained the release of the Comte de Jaubert from the Abbaye. She saved the Comte de Narbonne, Mathieu de Montmorency, and young Du Chayala; her eloquence and her 'plaisanteries' diverted even the domiciliary visits of ruffians from their prey, then under her very roof. To further these objects she went forth in the evening, on foot, to visit friends in the obscure places where they were hidden. She even delayed her own escape, remaining alone with her servants in the Legation, and then planned it so as to accomplish the escape of the Abbé de Montesquiou, in which purpose she was near meeting the same fate that befel the Princesse de Lamballe only one day later. Thinking that the equipage of an ambassador would be a protection, she committed the mistake of starting from her hotel in a carriage and six, with her servants in full livery. The poorest calèche would have been securer. As was the case with the Englishmen in 1789, endeavouring to leave Paris, whose story we have lately read, the greater the pomp, the greater the danger.* The horses had scarce taken a step, when she was surrounded by a furious mob, who seized the postillions, and ordered her to the Assemblée of the Quartier St. Germain. There she was denounced as concerned in the attempt to favour the enemies of the Government, and, with a gendarme placed over her inside the coach, she was remanded to the Hôtel de Ville. Three hours were spent in forcing the carriage through one continued tumult. Far less time than that, according to all accounts, sufficed to subjugate most people who came under the spell of her voice, and before she reached the Hôtel de Ville she had won over the gendarme to her cause. As she ascended the steps of the edifice, under an arch of pikes, a ruffian thrust his pike at her; her gendarme threw it up with his sabre, and protected her. 'Si j'étais tombée, c'en était fait de ma vie, car il est de la nature du peuple de respecter ce qui est encore debout, mais quand la victime est déjà frappée, il l'achève.' At length she found herself in the great hall, in the presence of Robespierre. Her rank and her eloquence would have availed her little, when suddenly Manuel appeared, and pledged himself to be responsible for her. Meanwhile her coach would have been pillaged, but a large man in the dress of the National Guard had mounted the box, and there for two hours defended her luggage. It was no less a ruffian than the huge brewer,

* Dr. Rigby's 'Letters from France' in 1789.

Santerre. Her father's good deeds had here followed her. He had witnessed Necker's distribution of corn to the poor of St. Antoine in the time of scarcity, and he thus requited the act to his daughter.

But for Madame de Staël's testimony, we should hardly have known a remarkable fact belonging to the early years of the Revolution, nor, but for her explanation, should we have comprehended it. She is a witness that society, and what she calls '*l'art de parler*,' never was at once so brilliant, so earnest, and so solid, as from 1788 to 1791. These years, when political affairs were still in the hands of the higher classes, saw a vigour of liberty and thought, and the grace of the '*ancien régime*,' united in the same individuals. Those also who, in the suicidal separation of classes, never met in the same salon before, met now. Distinguished men of the *Tiers-État* were seen in eager conversation with members of the noblesse; the latter, for the first time, relying more on their merits as men than on their artificial privileges as a caste. Much of this admirable tone was owing to French women, always sharers in political interests, and who now exercised a peculiar art in directing such conversation. This happy episode was necessarily short-lived. Things became too grave for its continuance. The hostile forces, which met in peaceful parley, stood as on a frontier too narrow for them to hold, and with no possibility of halting. The flood was at hand which was to sweep all away.

After this scene at the Hôtel de Ville, Paris was no safe place for Madame de Staël. Her Republican friends served her to the last; Manuel prepared her a passport, and Tallien escorted her beyond the barrier. Many proscribed individuals still remained concealed in the Swedish Legation. She obtained Tallien's promise not to betray them, and he kept it. The vices and passions of such men were strong, but their few merits were the same.

Coppet now became the asylum of many a compromised man fleeing from the guillotine. Swedish names inserted in their passports saved them from the scaffold, which awaited many a refugee on the French frontier. Yet even in her father's château, crowded with the friends she had saved, she watched over those still left in the gulf. She organized a regular system of interchange of dresses and passports. She knew safe asylums and circuitous routes, and sent faithful guides to lead those escaping through France. Jacques Tréboux, a strong and devoted servant, was her chief agent in these heroic services. He was familiar with the Jura passes, and conveyed many a proscribed
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man across them to Coppet, and many a message of comfort from Coppet back again to Paris.

Early in 1793, Madame de Staël visited England for the first time. Her writings give no clue to the immediate motive for this journey. She seems to have taken the opportunity, when the death of Gustavus III. had suspended the duties of M. de Staël, who waited for commands in Holland, to visit the country to which, throughout her life, she vowed the strongest admiration, and which now gave shelter to many of her nearest friends. A house called Juniper Hall, in Surrey,* was taken by her, where she collected a distinguished French society, male and female, around her, several of whom owed their lives to her exertions. Talleyrand, who was then in England, frequently joined them. Juniper Hall was near Norbury Park, where Fanny Burney's sister, Mrs. Philips, lived; and Fanny herself was thus thrown into the society of these distinguished foreigners, and indeed found her husband, General D'Arbly, among them. The deep lanes of Surrey echoed to conversation such as, Macaulay says, Fanny had never heard before. Their society had all the piquancy of the most interesting romance—wit and culture—high rank, and great misfortunes. Louis XVI. had lately been guillotined, most of the brilliant coterie had lost relations by the same form of death, and all were more or less without money. For though Madame de Staël and M. de Narbonne possessed wealth, there was difficulty in commanding it. The consequence was that, though their gaiety never flagged, only one chariot could be afforded for the whole party—Talleyrand and M. de Narbonne taking turns to sit in the rumble. And among the numerous anecdotes attesting the ingredients indispensable to French happiness at that time, none is more convincing than that which describes the removal of the glass from the back of the carriage, so that the occupant of the rumble could keep up conversation with those within. Miss Burney dwells on Madame de Staël as the soul of this distinguished party, and compares her to Mrs. Thrale in vivacity and readiness; and the comparison might have been worse. Madame de Staël, on returning to France, kept up a correspondence with her; but Miss Burney was not worthy of her privileges. On coming to Paris later, she showed her true colours by avoiding the noble lady who was then the object of Buonaparte's growing jealousy.

* Juniper Hall still exists—a large brick house, with fine cedars, under Box Hill, near Dorking.

It was the proud but trying lot of Necker and his daughter, to stand in that midway position in French politics which alone admitted of justice to all parties, but of an entirely right appreciation perhaps from none. To the Aristocrats they were the friends of the Revolution; to the Jacobins they were the partisans and defenders of the King and Queen. Necker had offered to defend the King, and had written his '*Mémoire justificatif*' of the unhappy monarch, for which he was denounced and his name inscribed on the list of '*émigrés*.' Madame de Staël was still to write her '*Défense de la Reine*,' and to plan a fresh mode of escape for the royal family. Of all people in the world, that modern phrase, 'the courage of one's opinions,' most applied to her. In the conflict of personal interest and patriotic duty, she never hesitated an instant to take that noble part, of which she reaped all the suffering, but scarcely the glory. Indeed, but for the 'hardness' she endured for her principles, it is questionable whether the world would have seen such writings.

Madame de Staël returned to Paris, where her husband was reinstated, and where the Revolution, after the Terror, might be said to be settling on its lees. Then was the time to have stopped the fermentation, and rescued the nobler elements of the nation. The Republic once established, she never concealed her adherence to it as the lesser possible evil. A restoration of Monarchy, with the return of an ignorant, arrogant, and exasperated noblesse, whose only conception of the French people was as that of rebellious vassals—the thought of their revenges and retaliations, or of a deadlier contest than ever—filled her with apprehensions. She had also the sagacity to perceive, and as early as 1795 is known to have predicted, that France could never attain to a Limited Monarchy without passing through a period of military despotism. The twenty months' administration by the Directory, after the establishment of the Republic, had borne fruits of remarkable order. The French armies were victorious abroad; the provinces were delivered from bandits at home; the press was set free; the elections followed their legal course; and, had the classes most detested—the nobles and the priests—enjoyed the same guarantees as the other citizens, France might have been pronounced free.

The relations between the civil and military authorities were especially creditable to both. The best generals in Europe punctiliously obeyed five men who presided in a small room at the Luxembourg—three of whom were only lawyers. The patriotism for which so much had been sinned and suffered was
still

still a reality—what else gave victory after victory to the ragged levies of French ‘citoyens’?—and still capable of noble uses, and of a great future. The prolongation of the war obstructed the consolidation of a free government, and its very successes opened the door to that military ambition, which again led to the return of the worst form of absolute government. Madame de Staël deeply regretted that such a period of promise was not taken at its tide. She says in her ‘*Considérations*’ :—

‘There was still time to divert the activity of the French into channels of political and commercial interest. Till then, war had been regarded only as the means for insuring the national independence. The army believed itself appointed only to maintain the fruits of the revolution. Soldiers did not form a separate order in the State. Finally, some disinterested enthusiasm still existed in France, on which the public welfare could have been based.’

We touch now on the events which coloured more or less the rest of her life. General Buonaparte was on the stage of public affairs, ‘and the reign of one man began where that of principles left off.’ The French nation, she says, were so tired of the oppressors who abused the name of Liberty, and of the oppressed who regretted the reign of despotism, that the confidence and admiration he inspired, as a certain bulwark of order, on which Madame de Rémusat, in her recently published journals, dilates, were immediately noted by Madame de Staël. Buonaparte, she tells us, was understood to love his wife, and to read Ossian—two supposed guarantees for the gentleness of his heart and the cultivation of his taste, now difficult to recal with gravity.

It was with these feelings that she describes her first acquaintance with him in Paris; and the analysis of these impressions is so masterly that, though pretty well known to many readers, we may be excused for extracting a few salient lines. He was on his return from signing the treaty of Campo Formio (1797), and engaged her immediate interest by expressing his regret at having failed, on his way through Switzerland, to find Necker at Coppet. Nevertheless, a strange sensation of fear came over her. He was possessed of no political power then, and was indeed not in favour with the Directory, so that the feeling he inspired was solely personal.

‘I had seen men highly worthy of respect; I had seen also men of ferocious natures. The impression produced on me by Buonaparte recalled neither. . . . Far from removing my mistrust, the oftener I saw him the more he intimidated me. I felt indistinctly that no emotion of the heart would influence him. He looks on a human being as a fact or a thing, not as a fellow-creature. He hates as little

as he loves; he is only himself for himself (*"Il n'y a que lui pour lui"*)—the rest of mankind are but so many ciphers. . . . Every time I heard him speak I was struck with his superiority; at the same time this superiority has no analogy with that of cultivated men, formed by study and by society, such as England and France can show. His conversation showed rather the tact of circumstances, as the huntsman has the instinct of his prey. I was impressed by the profound irony of his mind, which nothing fine or great—not even his own glory—can escape: for he despises the nation whose suffrages he seeks, and no spark of enthusiasm enters into his craving to astonish the human race.*

No other verdict was possible. The most remarkable man and the most remarkable woman of the time met here. No two beings more opposite in character. Hers, one of the warmest hearts that ever beat for her fellow-creatures; his, the coldest that ever disregarded the woes inflicted on mankind by insatiable ambition. Well matched in powers of discernment, but with no other feeling in common save that of mutual repulsion.

The generally current anecdote, told from the Emperor's lips by Las Casas, of her fishing for a compliment by asking him whom he considered the greatest of women, and his coarse and untrue answer, is shown by Dr. Stevens to bear the stamp of falsehood. At that time—his return from Italy—she was only known by her short essay on Rousseau and by a few pamphlets, and would have been the last woman to look upon herself as having earned any title to greatness. The concoction may have been suggested to him by a passage between himself and the charming writer, Madame Sophie Gaye. This lady was a friend of Pauline Borghese, at whose house at Aix-la-Chapelle she met the Emperor. He addressed her roughly, 'Madame, my sister has told you that I do not like intellectual women.'—'Yes, sire,' was her reply, 'but I did not believe her.' The Emperor looked surprised, and tried again: 'You write, do you not? What have you produced since you have been in this country?' 'Three children, sire,' was the curt reply. He asked no more.

Another anecdote, given by Madame de Staël in her '*Considérations*,' belongs to the same category:

'I saw him one day approach a French lady well known for her beauty, her intelligence, and the vivacity of her opinions. He placed himself straight before her, like the stiffest of German generals, and said, "Madame, I don't approve of women meddling in politics." "You are right, General," she replied, "but in a country where their heads are cut off, it is but natural that they should like to know why."'

* '*Considérations*,' vol. iii. p. 191.

† *Ibid.* vol. xiii. p. 198.

From the time that Madame de Staël and Buonaparte appeared on the same stage, only one alternative was open to her—either to repress all political utterance, or to quit the scene. She was the first plainly to discern in him what all the world now knows. There was no room for any throne beside his, and his treatment of her epitomized, on a small scale, his subsequent treatment of Europe. She said in her last illness, ‘J’ai été toujours la même, vive ou triste. J’ai aimé Dieu, mon père et la liberté.’ The two first passions were hardly compatible with allegiance to Buonaparte, but the last was altogether out of the question.

The contest that ensued was between Power and Principle—unequal, as regarded immediate worldly consequences, from the beginning—the strength of a despot’s will against a noble woman’s convictions. But, though there was not a lady in France to whom resistance could have cost so much suffering—though the smallest sacrifice of consistency and self-respect, the slightest flattery of him, would have spared her years of misery—she never gave in. The first steps of this drama were very striking. After alternate summers and winters passed in Coppet and in Paris, she arrived at the capital on the very 18th Brumaire (7th November, 1799) which had witnessed the forcible overthrow of the Directory; her old friend Barras having quitted Paris, guarded by gendarmes, as she entered it. The first protest against this arbitrary act proceeded from her salon, which was the centre, as she was the soul, of the Conservative Republican party—called ‘le Cercle Constitutionnel,’ the party which hoped to maintain the cause of liberty by legal Parliamentary measures. All the best intellects of the day—men of letters, foreign ministers, journalists, returned ‘émigrés,’ some of the highest minded and highest in rank of the ‘ancien régime,’ and even Lucien and Joseph Buonaparte—pressed into her rooms, sure to hear the noblest sentiments in the fittest forms. To all, her eloquence was irresistible; but to those who had seats in the Legislature it was indispensable. The best speakers were those who borrowed most from her. Benjamin Constant was one whose opinions especially agreed with hers. He consulted her on a speech he proposed to make signalling ‘l’œuvre de la tyrannie. Je l’y encourageois de toute la force de ma conscience.’ On the eve of the day that was to hear this speech her salon was full. ‘Benjamin Constant s’approche de moi, et me dit tout bas, “Voilà! votre salon rempli de personnes qui vous plaisent. Si je parle demain il sera désert—pensez-y.” “Il faut suivre sa conviction,” lui répondis-je.’ She adds that had she foreseen what from this day was to be her lot, she would hardly

hardly have had the courage to refuse Constant's offer to forbear speaking. Human nature was much the same then as now. On the day after Constant spoke, she expected an invited party—chiefly friends of the Government. By five o'clock she had received ten notes of excuse. The first did not alarm her, but as they followed in quick succession she felt that the die was cast. Fouché, the Minister of Police, who made a point of doing the least possible harm compatible with the evil to be attained, now asked for an interview, and told her that the First Consul suspected her of having prompted certain parties who had spoken in the Tribunal, and, in particular, M. Constant. She urged that he was far too able a man to need the promptings of a lady, and, in return, Fouché advised her to visit the country for a few days. The success of her first important work, '*Sur la Littérature*' (published in 1800), refilled her salon; but from this time may be dated that relentless feeling on Napoleon's part, which eventually culminated in her formal exile.

It is time to dismiss M. de Staël, who obviously never played any important part in her life, though there is no record of any discord between them. They had three children—two sons and a daughter, the latter ultimately the Duchesse de Broglie, who was born in 1797. Nevertheless, it is impossible that the woman who wrote the exquisite chapter in '*L'Allemagne*,' '*L'Amour dans le Mariage*,' should not have keenly missed what M. de Staël was incapable of bestowing. His particular rôle appears to have been the spending of her money, till, such was what Madame Necker de Saussure calls his '*générosité imprévoyante*,' as to oblige Madame de Staël to separate from him, and to place the fortunes of her children under her father's protection. But the separation was not for long. His declining health recalled her to his side, and he died in Switzerland, attended by her, in May 1802.

The society that gathered round her at Coppet during her father's life, and even in exile after his death, offers too brilliant a picture of the rank she held and the space she filled, not to be slightly sketched. Had a Visitors'-book been kept there, with each name inscribed by the visitor, it would have been one of the greatest of literary curiosities. Bonstetten says, 'There is more intellect displayed in Coppet in one day, than in many whole countries in one year.'* Frederica Brun, authoress of '*Lettres sur Genève*,' writes, 'The quintessence of the best company is found in her mansion. It is there by the law of affinity.' Stendal (Beyle), writing shortly before

* Steinlein's '*Charles Victor de Bonstetten*.' See *ante*.

her death, says, 'There was here, on the shore of Lake Lemman, last autumn, the most astonishing reunion. It was the States-General of European opinion. To my eyes, the phenomenon rises even to political importance. Had it continued, all the Academies of Europe would have paled before it.' Her various powers and attractions were typified by her friends, and they were legion—all diverse in lives, characters, and aims, but finding in her a common centre, and a common bond.

A long line of celebrities passes before us, in enumerating only some of those who enjoyed the hospitalities of that chateau. Not bidden, as in our country homes, to swell 'a distinguished party,' but welcomed for months at a time—some of them quasi-residents; a court, environing a Queen; disciples, crowding round a great teacher; young and old, basking in the friendship of a noble and loving woman, who, with the wand (roll of paper, sprig of leaves, paper-knife) she always held, when conversing, in her beautiful hand, evoked all that was best and greatest in each of them. We take them in no studied order. Bonstetten, the Swiss sage, her mother's friend and her own; Benjamin Constant, cynical to others, but gentle to her, of whom Chateaubriand said that he had more *esprit* than any man in France since Voltaire. August Wilhelm Schlegel, engaged at a high salary as tutor to her son, and daily conversing with herself; to whose judgment she was doubtless much indebted for the composition of her 'Allemagne,' and whose admiration for her, through years spent in her household, knew no limits. Sismondi, whose career was in great measure owing to her encouragement, who wrote part of his 'Italian Republics' under her roof; and who said of her, 'She is the being I love most.' Count Matthieu de Montmorency, the man of the time most occupied with thoughts of Heaven, who endured exile for his friendship for her, and of whom she declared that two days of his company were worth more than all Germany to her. Count de Sabran, one of the Grands Seigneurs of France, abounding in wit, who suffered imprisonment in Vincennes for his friendship for her. Madame Récamier, scarcely more celebrated for her beauty than for her goodness, also exiled for her fidelity to Madame de Staël. Prince Augustus of Prussia, a royal hero, and Madame Récamier's devoted lover and suitor, yet not so faithful to her as was then supposed.* Madame Krüdner, the fervent mystic, and friend of Alexander of Russia. Madame Necker de Saussure, her cousin by marriage, and daughter of the great Alpine explorer,

* See 'Madame Récamier,' by Madame Mohl, p. 43.

only second to herself in mind and power of writing. Madame Lebrun, who there painted her portrait. Frederica Brun—Etienne Dumont de Nemours, whom she had saved during the Revolution—the associate of Mirabeau and Bentham. Pictet de Sergy, father and son—Prosper Barante, father and son. Cuvier, the great naturalist—De Gérando, the philosopher—Lacretelle, the historian, whom her influence had released from prison—Camille Jordan, the young anti-Jacobin—Lullin de Chateauvieux, known by a beautiful work on ‘Italian Agriculture’—Oehlenschläger, the Danish dramatist, who wrote his ‘Correggio’ at Coppet, his best work, though founded on an untrue tale—Karl Ritter, the geographer—Werner, the tragic poet, and author of ‘The 24th of February’—Mathisson, the poet—Müller, the historian—Overbeck, the artist. English names also of high distinction—Sir Humphry and Lady Davy, Byron, John Cam Hobhouse, Brougham, Romilly, and many others, besides a host of minor *littérateurs* and tourists—French, German, and American.

Some of these, like Bonstetten and Frederica Brun, watched and studied her through successive stages of life—now tending her father, now teaching her children, now reading aloud to her circle the gradually growing MS. of works which were to astonish the world; yet all agreeing that her daily talk was a more surprising exhibition of power than anything she published.

As to these conversations, one can only lament that there was no Nassau Senior to report them. Still, if the words and expressions have not been preserved, the effect of them has been vividly described in two instances quoted by Dr. Stevens, which we here give. Karl Ritter, travelling in Switzerland, says, ‘Her hospitable château stands open to all intelligent foreigners, and I was deeply interested to visit this lady and her guests, so educated and so educating. Led on by Schlegel, we came quickly to speak of German history, art, and literature. We went to table, where we were lively enough, and witticisms, puns, *bons mots* flew right and left. She pronounced German very well, and cited our authors readily. She conversed also in English and Italian, and quoted Latin sometimes, but without affectation.’ He then describes an argument undertaken by Sismondi in defence of a preacher they had recently heard, whose discourse was more didactic than religious. Religion, he contended, must be substantially morality, otherwise it will rest only on feeling, and produce those excesses from which Europe has suffered for ages so many evils:—

‘Madame de Staël responded to the challenge, and her inspiration,’ continues Ritter, ‘lasted nearly an hour. Never in the whole course
of

of my life have I felt more nervous agitation; I had cramps even to the ends of my fingers. There was in her something of that power which Alcibiades attributes in the Banquet to Socrates.' . . . 'Sismondi,' he remarks, 'had been very emphatic at first, but his words were to her mind like fire falling on tinder. She attacked his narrow view of religion' (he was a disciple of Channing) on all sides with overwhelming arguments and examples. . . . The subject was so entirely congenial to her, her analysis was so clear, her illustrations so luminous, her positions so crowded with ideas, that I consider this conversation one of the most interesting facts in my life. I have said that she appears to much more advantage in conversation than in her writings. She is regal, queenly, in the former.' *

The other conversation is described by young Pictet de Sergy, who was taken to Coppet by his father in 1815, as an introduction into the highest moral and intellectual life. Madame de Staël found time to devote a few words to the young man. He was going to Germany:—

'I congratulate and envy you,' she said; 'I have seen Germany only in her prostration; you will see her erect. With what interest will those young heroes inspire you, who, having quitted their studies to deliver their country, have now resumed the benches they left, and reopened their books at the pages where they closed them! Remember me to all my friends there; study hard, and at your return we will compose together a fourth volume of the "Allemagne." I was touched with and proud of these words. The next morning several people came from Geneva in time for breakfast. Among them was Dumont de Nemours. His fine and discreet mind had a peculiar attraction for Madame de Staël. The breakfast hour was, as is well known, the time at which her intellect, calm and rested, displayed its full riches. The conversation was about the Congress of Vienna—then one of the great European events. They spoke of its characters, its labours, and its fêtes. In reference to the latter, allusion was made to the grand tournaments of the Middle Ages. Opposite to her sat the young Count de Woyna, son of one of the Grand Masters of the Court of Vienna. . . . Madame de Staël extorted from him, in spite of his diffidence, an account of a tournament at the Court. She then launched into one of her remarkable feats of colloquial eloquence. It was a magnificent poem. All the Middle Ages, with their chivalry, their devotion, their marvellous characteristics, passed before the enchanted assembly. Corinne was entirely herself. Inspired herself, she electrified the coldest of the *convives*: the forks were motionless in their hands; every ear was intent, all eyes and mouths eagerly open. Nobody thought any longer of the breakfast.'*

We look with curiosity and some anxiety to her character as a mother, and find that it in no way falls short, not of the usual

* Stevens, vol. ii. pp. 45, 46.

† Stevens, vol. ii. p. 329.
standard,

standard, which would be small praise, but of the standard of her own greatness. Her daughter, the Duchesse de Broglie, has left a touching record of her early recollections:—

‘My mother attached great importance to our happiness in infancy, and shared our early troubles. From the age of six years we disputed who should be most loved by her; an intimate conversation with one of us excited the emulation of the others. Some of her conversations with me, when I was twelve years old, were adapted to me as if we were equals, and nothing can give an idea of the joy I experienced in these confidential half-hour communings. Her children loved her passionately. She never had a governess for me, but gave me lessons daily in her times of greatest trouble. The development of our minds was such a pleasure to her, that her happiness in it was our chief incentive to study. She endeavoured to place herself as early as possible in a relation of equality to her children. She would say to them that she not only needed them for her affections, but as a support in her trials. She often consulted us in the distresses of her exile. I have heard her say to Auguste, “I have need of your approbation.” Nothing can give an idea of the impression produced by the union of dignity and confidence, of feeling and reserve, in her intimate intercourse with her children. Never was there a mother at once more confiding and more imposing.’

Lacretelle gives a characteristic anecdote of the high-souled and irrepressible woman while teaching her son:—

‘I saw her translate Tacitus with her eldest son (laureate of the College of Geneva), and frequently her genius sparkled in her comments; but sometimes, carried away with indignation, she seized the arrows thrown by the historian against Tiberius, and directed them against the First Consul.’

The admirable sense regarding the education of children, that may be gathered from her works, applies as much to the present time as to her own, if not more. Nothing is finer and more philosophical than the following sentence from the ‘*Allemagne*,’ as opposed to the radically vicious idea of teaching children without trouble to themselves; showing also that pathetic corollary which underlay all her latter thoughts:—

‘The instruction given by amusement, dissipates thought. Effort, in all forms, is one of the great secrets of Nature. The mind of the child should be disciplined by the effort of study, as our souls by suffering. The perfecting of the first age belongs to work, as that of the second to sorrow. . . . You may teach your child a number of things with pictures and maps, but you will not teach him to learn.’

As early as the publication of ‘*Delphine*’ she shows the knowledge of the true nature of children, and hints that ‘*Les démonstrations passionnées ne valent rien pour les enfants*’

(‘fretted with sallies of his mother’s kisses’) ‘et que la bonté et la justice leur conviennent beaucoup mieux.’ Madame de Staël has nowhere laid down any system of education; one general maxim was enough in her chapter on ‘La Philosophie anglaise :’* ‘Tout ce qui fait de l’homme un homme, est le véritable objet de l’enseignement.’ There can be no doubt that Madame Necker de Saussure’s admirable work, ‘L’Education progressive,’ was much inspired by her perpetual contact with Madame de Staël.

At this time—1801-2—she moved frequently between Coppet and Paris, always escaping from the capital through a sense of insecurity. Her salon was the resort of Bernadotte and a number of military men and senators, secretly combining to frustrate Buonaparte’s usurpations. He affirmed that they always left her salon less friendly to him than they entered, and he singled her out, by way of a terrible compliment, as the one to bear the exclusive blame. It was at this time also that Necker’s ‘Last Views’ appeared, which credited Buonaparte with the qualities needful for the restoration of order and prosperity, and also with sincerity in his professed attachment to the Republic, while at the same time exposing the tendency of his government to military despotism and hereditary monarchy. This tacit detection of his plans brought an arrogant letter from the First Consul to the ex-Minister, advising him to leave politics to the man who alone understood how to govern France; accompanied by a threat of exile to Madame de Staël, who he believed had assisted her father in the work.

From this time she was doomed; though the terrible truth came upon her like the gradual symptoms of some deadly disease. She struggled with all her power, invoked the assistance of friends—of Talleyrand, of Lucien and Joseph Buonaparte,—and wrote a grand letter to the man who had placed himself above all law, and denied the woman whom France was bound to respect, both for her own and her father’s sake, all the forms of justice. At first he gave no sign, and if for a time she hoped that in his preparations for a simulated descent on England her existence had been forgotten, it was but to discover that it was only so far forgotten as that of the mouse is apparently by the cat. The inexorable net drew closer, the area of separation grew wider. Now she was assigned a distance of ten leagues from Paris, now of forty. Noble hearts welcomed her to their country houses in the vicinity, Madame Récamier and Joseph Buonaparte foremost among them. On one occasion, venturing nearer the city, she wandered round its outskirts,

* ‘L’Allemagne,’ vol. ii. p. 177.

like the Peri in sight of Paradise, making 'the tour of the walls of Paris,' and resting every night in a different village. But the summons came at length; a gendarme in grey uniform rang at her bell, and she went forth an exile from the land of her affections for ten long years. She went not alone; Benjamin Constant bore her and her children company as far as Metz, endeavouring to beguile her dejection by his conversation, which she preferred to almost every other; 'parce qu'il lui donnoit la réplique!' These years well-nigh broke her heart, but matured her mind; and we now turn to the principal works which have not only rendered her unique among women, but famous among the most famed of all writers.

We have given short passages from her letters upon Rousseau, written and privately circulated when she was fifteen, and published later without her name. These show how deep in her individual nature were the foundations of her style, for it already reveals its parentage. To this first anonymous appearance she ascribes the turning-point of her literary career, which serves her for a profound remark on the lot of women. 'Tout marche vers le déclin dans la destinée des femmes, excepté la pensée, dont la nature est de s'élever toujours.' We have also given specimens from her 'Vie privée de Necker,' which was written after his death in 1804. We take now her two romances, 'Delphine,' which appeared in 1802, and 'Corinne' in 1807. The difference between them is far greater in quality than in time. 'Delphine' belongs entirely to the last century, both in construction and feeling. It is written in letters, a form which delays the narrative and encumbers the plot. Long conversations, reported from memory, lose all the point of dialogue and the semblance of probability. Readers were less critical and less impatient in days when life went slower, and when the convenient device of an invisible author, stepping in between his own *dramatis personæ* and explaining matters, was little resorted to. The machinery of a story was also essentially different. We have still in 'Delphine' the contrivances of Miss Burney; the heroine incorrigible in certain forms of folly, never seeing the net or the pit which is plain to the eye of the reader; the whole plot perpetually turning on strange hallucinations, which render her blind to her own interests and faithless to her own character. The reader is exhausted with the endless struggles within and contretemps without. Every vessel the young lady embarks in is shipwrecked, every rock she clings to suffers a landslip; till at length, when a miraculous turn of good fortune promises to favour two despairing hearts and to set all right, the voluntary perpetration of the very last thing she would have dreamt of doing

places it out of her power to benefit by the change. So far 'Delphine' agrees with the manner of the time, though, as maintaining the triumph of virtue at any cost, it is an improvement on the French novels that had gone before, and were to follow after. Nor could any work proceed from the hand of Madame de Staël without exhibiting noble and generous sentiments, and passages of beautiful writing. The cry got up against 'Delphine' as a defence of suicide (which the authoress was at so much trouble to rebut, and for which she altered the concluding chapters) was doubtless inspired by Buonaparte's organs. The whole piece was pitched at what an English public would feel the immoral key of portraying the love of a woman for a married man; but the French public at that time were the last to have been shocked at the despairing act in which such a passion is made to terminate.

'Corinne' is a very different work to analyse. It would be difficult to quote a work more completely above the tastes and standards of the day, more unique in intensity of impression on the feelings. Both Delphine and Corinne are beings of great nobility of character, independence of judgment, and indifference to personal motives, though at no cost of purity of heart and mind. So far Madame de Staël draws from herself in both—but in 'Corinne' she gives herself altogether. The perusal of this work is a test of character; hardly read with patience by some, lightly thrown aside by others, but responded to with the force of an individual sympathy by the higher minds of this world, and, like the memory of sorrow itself, never forgotten. Those only can jest at poor Corinne who never felt a wound. Nor does it need to be a similar wound to excite the pain; all real experience of sorrow throbs and winces beneath this book. The unhappy Queen of Prussia could not bear to read it, from the force with which it recalled her own lot, at one time utterly hopeless.

Such a conception as 'Corinne' could only proceed from a mind like Madame de Staël's. Other writers have described and will describe the sufferings of a devoted and deserted woman, but it needed the contemplation of such sufferings through the intensifying and magnifying power of genius to create a Corinne. The compassion wrung from all sentient hearts is in proportion to the moral and intellectual height of the sufferer. The pulses thus laid bare are so far too noble for the morbid ends of human vivisection. The commonest female heart would have sufficed for a Lord Nelvil's vacillating and pusillanimous purposes. But she drew the male character both from intuition and experience. She knew that to torture a

Corinne

Corinne you must take an Oswald; virtuous, refined, and disdainful of personal danger, but a man whose love never conquered his fancies, and with that unmistakeable sign of meanness of soul, with which she must have been peculiarly familiar—mistrust and jealousy of a gifted and cultivated woman.

There has been nothing like 'Corinne' before or since. It fell upon a period distracted with wars, oppressed with taxation, and weary of insecurity; it was written by an exiled woman, hiding, as she completed it, with a friend within the proscribed distance from Paris; but it burst on the world like a revelation, bearing the incontestable impress of a new and great mind in the largeness and simplicity of the highest art, and in the charm of an unrivalled culture, and arousing one cry of admiration throughout the lettered public of all European nations.

We own that Madame de Staël is not great in her heroes; or rather, the heroes who are intended to put great-souled women to the rack must be made weak creatures; for men more worthy of them are incapable of exacting or accepting such sacrifices. Both plots are laid, in some measure, on similar lines. Léonce, in 'Delphine,' has a mother of the class of mind most calculated to dislike such a character as Delphine's. Lord Nelvil had a father who, unknown to him, had forbidden his union with Corinne, and who would have turned in his grave at the thought of his marrying an Italian improvisatrice. These unseen personages hover above, ready to interfere whenever the pride, suspicion, or egotism of the hero requires their assistance.

No lapse of time or changes of States and Governments can diminish the interest of viewing Rome and the Italians, as they were, through Madame de Staël's eyes; never can they be seen through the same absorbing aspect of the Past again. Rome no longer belongs exclusively to the artist and the archæologist; Italians are still a race singularly free from personal vanity; 'l'empire de la société sur l'amour-propre' is still, as she expresses it, 'presque nul dans ce pays;' but they are no longer content to live the aimless lives to which they were then condemned. 'Corinne' is still, despite a few mistakes and super-annuations, our most graceful and enthusiastic guide through the old ruins of the ancient city; but Rome is no longer consecrated to antiquity alone. Not that the author bounded her vision to the Italy she then saw. Her faith in such a race was far too generous for her to join in the once prevalent belief that their decadence was irretrievable. She felt that there were reserves of power in those thoroughbred and simple-mannered gentlemen,

gentlemen, for which their paralysed existence gave no sphere, and by the life that still lingered she recognized that which could still revive. '*Les Italiens sont bien plus remarquables par ce qu'ils ont été, et par ce qu'ils pourroient être, que par ce qu'ils sont maintenant.*' She perhaps never anticipated the union of the country that has been now accomplished, but in many passages she bears witness to the fine natures and powers of mind that had never been lost.

We turn now to the country and the people most contrasting with those she has thus described. Her residence in Germany took place before she went to Italy; but the '*Allemagne*' was published long after her '*Corinne*.' We pass from a land of poetry, art and beauty—of idleness, superstition and passive enjoyment—to one of thought, speculation and toil; formality, monotony and prejudice.

No one was more fitted to visit foreign countries than the woman who said that, in giving welcome '*aux pensées étrangères, l'hospitalité fait la fortune de celui qui reçoit,*'—or to reason rightly upon nations, as distinguished from individuals, than she who first defined the virtues proper to each: '*Les individus doivent se résigner à la destinée, mais jamais les nations; car ce sont elles qui seules peuvent commander à cette destinée. Le Patriotisme des nations doivent être égoïste.*' These sentiments were especially aroused in her mind by the spectacle of that German people, who had become the allies (and, as she adds, the contempt) of France against their own country. More even than now, the geographical area called Germany represented no united nation. In no part of Europe was Thought more enquiring and Science more profound, but at the same time all that constitutes common ties and interests more subdivided in every respect. '*On ne voit à quelle partie de l'empire ce nom même de nation doit être accordé.*' And again: '*La nation allemande est tellement divisée qu'on ne sait jamais si les exploits d'une moitié de la nation soient un malheur ou une gloire pour l'autre.*' Without a common capital or common laws, without political employment, without society, there remained no common ground for so-called Germans except lonely and abstract thought. The country presented the anomaly of German governments maintained on principles directly opposed to the philosophical convictions of the German mind. '*De là vient qu'ils réunissent la plus grande audace de pensée au caractère le plus obéissant.*'

It might have seemed hazardous for an exiled woman to enter a country with such pronounced opinions, but there were many reasons why no offence would be given or taken. Nowhere
could

could Madame de Staël's perfect breeding appear so conspicuous as in a land where, whether in a French or English sense, the very rudiments of that virtue—namely, respect for women—do not exist. It is evident that the arrival of the brilliant and learned woman among them was anticipated with much of the vulgar prejudice which any exception to the rules of female inferiority is sure to excite in Germany. Madame de Staël knew nothing of German prejudices before she entered the country. Still, she would hardly fail to remark the manners of the company at a supper at Mayence, as reported by Bettina Brentano; when no lady would sit next her, and the gentlemen nudged and pushed each other, like vulgar schoolboys, to speak to her. On the other hand, she doubtless remained in ignorance of the verdict pronounced by some German wiseacres, who had settled it among themselves that the eminent men who gathered round her at Coppet wrote her works for her. But she was rich and 'vornehm,' and a welcome novelty in dull regions where interest is almost confined to curiosity; and far too '*grande dame*' to take to herself any neglect or ambiguities of manner. The consequence is, that it would be difficult to cite a work more fair and dignified in judgment, while preserving perfect independence of thought, than her '*Allemagne*.' On what she had the opportunity to form an opinion, she spoke the truth, neither ridiculing nor sparing. But, though her opinions appear openly enough here and there, we are chiefly left to guess the astonishment of the French lady, to whom high-bred and easy society was as the air she breathed, on discovering the place the German lady held in her own country. She owns that Berlin contained all the elements of a charming society and a strong nation, but all uncombined and disunited.

'Science and Letters are cultivated there, and gifted men of all classes meet at ministerial dinners and elsewhere. But this happy mixture includes no women. In Berlin, as in Germany generally, the society of women is not well amalgamated with that of men. In Berlin men only converse with each other; the military atmosphere gives them "*une certaine rudesse qui leur inspire le besoin de ne pas se gêner pour les femmes*."

On the other hand, in things which Madame de Staël did not see, she took more good for granted than facts warranted. In the total separation between classes she had no opportunity of reaching *the People*. She found out that the lower officials were slow and stolid, and said '*es ist unmöglich*' (it is impossible) a hundred times to once in France. She remarks also most justly, '*l'on ne rencontre que parmi eux ce respect obséquieux pour le pouvoir, qui succède immédiatement à l'arrogance envers les foibles;*'

foibles ;' but she could form no idea of the misery and degradation which reigned in those interminable sandy plains, which form so large a portion of North Germany. We perceive a certain embarrassment in her chapter on Berlin in speaking of a Court where she was kindly received, and where, in the absence of all constitutional safeguards, she dwells on their accidental substitute in the person 'd'un bon roi.' But the goodness of Prussian kings, as subsequent times would have proved to her, did not extend to keeping their promises to their subjects.

It was natural that Madame de Staël should judge all she saw from that standard of ease and good breeding, which promotes the interchange of advantages between one class and another. Thus she quickly detected the penalty paid respectively by the petty noblesse of Germany and by the men of thought and letters. 'Les nobles y ont trop peu d'idées et les gens de lettres trop peu l'habitude des affaires.' She was bored also with the perpetual iteration of those titles which, representing no intrinsic importance, live only on the lips of others. 'Le titre le plus mince, et pourtant le plus long à prononcer, est donné et répété vingt fois dans le même repas.' Even when the happy possessor of a brand-new German title happened to be dead, and with higher claims to fame than any it could give him, the same punctilio was observed :—

'I remember having attended in Saxony a lecture on metaphysics by a well-known philosopher, who perpetually quoted "*Le Baron de Leibnitz*," and was never so far carried away by the interest of his subject as to omit a title which accorded ill with the name of a great man who had been dead for a century.'

After an experience of what Berlin and other German cities had to yield, she thus sums up the inevitable conviction: 'Il n'y a que les villes littéraires qui peuvent vraiment intéresser dans un pays où la société n'est rien, et la nature peu de chose ;' and she turned her steps to Weimar.

Our ideas of the charms of that little capital have arrived nowadays at much about the same convictions as of the charms of Munich art. The society was very narrow, very provincial, and, if the chief performers were not in the mind to perform, it was very dull. Now it was generally known that Madame de Staël was not only a first-rate performer, but always in the vein, and it is evident that a certain consciousness of alarm took possession of the literary coterie at her approach. At the time she entered Weimar—the beginning of December 1803—Wieland was still alive, Herder just dead, and Göthe and Schiller the reigning celebrities. To Göthe especially such a rival lion was particularly distasteful, and he did his best to avoid all competition

petition with her in the sight of the small court which composed his world. He happened to be at Jena, but a few miles off, but he made excuses for remaining there, and coolly proposed, in his letter to Schiller, that the great lady should come to him; sending her a message that he would give her 'une bonne petite table bourgeoise,' pretty much the equivalent of our 'pot luck.' But here the Grand Duke interposed, and summoned the 'Herr Geheimer Rath' to his proper post.

Madame Necker de Saussure in her 'Notice' says with truth that the 'Allemagne' was thorny ('épineux') to write; and, it may be added, especially so on the subject of Göthe. The authoress gives him his full due, even when not concealing his unattractive points and her own disappointment. But we read, as between the lines, how little congeniality there existed between them. Next to Buonaparte himself, there was perhaps no individual of note living more opposed to her in temperament. She was here required to analyse a man who possessed more reason than any other faculty, and who consequently rendered all other faculties on her part superfluous in forming the estimate of his character. Nevertheless, however foreign the coldness of such a method to her ardent nature, the reader can only be struck with the fairness and moderation, though occasional pungency, of her verdict. As compared with the poetic enthusiasm of Klopstock, on whom she has a magnificent chapter, 'et qui s'égare dans l'idéal, Göthe ne perd jamais terre.' 'Il y a dans son esprit une vigueur que la sensibilité n'a jamais affoiblie.' 'Sa raison n'a que trop la maturité de notre temps.' 'Rien ne trouble la force de sa tête.' She immediately observed that the warmth that had inspired his 'Werther' had passed away. He still possessed in some measure the inspiration of the artist, but no longer the fire of the man. He attached more value to the pictures he produced than to the feeling which produces them. 'Le temps l'a rendu spectateur.' He was accustomed at that time to maintain that, in order to work more powerfully on the imagination of his readers, an artist should preserve his own sang-froid—that even in composing a work of passion an author should remain calm. He must have smiled in his sleeve when he found good people believing him, for he knew that it was not in his power to do or to be otherwise. Perhaps he knew also that the grand woman, who was as much behind the scenes in these matters as himself, smiled in her sleeve too. At all events, his boasted sang-froid inspired an indisputable axiom in her chapter upon him, namely, 'que le poète est inférieur à l'inspiration qui l'anime, et ne peut pas la juger sans la perdre.' In questions of thought she acknowledged his wonderful force:

'Quand

‘Quand il s’agit de penser, rien ne l’arrête ; ni son siècle, ni ses habitudes, ni ses relations ; il fait tomber à plomb son regard d’aigle sur les objets qu’il observe.’ But she misses that which all hearts miss in Göthe, and which he mystified his little Weimar public by pretending to replace by a perfect impartiality of judgment, and a boundless universality of interest. She remarks that, if he had had some political career, if his mind had been developed by action, it would have assumed more genial, positive, and patriotic forms : ‘mais son esprit ne planeroit pas si librement sur toutes les manières de voir.’ She puts her finger on the nail here. Humanity is not intended to exercise ‘toutes les manières de voir.’ In poetry especially, such an aim neutralizes as much as it creates—undoes as much as it does. ‘Göthe se plaît dans ses écrits, comme dans ses discours, à briser les fils qu’il a tissu lui-même ; à déjouer les émotions qu’il excite ; à renverser les statues qu’il a fait admirer ;’ the result being that he rendered himself at length too impartial to distinguish, as evidenced in his works, whether he were inditing the sublime sentiments of an Iphigenia, or the twaddle of a ‘Geflickte Braut.’

It is evident that it required all Madame de Staël’s address to engage the great man in the novel exercise of genuine conversation with a lady. ‘Mais, quand on sait faire parler Göthe, il est admirable ; d’un esprit prodigieux en conversation . . . s’il étoit François on le feroit parler du matin au soir.’

It was the mission of Madame de Staël to throw open to the French public, and in some measure to the English also, the modern literature of Germany—of which both nations knew about as much as of the sources of the Nile. She therefore gives a sketch of most of the dramas of Göthe and Schiller, with quotations from them. It shows the flexibility of her mind, that she was able to enfranchise herself from the despotism of French ‘convenances,’ and to pass the most liberal judgment on what was not only new to her, but opposed to all her rules of art. No finer analysis of Faust exists than that which she has bequeathed.

‘This drama not only exhibits the annihilation of the moral world—such as it is—but the infernal world is put in its place. There is a force of sorcery, a poetry of wickedness, an intoxication of evil, a disorder of thought, which makes one shudder, laugh, and weep by turns. It seems for the moment as if the government of the universe were in the hands of a demon. You shudder because he is pitiless ; you laugh because he humiliates all self-satisfactions ; you weep because human nature thus viewed from the depths of hell inspires a painful compassion.’

Faust unites in his character all human weakness and vanity :
 ‘désir de savoir et fatigue du travail, besoin du succès et
 satiété

satiété du plaisir.' He wants to reap without sowing, to enjoy without earning, and has recourse to enchantments to escape the necessary conditions of human nature. Mephistopheles comes to his aid, and in her analysis of the Fiend, we detect what, unconfessed, underlies the whole—the picture not merely of a bad man, but of a bad Göthe. He did not follow the proverb, 'to make a devil, you must take an angel.' He looked into the dark recesses of his own comparatively heartless nature, and found the image there. The creator of Mephistopheles evinces an endless knowledge of human nature, and especially of his own. This 'diable civilisé,' who, according to her subtle analysis, has the command of all forms of dissimulation, *except that of loving*, is no hideous phantom or hobgoblin, but only human nature, taken at its cleverest-worst.

One peculiar trait of truly human stamp Göthe had seized, and Madame de Staël seizes it in turn—that which both knew as the incorrigible sign of human heartlessness and levity; namely, the habit which turns everything into jest. 'Le diable plaisante toujours.'

It is evident that Schiller captivated the respect and affection of Madame de Staël in a far higher degree than Göthe. He grumbled at the interruption to his 'Wilhelm Tell,' then in course of composition; he could only express himself with difficulty in French; and he criticized her volubility of words and rapidity of ideas; 'still,' he says, 'one can but esteem and honour this woman for her fine intelligence and liberal mind, which is open on so many sides.' We are not aware that Göthe left any record of his opinion.

The vicissitudes that attended the publication of the 'Allemagne' are a permanent stain among even the deepest stains of Buonaparte's life. The manuscript was completed in 1810, and was entrusted to the same publisher who had printed 'Corinne.' He had submitted it to the established censorship, which had struck out a short passage here and there, and returned it for press. Ten thousand copies were already printed, when a number of gendarmes were sent by General Savary—the head of the police—to the printing-office, with orders to destroy every copy. This was accomplished by pounding the sheets in a mortar, and thus reducing them to a pulp. At the same time an order reached her to deliver up the original manuscript, and to quit France in twenty-four hours; an insolent letter from General Savary giving her to understand that her exile was owing as much to her having praised the English, as to her not having praised the Emperor. Fortunately her son contrived to hide the manuscript, but it cost her three years and a weary course

course round half Europe with it, before her arrival in England enabled her to publish this remarkable work.* The banishment from France allowed of her living at Coppet, but an attempt to visit the baths at Aix brought a further order not to quit the two leagues that lie between Coppet and Geneva, the postmasters being forbidden to furnish her with horses. It was at this time that her faithful friend, Count Mathieu de Montmorency, visited her at Coppet, and was immediately pursued by a sentence of exile. To the terror of the hostess, Madame Récamier next announced herself, and incurred the same fate. Then Schlegel followed, being accused of anti-French proclivities in preferring the 'Hippolytus' of Euripides to the 'Phèdre' of Racine! These blows were too much for her; she felt more than exiled—imprisoned—and, after a period of painful uncertainty, she resolved to escape. Her object was to reach England (then only accessible by one of two circuitous routes) either by Russia and Sweden, or by Constantinople and Greece. She chose the former. On the 23rd of May, 1812, Madame de Staël, accompanied by her daughter and eldest son, entered her carriage as if for a drive—the ladies with only their fans in their hands—leaving the household under the impression that they would return to dinner. Such was her dread of being arrested and consigned to prison, that she nearly fainted before she was out of the avenue of Coppet, when her son—one of the best of men—comforted her by taking her hand tenderly and reminding her that she was now on her way to England; that haven being nearly two thousand leagues distant at that moment! They passed the allotted boundary safely, and travelling night and day, halted first at a farmhouse beyond Berne. Here her son left her and returned to Coppet, whence her younger son proceeded with carriage and servants to join her at Vienna. It was then first that the police discovered her flight. Her journey, through Innsbruck, Salzburg, Vienna—through Moravia and Galicia—dogged by spies and tortured by delays, was a series of hair-breadth escapes and severe hardships. Russia was only entered after the French invasion had commenced; but once over that frontier—contrary to usual experience—all espionage ceased, and the utmost courtesy and hospitality attended the distinguished woman, who owed her sufferings to the common foe. In St. Petersburg she was fêted by Emperor and Empress, and by the highest families in that capital. Still, a curious incident showed the temper of the people. Attended by her son and daughter, she went to the

* It was published by the late Mr. Murray, of Albemarle Street, in 1813; the passages condemned by the censorship being indicated. He gave her 1500*l.* for it.

Théâtre François, where a piece by Racine was being given. They were scarcely seated when the report spread that they were French. The crowd in the parterre rose, shouting furiously, 'Turn out the accursed French!' Madame de Staël was escorted safely out, bathed in tears, and exclaiming, 'Ah! les barbares! ah! notre Racine!' The whisper was now heard that the French had taken Smolensk, and were *en route* for Moscow, and louder voices soon confirmed the report. It was time for her to embark for Stockholm, which she reached at the end of September, and was welcomed by her old friend Bernadotte, with all the honours doubly and trebly due to her. She spent the winter in the Swedish capital, and finally reached the goal of all her hopes in June 1813.

Here, in London, her life was literally one ovation—public men, fashionable women, crowded to do her honour. At Lansdowne House and elsewhere people mounted on chairs to catch sight of her. Men of all parties, still household names with us, formed her daily society. Lords Lansdowne, Erskine, Harrowby, Dudley, Grey, Byron, Sir James Mackintosh, Sir Samuel Romilly, Sir Humphry Davy, Rogers, Wilberforce, even Sheridan, were alternately her hosts and her guests. Such society as this, blending as it did the largest and most varied interests, she confessed to be superior to that of the usual French salon. She delighted in the conversation of Sir James Mackintosh, who paid the warmest tribute to herself as to her 'Allemagne';* but she acknowledged to him that Wilberforce was the best talker she had encountered in England, and also the wittiest man. She took the deepest interest in the Abolition of the Slave-trade, wrote a preface to the translation of Wilberforce's work, and, later, made an eloquent appeal to the Allied Sovereigns in Paris 'to give a pledge for the protection of Africa.'

It followed, of course, in these strictly English circles, that such an impersonation of ardour, learning, and never-ceasing eloquence, was felt at first to be, in the stock expression, 'overpowering.' There was one circumstance also, to which we shall still shortly allude, which placed her in an ambiguous light. Nevertheless, in the words already quoted from the 'Notice,' she began always by astonishing, but ended by captivating. The publication of the 'Allemagne' gave the climax to her popularity here; and, appearing the next year in Paris, it became, as Lamartine says, the subject of the conversation of Europe. The hour of retribution was now drawing near. The 'Allemagne' issued from the press in the same month that the battle of Leipsic was fought—the one the vindication of German in-

* 'Edinburgh Review,' Oct. 1813.

telle, the other that of German liberty; neither, as measured by subsequent history, destined to bring forth the fruits then expected.

Madame de Staël's feelings suffered a terrible conflict as the nations gathered and rose in their power, and the hopes of Napoleon's overthrow agitated and excited the London world around her. On being asked by an English Cabinet Minister what issue of the approaching conflict she most desired, her answer was, 'That Napoleon may be victorious—but killed.' Napoleon's victories were those of France, his tyrannies his own. Her pride in France sometimes even made her uphold the usurper. When a man of note declared after the battle of Waterloo that Buonaparte had neither talent nor courage, 'C'est par trop rabaisser la nation française et l'Europe,' she replied, 'que de prétendre qu'elles aient obéi quinze ans à une bête et un poltron.'

As soon as the Allies were known to have entered Paris, she returned to the country she loved so well, but the conflict of feelings still continued. At Calais the first men she saw wore the Prussian uniform—at every stage she found France occupied by foreign troops. It was a change in the form of suffering, but it was suffering still. The tyrant was overthrown, but France was conquered!

Her friends now crowded round her—the best, such as the Montmorencys and Madame Récamier, still surviving. Her salon, the resort of all the Royalties in Paris, was 'une des forces de la Restauration.' The King delighted to do her honour—her claim to the two million francs her father had lent the National Treasury was immediately granted—and especially did the interval of time, and all it included, seem blotted out when Louis XVIII. signed, in her father's old home at St. Ouen, a charter of liberties which comprised every guarantee for national freedom which Necker had originally proposed to Louis XVI.

No wonder, therefore, that Madame de Staël overleapt the hated interregnum of despotism, dear-bought glory and personal wrong, and turned back to the period of that seemingly far-off Revolution, of which no one was so fit to point the moral and explain the cause. Madame de Staël's '*Considérations sur les principaux événements de la Révolution Française*' appear to us to have been not sufficiently appreciated by those modern writers—and none are more interesting—who have helped to lay bare the deeply seated forces which prepared that great social explosion. Who so fit to describe both the causes and the course of the Revolution, as a witness of her high intelligence and exceptional opportunities? She had been present at almost all the stirring scenes of the time—from the sittings in the Legislative

lative Assembly and the attack on the Palace of Versailles by the Parisian mob—to the last Opera where the King and Queen appeared together. There were few, except La Fayette, who could have witnessed more.

Accordingly, though one broad impeachment of royal ignorance and aristocratic infatuation, of generations of oppression, and of final fatuous helplessness, runs through her pages; though she shows how the despatch of French troops to serve under the freest government existing was the last thing that should have been done, and Louis Seize the last king fitted at that time to occupy the throne, yet she has no exclusive hobbies of cause and effect. 'Il faut attribuer la révolution à tout, et à rien; chaque année du siècle y conduisit par toutes les routes.' It was not more the upheaval of the lower strata of society, than the collapse of the upper, that had brought it about. They had had no knowledge of each other, except as oppressors and oppressed, and still had none, except as despisers and detesters; when, as usual, the first undervalued the power of the last. France had been governed by arbitrary customs, often by caprices, never by laws. And now, even had a helm remained, and a vessel capable of obeying it, there was no steersman.

With her perfect insight into the nature of her countrymen, she says, 'La puissance déprave les François plus que les autres hommes.' How much the more when that power had become rotten to its core! It was in vain to tell the upper classes that men who had returned from America, infected with the largest ideas of liberty, could hardly be satisfied to attend the empty routine of the Court at Versailles, with no further prerogative than that of being admitted to it. It was in vain to warn them that the example of England was kindling dangerous comparisons; that minds were asking why only seven leagues of sea should separate a country, where the Nation was everything, from one where it was nothing. It was in vain to remind them of Bacon's saying, that 'Time is the greatest of innovators.'

'The majority of the nobles never went beyond these three words "*c'était ainsi jadis*." It was in vain to remind them that it was circumstances that brought about the past, and that these circumstances had entirely changed. Nothing reached their convictions. They had a certain aristocratic fatuity, of which one can form no idea out of France.'

The forms of representative government then being enacted at Versailles, the struggle going on between the nobles and the popular party, nothing interested them.

'All that went on in the "Assemblée Constituante" appeared to them insolent and of no importance, more especially that discovery,
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as they termed it, of the 18th century, "*une Nation*"! Till then there had been only nobles, priests, and a people. "What do *nations* matter?" they perpetually repeated, "we must have armies."

We now know why the title, 'L'Assemblée Nationale,' assumed by the Tiers-État after they moved to the 'Salle du jeu de Paume,' gave such dire offence. France was steeped in that vice which still undermines Russia and Germany—the vice of division of classes.

It is time to explain the allusion to some ambiguity in her position when in London. It was after the publication of 'L'Allemagne' that Byron writes on meeting her, 'The lover was there. Monsieur L'Amant is remarkably handsome, but I don't think him more so than her book.' Madame de Staël had contracted a second marriage, in the spring of 1811, with a young French officer of the name of Rocca. He had served gallantly in Spain, and had returned to his native place, Geneva, with incurable wounds. According to all accounts, he was a genuine hero of romance, with great imagination, culture, and wit, and with a magnificent head, but above twenty years younger than herself. She took great interest in his sufferings, and inspired him with such ardent attachment, that he is known to have said, 'Je l'aimerai tant que je finirai par la contraindre à m'épouser.' He succeeded, accompanied her in her flight round Europe, and gave her, to the day of her death, the greatest happiness which she had ever enjoyed, alloyed only by anxiety for his life. We are at no pains to criticize or to justify. He seems to have harmonized with her life, her children, and her friends. Disparity in marriage is a thing of relative importance. Where perfect happiness ensues, it vanishes altogether. She gave birth to a son—five years old at her death—and Rocca died of his grief and his wounds seven months after her.

We now approach the end of her rich life; her health was much worn out with its sorrows and vicissitudes, and the intense anxiety of 'Les cent jours' told upon her like a fresh exile. Her bodily powers gradually gave way without any ostensible disease, but her mind lived vigorously to the last. She knew she was dying, and frequently said, 'mon père m'attend sur l'autre bord.' She passed the last day in her arm-chair, conversing with her friends, and died on July 14, 1817, aged 51. On examination after death her brain was discovered to be of unusual size for a woman.

Few lives, characters, and writings—perhaps altogether none—have bequeathed such materials for thought and admiration. Her life was one protest against tyranny, and a sacrifice to it. Byron wrote of her flippantly, 'She ought to have been a man ;'

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but Mrs. Browning's line to Georges Sand defines her more truly: 'Thou great-headed woman, and large-hearted man!' She had the powers and the virtues of the best of both—but not the faults—for her excess of feeling was the fault or misfortune of her sex alone. The merits of her writings cannot be pronounced to be either masculine or feminine, abounding as they do in qualities rare in man—if rarer still in woman—the qualities of sound and impartial judgment, and true and exact definitions. In some respects the two sexes in her nature were arrayed against each other, greatly to her own cost. She had the courage of the man, but also the emotional temperament and something of the cowardice of the woman. She made sacrifices, and sustained struggles, usually only required from a man, but paid for them with the feelings of a woman.

There can be no doubt that her conversation was marked by an eloquence which carried her hearers away, but that is not the effect produced by her writings. It is not the fire of her words, but the plenitude and justness of her ideas, which constitute their wondrous charm. She was marvellously before her time in all principles of political wisdom, and, whatever times may come, can never be behind them. Her sympathies were with the People; she denounced religious intolerance; and she defined a power for which there was not even a name in the France of her epoch—the power of Public Opinion.

Sainte-Beuve has called her a child of the Revolution. This is too ambiguous a designation for one who went no further than the assertion and defence of those just and equal laws which are the birthright of every nation. Her soul revolted with keen satire at the idea of *concessions* of Liberty to a great people! Nations, to her view, were born free. 'Il ne se peut pas que la Liberté soit jamais représentée comme le don du pouvoir.' In vivacity and readiness, brilliant intellect and ardent enquiry, she was the highest type of the French national temperament, but through all she was imbued with the choicest European affinities—in moral feeling and religion, Swiss; in power of intellect and application, German; in all convictions and aspirations belonging to free citizen life, its rights and duties, English.

Madame de Staël's pen was ever guided by the strictest sentiments of truth and morality. She could never have had reason to regret a word she had written. In later life, when her many sorrows wrung from her the pathetic expression that of all her faculties that of suffering had been most developed, she bore earnest testimony to the only consolations given to mankind—the acceptance of the Divine Will, and faith in revealed Religion.

- ART. II.—1. *India in 1880.* By Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I. London. Second Edition. 1881.
 2. *Reports on the Condition of India, presented to Parliament.* 1880, 1881.

IT would not be easy to find a more practical illustration of the change which has come over the spirit of Indian administration, than the book before us. Its author, the late Governor of Bombay, with an almost deferential appeal for the reader's attention, takes him into his confidence, whilst he undertakes to submit to his criticism a vivid picture of the condition of India as he left it. It seems scarcely credible that half a century has not yet passed away, since a Governor-General exclaimed with irritability that India would be lost on the floor of the House of Commons. Yet the intolerance of criticism which prompted his remark was quite characteristic of that period of Indian history, and worthy of the inheritor of the traditions of independence which Clive and Warren Hastings bequeathed. Outside the Houses of Parliament, as well as within them, public opinion showed no disposition to resent the imperious language of Sir Charles Metcalfe. We have on record an observation of Macaulay, that in his time Indian subjects were not only insipid but positively distasteful to English readers. But the proud succession of paternal and irresponsible despots—of one of whom Sir W. Scott remarked that he spoke like a Roman emperor accustomed to keep the whole world in view—was broken by the strain of the Indian Mutiny. With it ceased also the indifference of Englishmen to the course of Indian administration. The House of Commons woke up to a sense of its privileges and responsibilities. The Act of Parliament, which created the new Government of India, ordered that an annual account of the moral and material progress of the country should be laid before Parliament. The Viceroys soon felt that they had not merely succeeded to an altered title, but to a legacy of restraints and responsibilities which subsequent events have increased. The telegraph has completed the revolution in Indian history which the mutiny began. The centre of gravity in the administration of England's great dependency has shifted from Calcutta to London. The interval which separates India under Lord Ripon from India under Metcalfe seems altogether too wide to be spanned by the short period of forty-five years. We can only find its historical parallel in the gulf which divides the provincial administration of Rome, in the silver age of Trajan's obsequious legate of

of Bithynia, from the days of Julius Cæsar and Pompey. In both cases the chain of causes and effects presents remarkable features in common. But without noticing them we may remark that, whilst the Roman provincial governors had only to please their emperor, the English delegates have many masters. The Queen's representatives are not merely called to account at the bar of the House of Commons, but are expected to answer every summons that deputations, newspapers, and the several courts of public opinion, choose to issue. To such a summons this account of India in 1880 is in large measure a response. Its author does not challenge the authority of public criticism. On the contrary, he has the wisdom, not merely to discover its power, but to enlist its sympathy. He assures it of the hearty goodwill of native India, and even invites the House of Commons to take charge of the destinies of that vast Empire. Speaking of the interest which is manifested by Englishmen in Indian subjects, he writes as follows:—

‘It causes the natives to believe that there exists in England a gracious Sovereign, an august senate, a sympathetic people. It makes them feel that there are in England many who care for their fellow-subjects in the East, who listen to the cry of the distressed, and attend to any reasonable grievance. This belief is growing stronger year by year in the native mind, promoting its contentment, settling its convictions and establishing its loyalty.’

The appearance of the book is most opportune. Science and culture have recognized the rich field of interest which India opens to them. The student of the science of language or the archaic institutions of property and social organization has been warmed into interest by the enthusiasm of Professor Max Müller or Sir Henry Maine for the literature and village life of the Hindus. Mr. Edwin Arnold's beautiful poem on the ‘Light of Asia’ has given a charming specimen of the religious treasures of the East. The romances of Colonel Meadows Taylor have even engaged some degree of public sympathy with the incidents of Hindu domestic life. But practical Englishmen are not content to be amused: they want to be informed and even reassured about India.* The warning of Sir Robert Peel uttered in 1842 has acquired fresh force from recent doubts about Indian credit. Every one realizes the value of the stakes which England holds in the country. Many are feeling the weight of the responsibilities which we have incurred as trustees

* While these sheets are passing through the press, we have received the first six volumes of Dr. Hunter's great work, on which he has been engaged for the last twelve years,—‘The Imperial Gazetteer of India’—which we need hardly say ought to find a place in every library.

for the people of India. More than twenty years have elapsed since that trust was formally accepted by the Crown; and a point has been reached in Indian history whence the guarantees of our boasted success should be visible. But there are many observers who declare that no impress of progress has been stamped upon the structure of Indian society. They deny the accuracy of official reports, which repeat year by year the same satisfactory story. Instead of a tide of national prosperity they perceive only a sea of troubles. They point out that famine has become a chronic disorder of the Indian constitution, and they conclude that the system of our rule is radically wrong—our dependency is 'over-taxed and over-Europeanized,' and nothing but disaster is predicted. Such is the picture of India drawn by certain Englishmen, who have watched from afar the effects of British rule. Public opinion is naturally disturbed by such gloomy apprehensions, and anxious to learn the truth. This anxiety has even affected Parliament, and suggestions for the appointment of a Parliamentary Commission to probe the matter to the bottom have received the support of many independent statesmen.

At such a time and under such circumstances the labour bestowed on this book will not have been thrown away, if it can satisfy the curiosity of the public and relieve the melancholy apprehensions which we have noticed.

Its author possesses eminent qualifications for the task that he has undertaken. He brings to it a personal familiarity with the latest phase of the constantly fluctuating aspects and conditions of Indian affairs. For many centuries it has been India's boast that, although she has been the prize of several conquerors, her religious and social institutions have defied conquest. But within the last few years her most time-honoured institutions of caste, priestcraft, and village communities, have borne unwilling testimony to the destructive shock of Western civilization. Organizations, which were only welded into greater compactness by external blows, have become loosened by the disintegrating forces of commerce and railways. It is a period of transition and rapid transformation in the religious, social, and industrial life of India, and the faithful historian must keep pace with the times. It would be well if some of the melancholy critics, to whom we just now alluded, realized this truth. To a memory fresh from the scenes which he paints Sir R. Temple adds a rare experience. No living man has filled so many high offices in various parts of India as he has. His restless energy brought him into contact with every province of the empire. It was reported of him that the course of
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his tours was plainly marked by the number of disabled horses which he had ridden to a standstill. When he was making his progress with all the pomp and circumstance of a Governor of Bombay, he would frequently break loose from the official programme, and traverse hundreds of miles with a single attendant, relying upon such food and shelter as chance might offer. His love of travel was stimulated by his love of nature. To a conscientious discharge of duty and the curiosity of a zealous reformer he added the enthusiasm of an artist. His descriptions of scenery, costumes, and native manners, often recal the brilliant scenes described in the 'Curse of Kehama.' He loves to dwell on the dark rocks and cedar-forests of the Himalayan slopes, round which float the fleecy clouds lit up by the sun with orange colour, whilst distant pinnacles of dazzling snow are tipped with the fire of the rising sun, or at sunset bathed in roseate hues. He watches with delight the spray of the falls at Gairsopa, hanging like a thin veil of gauze, and receiving the colours of the rainbow. He makes the reader share with him his sense of the deep solitude of the river Nerbadda in its marble prison. It is impossible not to catch some of the enthusiasm of the author; and the reader may even forget the hot blasts of the Deccan plain as he carries his eye up to the frowning fortress of Daolatabad, or the picturesque hill-forts and rock-cut fanes, which everywhere attest the native taste for selecting striking and beautiful situations. 'There is hardly throughout the whole continent a fine and effective position on summit, eminence, river-bank, junction of waters, or commanding point of prospect, which the natives have failed to occupy with some structure.'

His sympathy is not confined to scenery and buildings. He notices the rich harmony of colour in native costumes, and the picturesque character of their holiday gatherings and religious festivals. He remarks on their joyous dispositions, their charity, their pride in the history of their national heroes, their self-help and courageous patience under suffering. Sympathy with the people is an essential qualification for writing native history. But Sir R. Temple has not disregarded the feelings of his English readers. He has put forward his own views with a moderation which is as respectful as it is unusual. His official opponents will be the first to recognize the impartial fairness with which both sides of such burning controversies, as are suggested by the expressions, 'water-rate,' 'income-tax,' and 'redemption of the land revenue,' are stated. In the twenty-seventh chapter he considers various objections which have lately been published, and whilst he expresses his dissent from them he shows a full appreciation of the spirit and ability with
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which they have been raised. An equally happy appreciation of the taste of the public he addresses is shown in his omissions. All technicalities of Indian administration are avoided. There are no wide flights to a remote past, and the reader who is in search of something fresh will be glad to miss long chapters on frontier disorder, human sacrifice, and Thuggee, which are usually served up to point a moral and illustrate the advantages of English rule. The style, despite some faults, is clear and sensible, without becoming commonplace. It is vigorous without being didactic. But we are inclined to complain of such Latinisms as 'inexpugnable:' and here and there Oriental metaphors—as, for instance, 'the shattered fragments of the pure mirror of English friendship,'—remind us rather of a Persian than an English style. We may add that the arrangement of the chapters is in some respects irregular; but the author pleads with reason that he is almost overwhelmed with the diversity of his subjects.

Variety is inseparable from a book on India, and gives it much of its charm. But it makes the task of the reviewer somewhat difficult. Sir R. Temple professes to give an exact and popular picture of India in the last year. He has rather given us a series of pictures from every possible point of view. We find in his book vivid sketches of the scenery, the architecture, and the public works of India. Its products and industries are described, and a chapter is devoted to its wild beasts and sports. A graphic account is supplied of the labours of Government in its military and naval, its political, judicial, financial, and legislative departments. Those who expected from his pen a learned disquisition on the vexed questions of Indian finance, depreciation of silver, and army organization, will be disappointed. On these and every other topic thoughtful and occasionally original suggestions will be met with: but the aim of the author is to escape being dull. What his book may lose in value to the specialist, it should gain in popularity with the public for whose instruction it is written. Sir Richard Temple enters into a brief discussion of every question which has in recent years rivetted the public attention of Englishmen to the affairs of India. He gives an interesting account of our relations with Afghanistan, and deprecates the surrender of Candahar as involving the relinquishment of the chief advantage secured by the late war. He discusses the taxation of India with the authority of a late Minister of Finance. When he refers to the indebtedness of the peasant proprietary of Bombay and the effect of recent legislation, we remember that the Act passed for their relief received the anxious consideration of himself and his colleagues in office. Wide therefore as is his survey of India,
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it is not wider than the circle of his own experience. But it is impossible for us to follow him over the whole of this ground. The attention of readers of this Review has lately been called to some of the subjects which we have just noticed. We shall therefore refrain from further comment upon them. For the rest, we believe that we shall best consult the wishes of our readers if we take this book as our general guide, referring when necessary to the valuable reports which have lately been laid before Parliament, and present to them a sketch of the present condition of India and the foundations upon which rests its hope for the future. We shall then draw special attention to the sources of anxiety and danger by which the stability of English rule is threatened, not merely within British India but in the Native States. In conclusion, we shall lay stress on the paramount necessity which exists for avoiding a policy of over-haste and of violent oscillation, not merely in the legislative councils, but also in the general administration of the country.

Sir R. Temple does not view the present condition of India in the gloomy light in which the picture of its bankruptcy and ruin has been painted. Mr. Caird, who recently visited the country on an official mission, described the situation in the following terribly suggestive sentence: 'An exhaustive agriculture and an increasing population must come to a deadlock.' According to the authority before us, such a catastrophe has never been so distant at any previous period of Indian history. 'It were vain to estimate,' writes Sir R. Temple, 'that the people must ere long be famished for lack of agriculture, when vast culturable areas within India itself are seen inviting the plough. It were futile to offer statistical proof that the food-supply must be insufficient, when large quantities of edible grain are being stored at home and exported abroad.' But even Sir Richard himself admits that in some parts of the country a slight deterioration of the soil is probably setting in. For ourselves, we are inclined to go further than this. We have before us a mass of official testimony to show that the system of land-tenure discourages the fallows which formed an essential feature of the old native system. We remember reading an interesting chapter on the declining fertility of the Indian soil in the 'Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official,' published as far back as 1844, in which Colonel Sleeman relates his conversations with intelligent natives on this subject. The process of exhaustion must have continued since his time. It may be true, as some scientific farmers have declared, that after a certain limit is reached the progress of deterioration is arrested, because the natural decomposition of the component parts of the soil replaces the

the loss of the fertilizing elements. But we are inclined to believe that that limit has been reached in many parts of the empire. In the eager desire to reap crops of some sort, the land is allowed no rest except when drought imposes idleness upon the tiller of the soil. The reckless destruction of forest-reserves has not merely affected the climate injuriously, but has given to the natural manure of the fields a value as fuel, which has robbed the soil of its proper fertilizing element. In fact the very steps which the Government of India are taking to arrest the process of exhaustion prove the literal accuracy of the first part of Mr. Caird's indictment. They have created model-farms in certain districts and are introducing education in agriculture in some of the schools. Exhibitions of produce are being promoted; large tracts of land are being reforested. But, whilst we freely make these admissions, we are not in the least apprehensive of the predicted deadlock. It is not even necessary to invade the new fields which, according to Sir Richard, are seen inviting the plough. The capabilities of the soil already cultivated are equal to any emergency that is likely to arise. It has been well observed that the addition of a single bushel to the acre of the present cultivated area of India is equivalent to the yearly maintenance of twenty-two millions of people. Experiments have proved that the most elementary improvement in agriculture is rewarded by an even more liberal increase in the harvest than is estimated in that calculation; and whilst this is the case, the best qualified observers are satisfied that the growth of population is not likely to outstrip the means of subsistence.

If we look to the other side of the question, the evidence of such an increase of population as would tend to 'a deadlock' is even less conclusive. A fresh census will shortly supply us with information which is at present wanting. Meantime assertions of any large or general growth of population rest upon the barest conjecture. In some parts of the country there is no question that the prosperity of the district is attested by the extension of villages and indisputable signs of increasing population. But the traveller, who wanders for miles over the grand ruins of palaces, temples, and domed tombs of kings at Bijapore, and traverses the deserted plain which surrounds them on all sides, cannot fail to observe that not merely the population of a city, but of a whole country, has disappeared. Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador sent by James I. to the Court of the great Mogul, noticed with surprise the ruins of several large cities that then lay desolate and in rubbish. The same process of desolation continued until the establishment of the 'pax Britannica.' When we are told that the population
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of India in 1880 has increased to a dangerous limit, such as never before was witnessed in Indian history, we may point to these dead cities and reply, that no data exist for establishing any comparison. Even within the period of British rule it is difficult to estimate the growth of the entire population. Certain districts have advanced with rapid strides in population and prosperity, but others have been less favoured. We know at least that within the last thirty years the abnormal mortality from famine alone is computed at more than ten millions. The deaths from epidemics of cholera and fever are even more numerous. How far the natural increase of population makes head against such terrible mortality has yet to be ascertained. At the most it can only be said with Sir R. Temple that 'existing influences tend in some respects towards expansion and in other respects towards contraction,' and as yet no symptoms have appeared of any dangerous preponderance of population over production.

On what supposition then are the famines of India to be explained? Their constant recurrence is a symptom of poverty which forces itself upon public attention. Within the last hundred years there have occurred thirty-six visitations of scarcity and twenty famines, of which seven were intense. The Indian Governments have at length recognized the return of famine as inevitable, and have decided to maintain in constant readiness the costly administrative machinery necessary for carrying on a famine campaign. They have thus accepted a responsibility which must lead to increased expenditure and periodic additions to the national debt. But a careful study of the most tragic chapter of Indian administration will not merely shock the reader; it will rather furnish him with grounds for congratulation and hopefulness. Since 1792 a thread of progress may be followed in the success of efforts made by the State to check the fury of famines. The last visitation affected a population of fifty-eight millions and an area of 257,000 square miles. It was described by official authority as 'unprecedented in severity, duration, and extent.' But the effects which it produced upon the general prosperity of the country are now, after the lapse of two years, seen to be less disastrous than those of any previous and less severe calamity. The landed classes for the first time in history were able to resist the strain which was put upon them. Their losses were severe, and in many instances they were compelled to discount the prosperity of the future. But by the united assistance of their accumulated reserves and their credit they fought for the most part a successful campaign against an enemy whose onslaught was unprecedented.

unprecedented. The hoards of the common people, consisting of obsolete coins or silver anklets and bracelets, were poured into the mints: and this unusual addition to the currency, whilst it gauged the severity of the distress, offered an infallible test of past prosperity and progress. Never was resistance to a famine so prolonged. The mortality was unavoidably great, and in Kaladghee, Mysore, and other exceptional districts, it was excessive. But over the largest part of the affected area it was comparatively light. The prompt recovery of the famine-stricken population was even more marked than the obstinacy of their resistance. The agricultural statistics of Madras as well as Bombay showed even in 1877-78 a large increase both in the area of cultivated land and in the revenue receipts, as compared with the years which had preceded the famine. In other respects the recuperative power of the country was quickly shown. The trade of India bounded forward from 111½ millions in 1876-77 to 124 millions in the following year. The exports of rice and other crops resumed larger dimensions. Gold and silver ornaments were no longer brought by a starving peasantry to the mints to be coined into rupees. On the contrary, bullion and coins were melted down and manufactured into ornaments. In the year which has just closed, gold to the value of 3,664,300*l.* was imported into India. The exports and imports of silver showed a nett import of the value of nearly four million pounds, whilst in the previous year more than seven million pounds worth of silver was absorbed by India. Criminal returns have also reflected the general improvement; and those particular offences against property, which indicate like a barometer the condition of a rural population, have almost disappeared. The return of famines at irregular intervals of time must be expected, but it is at least a satisfactory test of progress to note the increasing capability of the people to resist and recover from their shock.

It has been urged that the admission of the liability of the Indian constitution to attacks of chronic famine in itself affords ample evidence of a faulty administration. But a satisfactory explanation of the recurrence can be given, without turning aside to look at the political institutions of the country. All the causes of Indian famines, poverty, and neglected agriculture, resolve themselves into one—the dependence of the entire population upon agriculture. Almost the whole industry of the various communities of India is locked up in agricultural pursuits, which are constantly laid under the interdict of the forces of nature, against which no human foresight can prevail. If this fact is firmly grasped, the difficulties against which the
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Government have to contend will be appreciated, and the value of their policy understood. It is beyond the power of man to guarantee India against drought, flood, or plagues of rats and locusts. Yet populations, the vastness of which can hardly be grasped by the mind, have for generations concentrated their industries and hazarded their subsistence upon the chances of capricious seasons. India can depend on none of her neighbours to replace her losses. She must by her own industry supply the wants of an area, which is more populous than and nearly as extensive as the United Kingdom, France, Austria, Prussia, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Belgium and Denmark, combined. The density of her population to the square mile of cultivated* area may be inferred from the following calculation made by Mr. Caird. A square mile of land in England cultivated highly gives employment to fifty people, in the proportion of twenty-five men, young and old, and twenty-five women and boys. If four times that number were allowed for each square mile of cultivated land in India, it would take up only one-third of her population. The effect of drought upon such a country can be imagined. The entire industrial machinery of the community is thrown out of gear. Hitherto there has been no compensation for agricultural distress in manufacturing activity. Thrown off the land, the people have been forced to await in absolute idleness the weary round of the seasons, until a fresh promise of rain has induced them to recommence their field of operations.

This short review of the industrial condition of India indicates at once the character of the remedies upon which only any reasonable hope for the dawn of a new era of prosperity can be built. The country possesses an incalculable dormant fund of power for the production of wealth, not merely in its inadequately employed labour, but in the capacities of its soil and, above all, its mineral resources. The truth is that its industries have never yet been properly managed. But the Government have at length realized the benefit which a systematic promotion of improvements must confer. The year 1880 may well constitute a landmark in the history of India. The able Report of the Famine Commission has shown the track upon which future administrations must proceed, and no excuse for delay in adopting the measures recommended by them will be accepted by public opinion. It may be that the native mind is essentially conservative, and slow to adopt improved systems of

* Reference should be made to p. 474 of '*India in 1880.*' Roughly speaking, Sir R. Temple estimates that nearly half of the whole country is uncultivated.

agriculture and manufacture ; but the steady pressure of Government, working in harmony with the self-interest of the people must inevitably succeed. The extraordinary wastefulness of the native system of farming may be measured by the following comparison drawn by Mr. Caird. The produce of cotton per acre in India is not one-fifth of that in Egypt and America, and the quality brings but half the price. An acre of cotton-land in Egypt well watered yields 400 lbs. of cotton worth 14*l.* an acre : in India the average yield is 70 lbs. and the value to the grower not more than 20*s.* The main distinction between the two modes of management is, that in Egypt the cotton-crop is treated as a wet crop at all stages of its growth, while in India, where the climate is hotter, it is never irrigated. This, however, is only one instance of the rich harvest which additional skill and enterprise can reap in India. A far greater promise of wealth is offered by the introduction of new staples, rather than by the improvement of existing staples. Sir R. Temple notices that in the short period of his own service he witnessed the creation and development of a valuable trade in jute, tea, and coffee. The annual value of that trade already exceeds ten million pounds. The tea-trade has been unusually depressed of late, but there is every hope that it will recover and even expand into far greater dimensions. Successful efforts are at this moment being made to introduce Indian tea into the Australian market. An expert was lately sent to visit the principal trade-centres in America, with a view to opening up a trade with the United States and Canada. In sugar, tobacco—which already competes vigorously with American tobacco in the Italian market,—cinchona-bark—from which quinine is derived, leather, and various kinds of forest-produce, the material for enlarging or creating new trades exists. In every direction a strong impulse is setting in towards the promotion of new employments suited to the various capacities of the people.

This impulse is already attracting industry to manufactures. There is no reason why India, assured of peace, should not work up her own raw materials into the manufactured goods, which at present she imports and pays for out of her reserve fund of seeds and food-stuffs. As a preliminary step, the stores which have too long been buried in the treasure-houses of the earth must be brought out. Few people are aware that India possesses a coal-bearing area of 30,000 square miles ; and yet twenty years ago she was unable to supply the wants of a single line of railway. Last year, however, she furnished 500,000 tons, which was equivalent to one-half of the total demand of all the rail-ways

ways and factories in the country. Time only is required to make the empire self-supporting in respect to coal. Meanwhile spinning and weaving mills are being multiplied. There are fifty-three already at work in Bombay and Calcutta, which employ 1,500,000 spindles. An export trade in Indian-grown and Indian-made cotton fabrics has commenced between Bombay and China. Some statistics before us show that the exports have increased in five years from a value of 204,000*l.* to 970,000*l.* The success of these mills has been sufficient to prove that no difficulty need be anticipated in obtaining a supply of skilled native labour. The example set by Bombay is being followed in other directions. A company has been formed to work a large paper-mill at Lucknow. Factories for making sulphuric acid have been started in Calcutta and Rangoon; and soap factories are doing business in Calcutta. Even the Native States of India are catching the infection of manufacturing enterprise. The Maharaja Scindia has set up a paper-mill in Gwalior, and H.H. Holkar is turning his attention into similar directions. Our own Government have entrusted the making of harness and part of the accoutrements required for the police and military forces of India to native workmen, whose work has proved durable and neatly finished. The rapid growth of gold-mining companies is so recent, and perhaps so exaggerated by speculation, that it would not be safe yet to estimate their future success. But it serves as another illustration of the spirit of progressive industrial movement which specially characterizes the condition of India in 1880, and affords hope that the population will in future stake less upon the treacherous caprices of the climate. The resources of the country in raw material and labour are enormous, and nothing is wanted but capital to develop new industries. As soon as English capitalists can realize the field of profitable investment which India offers, a turning-point will be reached in Indian history. The success of the late Indian loan has been quoted as an indication of confidence on the part of the City in the finances of India. To us it seems rather to indicate the anxiety of capital to find an outlet; and we cannot doubt that the facts and figures now presented to the public will dispel many gloomy apprehensions which sensational articles on Indian bankruptcy have created, and in that manner promote the influx of English capital into India.

It is impossible to close our eyes to the symptoms of activity which are apparent in every direction. Within seven years the value of the export trade of India has risen from fifty-six millions to sixty-nine millions, exclusive of treasure. A direct foreign trade,

trade, which in 1879-80 amounted to 47 per cent. of the total trade of India, is carried on with Marseilles, Genoa, Trieste, and the ports of America, Australia, and China. The domestic trade cannot be computed; but Sir R. Temple draws a stirring picture of the interchange of products by road, river, rail, and canal, in tens of thousands of laden carts and innumerable boats. 'In the suburbs of cities throughout the empire the ever-flowing stream of trade, great and small, imparts to the observer an impression of national vitality bursting forth in every quarter from the humblest to the highest.' Evidence of active circulation of goods is afforded by the increasing traffic on the railways, which, despite a somewhat extravagant expenditure, give a return of more than 5 per cent. on the capital outlay of the guaranteed lines, and a little less than 5 per cent. on the capital account of the State lines. This success is the more remarkable because large sums are still locked up in works not yet opened to traffic, and the whole system of communication is only partially completed. Postal statistics tell the same story. Within the last fifteen years postal receipts have risen by nearly 60 per cent., and the number of unofficial letters and packets delivered has increased from 59 millions to 130 millions. The schools are crowded with pupils, and in most districts the demand for new schools has outstripped the means of the Educational grant to supply them. The spirit of enterprise and movement has invaded, not merely the industrial, but the social and religious life of India. Caste is still strong enough to prejudice the poor famished recipient of relief against the food which is proffered to him at the public hospital; but no Brahmin or wealthy merchant hesitates to save his pocket by travelling in a third-class carriage, though contaminated by the presence of low castes or even out-castes. The village community struggles to maintain its solidarity, but the village artisan or scavenger has learnt the value of migration and employment on regular wages. Even religion is accommodating itself to a state of civilization which is at variance with its principles and traditions. The Muhammadan suppresses his fanatical hatred of the Giaour: the high-caste Hindu drinks without question the water conveyed to his door by the common municipal pipe, or sits in office at the feet of the beef-eating magistrate: whilst the aboriginal worshipper of fetish withholds the human sacrifice, which alone in his opinion is efficacious to avert the threatening drought. In all these cases the new powerful element, which asserts itself triumphantly against the traditions of centuries, is self-interest—a word which Englishmen have coined for themselves and introduced into the languages of India. Thus a great change, partly destructive

destructive and partly constructive, is leavening Indian society, from which not merely industrial improvement, but the growth of national prosperity, may be predicted.

With so many beacon-lights to herald the advance of prosperity, surprise has often been expressed that the positive assurances of official reports should be contradicted by European travellers and educated natives. Such contradictions admit of a satisfactory explanation. Every one remembers the glamour of wealth which surrounded historic India. For a long time those illusions of Indian riches were not dissipated. They have suddenly given place to illusions of an opposite character. The error arises in each case from the contracted observation of the writer, whose experience of India is confined to the anglicized fringe of the coast and the capital cities of English and native provinces. National wealth was formerly inferred from the splendours of court pageantry and the luxurious habits of a few princes and their dissipated attendants. Now that the resources of the empire are no longer spent in the ostentatious display of unproductive expenditure and the maintenance of royal cities, hasty observers are apt to conclude that the ruin of the country has been effected. But in truth the national wealth is far greater than ever it was. If it is less concentrated, it is more widely diffused amongst the masses. The proof of such diffusion must be given in the following extract from Sir R. Temple's work:—

'It is found in the almost universal substitution of metal for earthenware in the domestic utensils of most of the humbler classes within the last generation: the replacement of thatched roofs of the cottages by tiling: the use of foreign piece-goods to some extent instead of the coarse country-made cloth: the employment of wheeled carriages instead of pack animals: the superior construction of the carts engaged for trade and agriculture: the improved breeds of draught cattle. The bedizened equipages, caparisoned elephants, and prancing steeds of the rich man, are rarely seen. But the poor man with his cart and pair of bullocks rides to market as he seldom rode before. All this evidence, not flashing before the vision like the manifestations of former ages, but obtained only by far-reaching observation, receives less of popular consideration than it deserves, but will nevertheless be appreciated by the economist.'

It is inevitable, and hardly a subject for regret, that the cities, which under native governments basked in the sunshine of imperial splendour and extravagance, should contract under the chilling influence of an economic administration, which spends the public revenues in digging canals or laying down railways, and not in the endowment of religious edifices or houses of amusement.

ment. Golden temples will of necessity fall into ruin : the shops of sweetmeat-sellers will be closed ; and the songs of dancing girls will no longer resound in the streets. The trades of musicians, dancers, and jugglers, have so much declined under our rule, that the total numbers engaged in them do not now exceed 218,000 persons in the whole of British India. The significance of these figures will be fully understood when we add that a single city on the Ganges, when conquered by Muhammad of Ghaznee, was found to contain, according to the historian of that reign, no less than 60,000 families of dancing girls alone, and 30,000 pawn-shops. The native gentleman wistfully deplores these signs of decay. The European traveller cannot fail to notice the blight which has fallen upon the ruins of cities that once were royal. But the officer, whose tours of inspection bring him into personal contact with the population of the entire district, knows that the national progress cannot be gauged by the gorgeous display of native noblemen, or the outward appearance of a few cities. Equally fallacious are other tests of prosperity to which appeal is sometimes made. We are told that the cattle have diminished, and that indigenous trades have been extinguished. The diminution of cattle is, however, one of the effects produced by increase of cultivation and the introduction of railways. Pasture lands are brought under the plough, and the worn-out cattle, which a Hindu may not kill, die of starvation when their labour no longer repays their maintenance. At the same time an economy of transport is effected both by railroads and by carts. The long strings of pack-bullocks give place to teams of oxen or the iron horse. The extinction of indigenous trades is due to the same economic law. They perish because the wants they supplied can be satisfied with greater economy by other processes. A similar result is witnessed in other countries without exciting the misgivings which have been expressed in the case of India. There remains for consideration the argument which is founded on the objection of natives to invest their savings in the public debt of India. These objections are rapidly giving way. In June 1880, when 3 millions sterling were borrowed by the Government in India at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the sum of 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ millions was tendered by natives only. But the chief answer to such objections is, that the public credit of the country is raised out of all proportion to the advancement of its society from the mere fact of its partnership with Great Britain. No one can suppose that the value of money, or the rate of profits in India generally, is as low as the interest on its public debt would imply. We have just shown what a vast field of industry and commerce awaits the

the invasion of capital. The natives can find in it a more profitable investment for their savings than is afforded by Government securities. Their investments in them afford therefore no index of the amount of native capital disposable on loan.

We have noticed these arguments because they have lately attracted more attention than they deserve. The poverty of India cannot be denied: but there is satisfactory evidence to justify the bright forecast of her future which is drawn in the book before us. The activity which is already being manifested in every department of her national life must be attended with a corresponding growth of wealth and happiness. This result will be accelerated by the development of new industries, the inflow of English capital, and the reforms which the Indian Government are prosecuting. But it cannot be expected that any administration should at once secure the population against the recurrence of famine, or give them uninterrupted peace, prosperity, and contentment.

A foreign rule, however benevolent, must expect to encounter the disaffection and even the opposition of some of its subjects. It may be that British rule in India bears within itself the seeds of its own destruction. But our present object is to call attention, not so much to the dangers to which the Indian Government is liable from within as to those which threaten it from without. The general loyalty and contentment of the people of India is asserted by Sir R. Temple, and confirmed by their conduct. Yet the public peace has been disturbed on some six or seven occasions within the last ten years; and, although order was promptly re-established without any remarkable loss of life, the circumstances were not devoid of political significance. In fact under the calm surface of Indian society there will always lurk elements of disorder, which require a vigilant attitude on the part of the authorities. It is very difficult for Englishmen to penetrate the inner mind of the people, and fathom the depths of native intrigue. The mutiny afforded many painful illustrations of the inability of foreigners to feel the pulse of the people amongst whom they were living in the intimate relations of master and servant or officer and private. The Government of India, however, will not again suffer themselves to be betrayed into any false security. We quote from a recent despatch to the Secretary of State the following expression of their views on the subject before us:—

‘The English power in India rests, and always must rest, in the last resort on the British troops, the fighting power of which has been greatly extended by railway communications and by improved
Vol. 152.—No. 303. F armament.

armament. But the people accept British rule without any appeal to arms because we keep the peace and do justice, because we have done and are doing much material good to the country and the people, and because there is not inside or outside India any power that can adequately occupy our place. To the minds at least of the educated among the people of India—and the number is rapidly increasing—any idea of the subversion of British power is abhorrent, from the consciousness that it must result in the widest anarchy and confusion.

Few officers have had such an opportunity of studying the temper of British and Native India as Sir R. Temple. He has so recently laid down the responsibility of office, that he may be trusted not to have published his suspicions without the fullest consideration. His sympathy with the people and appreciation of their loyalty give to his allusions to disaffection a peculiar value. He is anything but an alarmist; and if he sounds the note of alarm his advice cannot with safety be disregarded. His advice rests mainly on the broad principle of 'Divide et impera.' If the native army is ever raised above the proportion to the European force fixed since 1857, no perfection of military system, no possible management, however considerate, will, he tells us, secure its fidelity. Again, the proportion of castes in the native army must be duly regarded. One of the causes of the mutiny, in his opinion, was the fact that in the Bengal army too large a proportion consisted of Brahmins from Oudh, belonging to a caste which dwelt in a province where recent political events had provoked hostile intrigue. As soon as the danger was noticed and appreciated, the authorities recruited to an excessive strength in the Punjab. Sir R. Temple warns us that, when the history of the years 1858-59 shall come to be written, the grave peril to which India was subjected from this cause will be realized. But the army is not the only source of danger. We are reminded of the conditions under which Sikhism may assume the lead of a national movement; and of the fanaticism which ever smoulders and at times is fanned into flame in the Muhammadan's breast. But there is no part of India in which the late Governor of Bombay points more anxiously with the finger of warning than the Deccan. Readers of this *Review* will remember that in 1874 that part of Western and Southern India known as the Deccan, which is almost entirely Hindu, was ablaze with the revolt of the indebted peasantry against the money-lenders. The movement assumed its most dangerous dimensions in the country round Poona; and it was

generally whispered that the Brahmin malcontents in that city were taking advantage of the distress of the peasants to embarrass the Government. The disturbances were promptly suppressed by a strong military force. But from that time the old spirit of plunder, on which the Mahratta empire was founded, has been revived as opportunity has offered. Whenever the native mind has been excited by rumours of war and the withdrawal of troops from the British cantonments at Poona, Satara, Kohlapore, and other parts of the Deccan, gang-robbery (Dacoity) has commenced. Scarcely had Honia been arrested, when another leader arose. Some months ago a Brahmin named Wasuder Bulwant formed a conspiracy against the British Government, and succeeded in lighting the flame of incipient rebellion in the Deccan districts. In Poona itself incendiary fires were kindled in some of the Mahratta palaces which are used as Government buildings. The public mind was unmistakably agitated. Plots, which involved the massacre of the English residents whilst assembled in church, were discovered in the Native State of Kohlapore, and though the agents employed in this plot were contemptible, yet the trial proved that a vast amount of Brahmin intrigue lay behind it.

The important part which Hindu discontent has played in the past, and seems destined to play in the future history of the Deccan, induces us to attempt an investigation of its causes. A consideration of them will serve also to illustrate the long roll of grievances upon which native disaffection feeds, not merely in Western India but elsewhere. It is desirable to institute such an enquiry, because the sentiments of Englishmen were so shocked by the surprise and horrors of the mutiny, that they are always ready to exaggerate the importance of those local riots and disturbances which are reported from time to time. It is immediately assumed that the whole structure of Indian society is undermined by conspiracy. A panic is accordingly created, which interrupts the steady march of the material progress of India. An examination of the subject will, we believe, lead to the conclusion that, although disturbances of the public peace are natural and inevitable, they need never attain serious dimensions if the administration is conducted with firmness and justice.

Many causes for discontent must always be found in the Deccan. There, as elsewhere, we must expect to meet with patriots whose pulses will throb at the anticipation of the coming storm, and the opportunity which it may offer of regaining their independence and reverting to the glorious freedom of a life of adventure and robbery. But in no part of India is

patriotism so strong as in the Deccan. The Mahratta nationality was and remains a real living sentiment. The unchanged scenery of the country perpetuates the memory and traditions of the rule of the robber-king. From north to south along the entire length of the Deccan plateau runs the chain of Western Ghats, looking down on the sea on one side, with its piratical ports whence Mahratta expeditions issued, and on the other side overshadowing the English cantonments of Poona, Kohlapore, and Belgaum.

‘Two voices are there—one is of the sea
One of the mountains—each a mighty voice :
In both from age to age thou didst rejoice,
They were thy chosen music, liberty!’

On every eminence rests some picturesque hill-fort, with its gate still armed with iron spikes to resist the charge of elephants, whence Sivajee swooped down on the plains. In perpetual sight of one of these, called Singhur (‘the lion’s home’), lies the city of Poona, which was the capital of the Mahratta empire that Sivajee’s ability created two hundred years ago. Poona now shares with Bombay the honour of being the capital of the Western Presidency of British India. But, whilst Bombay is anglicized, Poona remains sullenly native and almost anti-English. The city is still full of palaces and buildings that are associated with the most stirring events in Indian history. It was and is the stronghold of Brahminism. It requires no effort of the imagination to realize the feelings which the priests of Hinduism must entertain towards a Christian Government. The following picture of the Brahmins by Sir R. Temple will enable the reader to draw his own conclusions:—

‘Proud as they are of their race and lineage, strong in the faith of their divine origin, persuaded of their own sanctity, conscious of their own intellectual superiority, they cannot but regard with indescribable sentiments the new empire which crushes prejudices, superstitions, and antiquated ideas, as the Jaganath car of their own traditions crushed its victims of yore. Still the aspect and bearing, the lofty brow, set features, imperturbable countenance, and erect stature, indicate a pride not to be lowered by outward defeat. Although defeated, they will not surrender to the victor their unconquerable will, for they look upon themselves as endowed with a nobility which modern civilization cannot bestow.’

To this description we need only add the fact, that at least ten millions of British subjects in India belong to the Brahmin caste.

The priesthood is not the only educated class from which the
officers

officers of discontent are ready for selection. There are many young men educated in our schools and colleges, who regard it as one of the duties of Government to provide them with employment, and, if they are disappointed, readily cast their abilities into the scale on the side of the opposition. It is impossible to find employment for every one in the public administration, and the number of disappointed applicants is swelled year by year. This is especially the case of the Muhammadans. Their upper classes are proud of their own attainments and qualifications for office. They remember that they are the descendants of the successful invaders and rulers of Hindustan. Yet out of 504 gazetted appointments now held by natives in lower Bengal, Dr. Hunter finds that only 53 are filled by Muhammadans. The disproportion will be better understood when it is stated that, although one-third of the population of lower Bengal is Muhammadan, only one-tenth of the Government patronage falls to their share in a part of India which is essentially Muhammadan. The grounds of their exclusion from office rest with themselves. They are either too proud or too indolent to submit to the tests of qualification which our Government have established. Meanwhile it is not surprising that they should feel discontented with a rule which seems to have no sympathy with them.

The position of the political pensioners is fraught with even greater danger to the State. It was the policy of the British Government, on the overthrow of any Native Government, to grant pensions for a certain term of years to the families of the deposed rulers, and to many of their leading supporters. It was impossible to banish all claimants to Indian thrones. It was, however, expected that the pensioners would quietly sink into private life and oblivion. It was reasonable to suppose that they would reduce their pretentious establishments and make provision for the support of their families, before the term of years fixed by the Government for their maintenance expired. Perhaps it was hoped that the recipients of State-charity would appreciate the generosity of their conquerors, and cherish loyal sentiments towards them. But these expectations have been for the most part falsified. As an instance, the ex-Amirs of Sindh have lately passed away without making any provision for their families, and Government have been compelled by public sentiment to continue their support for a further term. Demoralization and pauperization have generally accompanied State help in the upper ranks of Indian society.

We have taken account of the leaders of disaffection, the stormy petrels of society; but of themselves they cannot endanger

danger the stability of our rule. Unless the rank and file of discontent are recruited from the masses, the most skilful agitators cannot organize a national rebellion. Upon this consideration rests the stability of our rule. The Government of India have lately assured the Home Government that British rule is not unpopular with the people generally :—

‘The educated classes, the great majority of the trading classes, and also the ryots and petty occupiers of land, find that our courts protect them from injustice, violence, and oppression. We believe that the bulk of the population value this protection highly. Any return to the so-called patriarchal rule in the more civilized parts of India, where the reign of law has existed, would cause the utmost dismay.’

Sir R. Temple certainly confirms the view expressed by the Indian Government in the passage just quoted. He tells us that whenever English officers, engaged upon boundary disputes or negotiations with Native States for exchange of territory, have had occasion to propose the transfer of villages from British to Native rule, they have received earnest remonstrances from the communities concerned. But the course of administration does not always run smoothly. Special trades and industries fare badly in the march of society. The excessive zeal of forest rangers has lately produced serious discontent in the highlands of Western India. A famine, or even a code of law unsuited to native character, may cover a province with an evicted tenantry whose occupation is gone. A reduction of the army after two years of foreign service leaves a body of disbanded soldiery without employment. The beggars and paupers of India always exceed a million persons, and are ready to furnish their contingent to the ranks of disorder. Thus from one side or another the ranks of discontent may suddenly be recruited, unless reasonable grievances be redressed and a firm policy maintained. Experience has proved the fickleness of the people of Asia, and the ready ear that even loyal subjects of the Queen may lend to panic. The fortunes and misfortunes of England are watched with no keener interest in European courts than in the bazaars and palaces of India. During the war between Russia and Turkey, newspapers from Constantinople found their way into every respectable Muhammadan's house; and in Sindh, arrangements were made by the country gentlemen for the prompt transmission to them of telegrams received in Kurachee from the seat of war. A wave of fanaticism may at any time sweep over certain provinces, and superstitious rumours may frighten a peaceful district into scenes of violence. No story is too wild
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for popular credence. A few months ago the Sonthal country was awaiting the re-appearance of a fanatic named Babajee, who was lately born out of the bowels of the earth near Ranchee. It is when the feelings of any large section of society are thus roused by a sense of grievance or a mere idle panic, that the leaders come forth to give the rein to the popular excitement. Then it is futile to place implicit confidence in the general loyalty of the Queen's Indian subjects, or to recount the advantages of English rule. Government must fall back upon its European force, and with the first show of vigour native society will again relapse into repose, and appreciate the sense of protection which British rule affords.

So far our review has been confined to the sentiments which lie beneath the crust of society in British India, but we must now look at the state of affairs across our borders. Of the total area of the Indian Empire, one-third belongs to Native States and chiefships, great and small, about 450 in number. It is the general policy of our Government to interfere as little as possible with the internal affairs of these semi-independent States. The temper of their populations is therefore rather a matter of inference and conjecture than of accurate information. Occasionally the arrest of a proclaimed ringleader of the mutinies, the discovery of a plot, or gross misuse of authority by a headstrong Raja, compels the Sovereign power to intervene. More often the minority of a young Raja involves a temporary administration of his kingdom by English officers. Thus an opportunity is afforded from time to time of feeling the pulse of a population which is estimated at 50 millions. The general opinion at which our officers have arrived is, that the ruling families, and indeed the upper classes of society in Native States, are favourably disposed towards us. They value the protection which British sovereignty affords them, and the immunity from annexation which our solemn assurances have secured. On the other hand, the masses are for the most part indifferent, and ready to be swayed in any direction by the fears or fancies of the moment. Unlike the ryots and other subjects of British districts, they are sensible of no rights of property or protection conferred upon them by the Queen's Government. As a rule they will follow the lead of their own rulers, but to the paramount power they recognize no obligations of loyalty or obedience.

There can be no question that the ruling families, despite a pretentiousness of manner and tone which they sometimes assume, feel that their destinies are linked with those of England, and that there is a community of interest in peril and in safety
between

between themselves and the supreme authority. In the mutiny many of them acted as breakwaters against the surging tide of rebellion. Since then our relations have continued to improve. The generous treatment which Baroda received at the hands of Lord Northbrook, when its late ruler had forfeited his throne for high treason and had left neither natural nor adoptive heir to succeed him, has more effectually scared away the spectre of annexation than even the Queen's proclamation—the Magna Charta of Indian liberties—or the repeated protestations of Lord Dalhousie's successors. The traditional distrust decreases year by year. Exchanges of territory, rectification of frontier, protective measures relating to customs, opium, and salt, and concessions in the matter of railway jurisdiction and uniform currency, have lately been obtained from Rajas whose fixed policy had previously been one of isolation and unfriendly reserve. But after all it would be unsafe to depend only on the loyalty and influence of a ruling family as England's sole safeguard against the creation of combination and conspiracies in Native States. In 1857-58 the loyalty of more than one reigning prince proved to be a staff which broke and pierced the hand that leaned upon it. The turbulent elements of society are well aware of the conservative tendencies of their sovereigns, and it has been a common feature of revolutionary plots hatched in Native States to depose the Raja and set up some *ci-devant* ruler in his place.

Under such circumstances it becomes necessary to remember that there are in Native States forces which may at any moment become the tools of national agitation, and over which the British Government exercises no control. The fidelity of the armies maintained in them is neither secured by the influence of British officers, nor by the habits and tradition of the loyalty which our own Sepoys render to the Government whose salt they eat. The time has arrived in Indian history, when the paramount power must review the whole question of native armaments, and consider whether their continuance is compatible with the true interests of India. At present large garrisons of British troops are locked up in cantonments, watching the attitude of the levies which our feudatories maintain, and which in the opinion of Sir R. Temple might prove 'embarrassing to their own States as well as ourselves.' Some few of them, he tells us, possess arsenals and magazines, also factories for making guns, powder, arms, and ammunition. Of the excessive strength of the forces maintained in the heart of the Deccan by the Nizam he writes as follows:—

'These forces are far beyond the needs of a State in which order
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is preserved by a British subsidiary force and a British contingent, and which is environed on all sides by British territory as by a wall. The Arab element in this State should always be watched. Though not so formidable as they once were, they are still of importance in the Deccan, being superior to the native inhabitants in energy and courage.*

We can readily understand that the question is one of 'extreme delicacy.' But it is equally one of which the difficulty and danger increase with delay. For what purpose, it may be asked, do these levies exist? The integrity of every Native State is guaranteed by the paramount power: and for the repression of crime and internal disorder a constabulary would be more useful than a disciplined military force. Native States* pay no share of the cost of the imperial army, and contribute nothing to the defence of the long sea-board of India against invasion. Every extension of railway communication, and every dockyard or harbour work, which is executed at the cost of British India, directly improves the value of property in the semi-independent States. They enjoy all the advantages of federation without any of its liabilities. Notwithstanding this, our army has to be augmented in order to watch the military establishments which our feudatories choose to maintain. Economy as well as common sense demand an early consideration of this pressing question, and public opinion in England will support the Indian authorities whenever they decide upon a policy of disarmament.

A retrospect of the various sources of disaffection from which danger may arise to our Indian empire, and which we have now passed in review, suggests the following reflection. In British India the foundation of our strength lies in the contentment of the masses under a strong and beneficent administration. The natural leaders of native society, the priests and the representatives of deposed dynasties, and their hereditary officers of state, whose idle and selfish careers have been blighted by our rule, would hail with joy a prospect of recovering their lost position. But the peasantry and labouring classes value highly the material advantages and perfect justice of English rule. In Native States, on the other hand, the self-interest of the upper classes enlists them on our side, whilst the masses regard us with indifference, and even with a mistrust which their leaders take care to encourage by misrepresentation. The foundations

* The tributes and contributions from Native States amount only to three-quarters of a million sterling. Their area is one-third of the whole country. The cost of our army alone is seventeen millions, exclusive of expenditure on military buildings and loss by exchange. The cost of our police is two and a half millions.

upon which the stability of our rule is based are therefore broader and more durable in the former States than in the latter. Our Government are pledged to abstain from interference in the Native States, but they can never suffer themselves to be idle spectators of gross misrule. Exactions which would goad an agrarian population into rebellion, or any scandalously unjust exercise of arbitrary authority, must be repressed. Such intervention was lately required in the case of Baroda, and has occurred in other instances in the history of India under the Crown; but there is every reason to hope that it will become more rare as time advances. The native Rajas are discovering that the increased prosperity of their subjects brings increased revenues. They are adopting the main principles of our revenue administration, establishing courts of justice on our models, and wisely employing in their public services natives who have received a political education in British India. The prosperity of their subjects answers at once to every improvement in their administration, and it is interesting to observe the exuberant and exaggerated language of reform which the annual reports of their administration contain. In this manner their subjects are gradually securing some fair share of the general improvement, which our rule has bestowed upon the other parts of India.

The increasing wealth of the population, whether under our direct rule or under the ægis which British protection casts over the Native States, affords a substantial guarantee for the continued peace of India and for the uninterrupted development of the material prosperity of the country. The brilliant successes of our arms, which rendered the names of Governors-General famous in history, have given way to the victories of peace. 'Cedunt arma togæ.' But the victories of peace, if equally renowned with those of war, are not so quickly won. The temptation to push forward reforms, and to pluck the fruit before it has ripened, must be steadily repressed. The term of Viceregal office is too short to mark a definite epoch in Indian history. Yet the impatience of English philanthropy, and sometimes of political partizanship, adds a spur to the natural ambition of a Viceroy, and, unless checked, might one day precipitate a catastrophe in its anxiety to claim a victory for some theory or party. It is necessary therefore to insist on the fact, that the loyalty of native India cannot bear the shock of mischievous violent oscillation in the policy of Indian administration. The native dislikes constant change, even in the form of improvement. He objects to new taxes, even though he is assured that their incidence will be less onerous. He deprecates fresh laws, even though their
effect

effect be to consolidate old laws and to repeal rather than enact. Every change of personnel is discussed in the bazaars, and the resignation of a Viceroy before the completion of his term of office unsettles the public mind. It is especially necessary to bear in view the inherent conservatism and love of repose in the native mind, because various sweeping alterations in the form of Indian administration have lately been proposed. It seems to be thought that the Indian constitution is an exception to the rule that 'constitutions are not made, but grow.' The substitution of military rule for the Civil Service of India, sweeping alterations of law, and other reforms of equal magnitude, have lately been suggested, without any regard to the widespread panic which they would create. But the Government of India has been the gradual growth of the accumulated experience of many years, and its machinery must be renewed in the same cautious spirit in which it has been constructed. On this subject we may quote the observations of Sir Henry Maine : *

'I claim for the Indian constitution the ordinary presumption against change, which throws the burden of explicit proof upon the advocate of change : and I assert that there is the strongest presumption against sweeping change, when the institutions in question are so unexampled in the political history of mankind as those of British India. Each step onwards was supposed to be suggested by the experience of the past, and no step was taken till it was believed to have the approval of the local Indian experts most in credit. There never was a system which, after the first, grew up less at haphazard than that under which British India is governed.'

It has been feared, and we think not without reason, that this truth has received too little attention in recent legislation. The remark of Tacitus will be recalled—'In corruptissimâ republicâ plurimæ leges.' Sir R. Temple, however, vigorously denies that there has been any symptom of over-legislation. He gives an interesting account of the growth of a code of substantive law for British India. With perfect truth he remarks that, although natives are apt to speak of over-legislation, yet they desire that there shall be laws for almost every matter, to which they can appeal either as against the executive or in conflict with their neighbours. They dread the unrestrained eccentricities of authority. Sir Richard claims as the chief merit of Indian legislation, that it has prevented the growth of a law equally binding but less satisfactory, namely Judge-made law, and stopped the vagaries of discretion. At the same time he submits that the Legislature have never made any advance until the

* Quoted by the Indian Government in a despatch of June 8th, 1880.

clearest necessity has been demonstrated and the fullest discussion excited. We have given this exposition of his views, because his arguments fail to convince us that the legislative assemblies have not been too active. Without looking at the statute-book, there is something alarming in the energy with which the late Governor successively of Bengal and Bombay argues in favour of a comprehensive, scientific, and in short imperial legislation, 'constructed with all the light of the age, and so comprehensive as to be a boon to the empire and a standard of national ethics.' The machinery of Indian legislation is indeed too perfect, and too little representative of the people for whose benefit the law is made. The names of Macaulay, Maine, and FitzJames Stephen, ought to guarantee the excellence of the workmanship. But even their greatest achievements are not secure against the reforming zeal of a future generation. With what astonishment must Sir R. Temple have lately read the report of the Select Committee upon the great Criminal Procedure Code of 1872! That code, which was considered a model of legislative ability, is now described in 1881 'as bulky and ill-drawn.' We do not wonder that the codes of India have acquired a reputation beyond the limits of Great and Greater Britain, and form the study of jurists of every nation. But the most perfect machinery is often not the best adapted for rough work. The constabulary and magistracy of India at times complain of the complicated details of the law. But it is the future rather than the past that is pregnant with danger. So long as the Legislative Department of the Government of India continues to exist, its existence must be justified by its activity. The eminent jurist who presides over it has undoubtedly access to the reports of officials scattered through the country, but he possesses no personal familiarity with the habits and feelings of the native communities. Until more substantial power is given to the natives in the work of legislation—and for ourselves we should be glad to see a decided step taken in that direction—there must always be a danger lest the Legislature should march in front instead of abreast of the wants of India. To give a small but striking instance, Sir Richard Temple touches unconsciously the keynote of our alarm when he alludes to the want of ventilation in the houses of the urban population. He adds significantly that, if the people will not introduce reform spontaneously, they must one day be obliged by regulation to do so. We have no hesitation in expressing our own opinion, that such interference with the people would be impolitic and intolerable. The temper of the population has not yet been educated to the point of enduring
compulsory

compulsory vaccination. In all matters of sanitation and public health the native mind has exhibited an intolerance of restraint. Any proposal, therefore, to arm the Executive with legislative control over the dwellings of the people appears to us objectionable, and an aggravated symptom of the very danger to which we referred under the name of over-legislation.

The caution which may be enjoined in the matter of legislation is equally necessary in other departments of Indian administration. It is perhaps inevitable that the foreign policy of India should oscillate under the action of the disturbing forces of English political warfare. This century has been fertile in surprises arising from alternations of a policy of 'masterly inactivity' with one of aggression. The supersession of Lord Lytton by Lord Ripon was a fitting close to a chapter of history which commenced with the instructions issued to Lord Cornwallis to reverse the policy of Lord Wellesley. In each case harm was done. Still greater mischief has been wrought by the abandonment of Candahar, in opposition to the advice and remonstrances of the highest civil and military authorities in India. The natives of India should not be bewildered by the spectacle of rapid and constant transformations in the home policy of their rulers. India is a country of many nations, many languages, many climates, and many institutions. There is as much diversity in the physical as in the mental characteristics of the population of its several provinces. This complexity and variety affords ground for extreme conservatism. The advantages of periodic changes in the personnel of the supreme Government would be dearly purchased at the cost of a break of gauge every five years in the internal administration. Yet it must be admitted that the financial policy of the last ten years has been condemned, not without reason, on the ground that it

'Was everything by starts, and nothing long.'

Lord Mayo imposed an income-tax. Lord Northbrook removed it. His successor reimposed it in effect, but not in form, under the name of a license tax. Lord Ripon had not landed in Bombay before he was urged to remove it. Happily his political good sense was proof against a repetition of Lord Northbrook's precedent. The battle of the railway gauges is still being fought: and victory inclines now to one side, now to the other. Lines laid down by one administration on the narrow gauge have been taken up by another, and replaced on the standard broad gauge. The history of Indian famines, as told by the Famine Commissioners, has been one of constant oscillation, and of principles 'finally settled' in one year

year and discarded in the next. Public works have been pushed on and establishments augmented, when suddenly the necessity for economy has been recognized and the establishments reduced at much inconvenience. It must be admitted that the task imposed upon the governments of India is very difficult, and that free play must be allowed to the exercise of discretion by the authorities responsible for the good government of the country. But it is clear, alike from the official Report of the Famine Commission and the energy with which Sir R. Temple insists upon the native's love of repose, that, according to these eminent authorities, there exists some tendency to fluctuations of policy. If such be the case, the tendency must be repressed. The even tenor of gradual and uninterrupted progress is best suited to the needs of India, and a policy of fits and starts is to be deprecated.

If England would fulfil her mission in India, she too must be careful to exert an even and unselfish influence upon her administration in the country. Sir R. Temple asserts that 'the state of the empire is with a few reservations such as to cause pride on the retrospect of a glorious past, satisfaction on the survey of an animated present, and hope on the contemplation of a pregnant future.' We concur in his views of the present and his hopes for the future. There was a time in Indian history when our only policy was to encourage the discord of jarring interests, and exaggerate the jealousies of native courts, in order to increase our own influence as holding the balance of society. But peace and commerce have shown that our true interests and those of the natives are identical, and that the cordial and united co-operation of our feudatories, whether Hindu, Muhammadan, or Sikh, is required to promote the happiness and prosperity of India.

'Such is the world's great harmony, that springs
From order, union, full consent of things :
Where small and great, where weak and mighty, made
To serve, not suffer, strengthen, not invade :
More powerful each as needful to the rest,
And in proportion as it blesses, blest ;
Draw to one point.' . . .

Nature is prodigal to India in a rich supply of labour and resources, both agricultural and mineral. But the country wants capital. This want England can supply. But the money market is very sensitive to external impressions. At one time sensational articles on Indian bankruptcy or Indian disturbances have produced a panic and arrested the flow of English capital

capital to India. At another time the flow has been unduly accelerated by a rush of speculation into fields of wild enterprise which have not been properly surveyed. As Sir Richard Temple was always wont to say when in office, 'You should verify, verify.' There never was a time in Indian history when a greater necessity existed for the supply of accurate information on the wants and capacities of India. This demand Sir R. Temple has endeavoured to supply in the pleasant and instructive volume before us. Written in a measured style, free from all exaggeration, his book conveys to the reader an impression alike of the author's knowledge and of his proper sense of responsibility. It will confer a benefit upon India if it enables English capitalists to discern their own interests. For it is only by the fullest light of accurate information on the condition of India that the rich harvest which that country offers to enterprise and capital can be reaped with equal advantage by England and India.

ART. III.—1. *Studien über Erdbeben.* Von Dr. J. F. Julius Schmidt, Director der Sternwarte zu Athen. 2te Ausgabe. Leipzig, 1879.

2. *Die Erdbeben u. deren Beobachtungen—Auf Veranlassung der Erdbeben-Commission der Schweiz. Naturforsch. Gesellschaft, verfasst von Prof. Alb. Heim.* Zürich—Basel. 1880.

3. *The Great Neapolitan Earthquake of 1857. The First Principles of Observational Seismology. Report to the Royal Society.* By Robert Mallet, C.E., F.R.S. 2 vols. 1862.

4. *Scepticism in Geology and the Reasons for it.* By Verifier. 2nd Edition. 1878.

THE most famous earthquake in ancient history owes its celebrity to the strange fact, that its shock passed unobserved by the combatants amidst the excitement of the battle by the Thrasimene Lake. And yet it was no slight commotion. Livy tells us, with his usual amplitude of detail, how it overthrew cities, turned rivers backwards in their course, and tore down the very mountains; while Poetry has given to it an immortal stamp in the lines of Byron—

‘And such the frenzy, whose convulsion blinds
To all, save carnage, that, beneath the fray,
An earthquake reeled unheededly away.’

It does not appear certain, however, that mankind, even in their quieter moments, and when not engaged in the absorbing occupation

occupation of cutting one another's throats,* are disposed to give much consideration to one of the most mysterious phenomena in nature. Yet the subject is continually brought to our notice by the accounts of such events in the newspapers. We are authoritatively told that, on an average, two earthquakes occur every day in the year in some part or other of the globe, and those of the severer kind entail a loss of life equal to that caused by a hard-fought battle. Three such calamities as those at Agram, Ischia, and Chios, rapidly following one another within the short space of six months, have startled the public, and aroused so much sympathy as well as interest, as to give us a favourable opportunity for taking up the subject.

Among the works, the titles of which we have placed at the head of this paper, that of Mr. Mallet claims attention from the fact of his having been sent out by the Royal Society of London, on account of his high mathematical acquirements and engineering skill, immediately after the great Neapolitan earthquake of 1857, to explore that great battlefield of earthquakes, South Italy and Calabria. We are obliged to confess our conviction, that the number of new facts brought forward by him bears but a slight proportion to the ponderosity and verbosity of his two volumes, which seem to us especially deficient in order and arrangement. To Dr. Julius Schmidt's valuable volume we propose to call attention further on.

The recent creation in Switzerland of a 'Society for the Investigation of Earthquakes,' though we have not as yet profited much by their researches, seems also to show an awakening interest in the question, and we enter on it at present, not with the intention of repeating old stories, but rather of bringing new facts to bear on the nature of these phenomena, and, by thus contributing some additions to what was known before, we hope to throw light upon their causes, sources, and origin, so that we may, as far as is permitted, 'assist at the young earthquake's birth,' to use the words of the poet. The subject acquires importance from the prominence given by the Modern School of Geologists to the earthquake, as a cause *permanently* affecting and modifying the present surface of the earth, and consequently the future destiny of the globe. Lyell goes so far as to assert that † 'its actual configuration is due to a continued series of moderate shocks,' and that 'subterranean movements constitute

* Dr. Julius Schmidt complains of the apathy with which the Phocian earthquake of 1870 was regarded by the Greeks themselves, owing to the absorbing interest of the war between France and Germany, which broke out a few days before, and filled the columns of the newspapers, to the exclusion of home news.

† Lyell's 'Principles,' ii. p. 144.

an essential part of that mechanism by which the integrity of the habitable surface is preserved and the very existence and perpetuation of dry land is secured.' If this be true, if even there be the slightest foundation for the assertion, what is the position of the inhabitants of Great Britain, hitherto, as we have flattered ourselves, by good fortune exempt from the miseries caused by such a scourge, or, as geologists would persuade us, shut out from the 'eminently beneficial effects' of these visitations?

Making allowance for exaggeration in the narratives of terror-stricken eyewitnesses, the most certain characters and accompaniments of earthquakes appear to be, first their suddenness, coming without warning of any kind, unless it be the stifling heat and electric state of the atmosphere, a fact to which less attention seems to have been paid than it merits, and next, the sullen roar as of distant artillery, or rumble as of heavy vehicles in motion, which accompanies rather than precedes the shock. Most remarkable of all is the rapidity with which it comes, like a shot or a succession of shots, and the irresistible force with which it acts. Human beings cannot stand under it, but stagger and often throw themselves on the ground to avoid being upset. The movement has the effect of a wrench, and persons asleep are thrown out of bed by the concussion. Not single buildings only, but towns and cities go down at once before it, houses are prostrated like a pack of cards, and whole streets fall in rows like the math under the scythe. In Calabria, in 1783, two minutes sufficed to prostrate in ruins every town and village, from the west flank of the Apennines to the Straits of Messina, with fearful destruction of life. At Lisbon, in 1755, the subterranean thunder and the shock came, without any warning, and in about six minutes at least 30,000 persons had perished—some accounts give 60,000—the largest loss of human life in so short a time and in so limited a space, of which we have any record.

Distinctions have been made between different kinds of shocks, and Mr. Mallet, who, according to the title of his work prefixed to this paper, may be styled a Professor of 'Observational Seismology,' displays much ingenuity in interrogating shattered houses and fissured walls to ascertain at what angle the blow struck them, what was its rate of velocity, and whence it came, generally with unsatisfactory results, though in one instance he determined the direction of a wave-path 'from the mean of nine sets of fissures' to his own satisfaction. If it were possible to prove that the shock travels in certain fixed directions, especially from east to west, this might lead to important conclusions. As it is, we are sure only on one point, that it comes from below.

Mr. Mallet's labours in South Italy, to clear up the quarter whence the earthquake came and whither it went, generally left him, as he naively tells us, 'at sea.' It is not an unusual thing to be able to perceive the earthquake approaching through the undulatory movement of the surface, as if the earth were shaken like a carpet, or as the waving of corn swept by a breeze. This is seen in the country, by the bending of trees and woods, switching their branches backwards and forwards so as to touch the ground; in towns, by the pavement of the street rising and falling in billowy undulations, and it is perhaps caused merely by the vertical blow or upshot extending itself horizontally, and seeking where to escape, as we shall try to explain presently. The 'vibratory movement,' constantly mentioned as following the shock, is also probably the result of a severe concussion gradually subsiding.

The power of the direct impulse from below is proved by some telling incidents. Not unfrequently the masonry of buildings has been shattered, and stones have been driven out of a wall and scattered; Mallet even records an instance of the *top* of a massive tower of the Dominican Convent at Montemurro being shorn off (?) by a blow from beneath, aimed at an acute angle, and leaving the stump standing.* Humboldt mentions a case in which bodies in a cemetery were hurled upwards out of their graves; and in more than one instance paving-stones have been jerked up out of their places and turned over in the air, descending with their upper sides below.† The number of shocks, the length of the pauses between them, and the duration of earthquakes, vary infinitely. That of 1855, at Visp in the Valais, continued for months, gradually becoming less violent, but did not die out altogether until 1857. That in the Sandwich Islands, in 1868, lasted several months, and in one month alone two thousand shocks were counted, while in Greece the commotion has been known to endure for years.

The range of earthquakes spreads over a large part of the globe, few large spaces entirely escaping at one time or other, but it is most restricted in the temperate regions, attaining the greatest intensity in the tropical zones, or where great heat prevails, as along the west coast of South America, throughout the West Indies, and along a belt stretching from the Azores to Asia Minor, crossing Spain (along the Pyrenees), Italy, and Greece; in the Malay Archipelago, Java, and Sumatra. Where volcanoes exist, they seem to have an intimate connection with earthquakes, and even sometimes the sudden outbursts of vol-

* Mallet (vol. ii. p. 2) does not vouch for this as a positive fact, but he was told so on the spot.

† Lyell's 'Principles,' vol. ii. p. 120.

canic force may act as safety-valves to arrest or divert them. Yet the centre of earthquake action by no means coincides with the volcanic centre, and regions remote from any volcanoes, as the Himalayas, India in general, North Africa, Syria, and the Mississippi valley, are constantly subject to subterranean commotions. Earthquakes seem to occur most frequently on the borders of the sea, in plains, near river-courses, and at the bottom of deep valleys; and these spots will, in many cases, be found to coincide with the lines of great natural faults in the earth's crust, leaving open some gap of communication with the inner world below. Comrie in Perthshire, the place in this country most favoured with shocks (harmless ones, it is true), has been shown by Professor Geikie to stand on the line of such a fault; and the great Glen of Scotland, also similarly visited at times, is another. They adhere to spots where hot or mineral springs, discharges of gas, mud volcanoes, and geysers burst forth.

As a rule—not without exceptions perhaps—their greatest power and most destructive effects are exercised upon the more recent, superficial, and incoherent formations—clays, Tertiary marls, and the like, so that buildings upon alluvial plains, river deltas, and so forth, are more thoroughly shattered than those on rock or solid strata. The Calabrian convulsion had its full swing upon deep marls, clays, and sand-beds of slight consistency; that of Ischia was upon deep clays. Independent of the site, the power of resistance in buildings depends, of course, on the strength, goodness, and massiveness of the masonry to resist overthrow. The Quay at Lisbon, which was swallowed up, together with thousands who had sought refuge upon it, in a chasm that opened in the bed of the Tagus, leaving no trace behind, was built upon alluvial soil, while the upper parts of the town, standing upon basalt and limestone, remained uninjured.*

It appears probable that the shocks may be either deadened, or deflected and turned aside, when they impinge upon a mountain mass. On the other hand, the effect produced upon mountains by the concussion, is confined to shaking down loose earth and stones and detached rocks from their steep slopes, often causing landslips so extensive that, in the language of the affrighted Calabrians, 'one mountain came down to meet another.' These downfalls of earth dam up the river-courses, causing overflows, ponds, and morasses. In this way also gaps and scars are sometimes formed at the junction of different strata, the upper slipping down over the lower. Of this nature probably was

* Lyell's 'Principles,' vol. ii. pp. 82-88.

the great fault, said to be 90 miles long, dwelt upon by Lyell in his account of the New Zealand earthquake.

Cracks and fissures in the ground are commonly made by these convulsions, but these also are generally confined to superficial strata, soft disintegrated deposits, clays, and similar formations. There are few authentic instances of their *penetrating into the solid rock* beneath,* though both Mallet and Schmidt advance one or two cases. In an earthquake at Mendoza† there was no trace of fissure when the firm rock came to the surface. The ordinary chasms, on alluvial and soft ground, have been known to open and close, sometimes swallowing up human beings and ejecting them again. Crater-shaped cones are formed along the line of these cracks, and jets of water and mud are spouted from these as well as from the cracks, as was the case near Agram, in 1880. In the Ava earthquake, 1839, deluges of water burst forth from such fissures 10 to 20 feet wide, emitting a smell of sulphur.‡ On that occasion, too, the rapid stream of the Irrawaddy was arrested and even reversed in its course for a while by the shock.

It is worthy of note that down in the depths of mines the tremor felt on the surface is either very much diminished, or passes unnoticed; nor is it perceived in shafts of wells or in tunnels; in fact, all the evidence goes to prove its very slight influence upon the solid framework of the globe.

The area, over which the commotion of an earthquake extends, varies according to the violence of the shocks; that of Lisbon, according to Humboldt, was felt over a region four times the size of Europe, while at Linth-thal, in canton Glarus (March 1879), a shock which threw sleepers out of their beds, stopped short a few miles to the west on reaching the Reuss, and did not extend so far as Glarus.§ Sometimes mountains, at other times valleys, seem to arrest the shock and to oppose its spreading, while instances exist of its ramifying through almost all the valleys of the Alpine chain. So likewise in the region of the Andes, in November 1827, every place was destroyed between Bogotá and Popayan, a distance of nearly 700 miles.

While preparing this article, we have been favoured by a friend with the loan of a MS. narrative of the Lisbon earthquake, by an Englishman, Mr. Chase, who went through the whole of it as a witness and sufferer. It is in the form of a letter to his mother; and as it appears never to have been pub-

* Mallet's 'Report,' vol. i. pp. 324, 405; vol. ii. p. 366.

† David Forbes in 'Journal of the Geological Society,' August 1872.

‡ Newbold's 'Malaccas,' vol. i. Appendix.

§ Prof. Heim, 'Die Erdbeben,' p. 9.

lished, we avail ourselves of the permission to make a few extracts from it.

'About three quarters after 9 o'clock on the morning of Saturday, the day that made me twenty-six years of age, in the very house I was born, on the 1st of November, 1755, I was alone in my bed-chamber, four stories from the ground, opening a bureau, when a shaking or trembling of the earth, which I knew immediately to be an earthquake, gentle at first, but gradually increasing to greater violence, alarmed me so much, that turning round to look at the window the glass seemed to be falling out. Surprised at the continuation of it, and immediately recollecting the miserable fate of Callao in the Spanish West Indies, I expected the same would happen then, and also remembering that our house was old and weak, that any heavy carriage passing made it shake all over, I ran directly up into the *Urado*. This place, as is customary in many houses, was a single room at the top of the house, with windows all round the roof, supported by stone pillars; it was only one story higher than my chamber, and commanded a prospect of some part of the city from the King's palace up to the castle. I was anxious to see if the neighbouring houses were agitated with the same violence. I was no sooner up the stairs than the most horrid prospect that imagination can form appeared before my eyes. The house began to heave to that degree, that to prevent my being thrown down I was obliged to put my arm out of a window to support myself by the wall; every stone in the walls separating each from the other, and grinding against each other, made, as did all the walls of the other houses with variety of different motions, the most dreadful jumbling noise ears ever heard. The adjoining wall of Mr. Goddard's room fell first, then followed all the upper part of his house, and every other after, as I could see towards the castle; when, turning my eyes quick to the front of the room, for I thought the whole city was sinking into the earth, I saw the tops of two of the pillars meet, and saw no more. I was resolved to throw myself upon the floor, but I suppose I did not, for I immediately felt myself falling, and then, how long after I know not, just as if waking from a dream with confused ideas, I found my mouth stuffed full of something, that with my left hand I strove to get out, and not being able to breathe freely, struggled, till my head was quite disencumbered from the rubbish. In doing this, I came to myself, and recollecting what had happened, supposed the earthquake to be over, and from what I had so lately seen, expected to find the whole city fallen to the ground, and myself on the top of the ruins. When attempting to look about me, I saw four high walls near fifty feet above me. The place where I lay was about ten feet in length and scarce two feet wide, nor could I perceive either door or window in any of them. Astonished to the last degree at my situation, I remembered that there was such a place between the houses. Not having seen the upper parts of both fall, I concluded that either the inhabitants must all be destroyed, or at least no probability of their
looking

looking down there again in time enough for my preservation ; so, that struck with horror at the shocking thought of being starved to death immersed in that manner, I remained stupefied, till the still falling tiles and rubbish made me seek for shelter under a small arch in the narrow wall, opposite my head ; as I lay at the bottom of which, there appeared to be a little hole quite through it. Upon my approach, with difficulty dragging myself out of the rubbish, I found it to be much larger than I imagined it was, and getting in my head and arm first, by degrees pulled my whole body after, and fell about two feet into a small dark place, arched over at the top, which I supposed to be only a support for the two walls ; till, feeling about, I found on one side a narrow passage that led me round a place like an oven, into a little room, where stood a Portuguese man, covered with dust. He, the moment he saw me coming in that state, starting back, and crossing himself all over, cried out, as the custom is when much surprised, " Jesus ! Mary and Joseph ! who are you ? Where do you come from ? " which being informed, he placed me in a chair. This done, clasping his hands together, he lifted them and his eyes to the ceiling, in show of the utmost distress and concern. This made me examine myself, which before I had not time to do. My right arm hung down before me motionless like a great dead weight, the shoulder being out and the bone broken ; my stockings cut to pieces, and my legs covered with wounds, the right ankle swelled to a prodigious size, with a fountain of blood spouting upwards from it, the knee also much bruised. My left side felt as if beat in, that I could hardly breathe ; all the left side of my face swelled and the skin beat off, the blood streaming from it, with a great wound above, and a small one below the eye, and several bruises on my back and head. Barely had I perceived myself to be in this shocking mangled condition, when another shock, more threatening than the first, came on. The poor man flew directly out of the door. The violence of it and the falling of houses, with the screams of the people, made me again seek shelter at the arch I had entered in at ; where, waiting till it abated, I returned back again, and, nobody appearing, went out at the same door I saw the man do, in hopes to find him again, or meet with some other person. But instead of a room, as I expected, it was a narrow staircase, with a few steps one way ; then, turning, as many more brought me, to my surprise, into the street, not imagining myself to have been so near it. The people were all at prayers, covered with dust, and the light appeared just as if it had been a very dark day. Then, flattering myself that my legs might still support me to the water side, I turned and saw the street below. That was very narrow, filled with fallen houses, as high as the tops of the remaining ones ; then, in hopes to get into the country, I advanced a few steps up the hill, till the same sad prospect appeared above, and in a street to the right I saw no other. Unknowing what to do, my strength failed, and I fell prostrate in the middle, just where three streets met.'

At such an hour of peril, when every one was considering his
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own danger and seeking his own safety, Mr. Chase was indebted for his rescue to a neighbour, Mr. John Ernest Forg, a merchant of Hamburg, by whom he was removed, after some hours, to a house which had withstood the shock, put to bed, and his wounds dressed by a surgeon. But he had not lain down long before another shock, 'having covered over the bed with plaster falling and dust, made me lay my left arm over my eyes, soon expecting to be released from all further misery.' Next the news reached him that the city was on fire in various places. 'All that afternoon I had time to make the most melancholy reflections, while the flames were spreading everywhere within my view with inexpressible swiftness, till about five o'clock they seemed approaching the very room wherein I lay.' An agony of apprehension then seized him that he had been left alone in the house, and that his friends had quitted it; but having with great difficulty, through his weakness, managed to open the door, he found them seated around the outer room in silence:—

'I begged Mr. Forg, with tears in my eyes, as the greatest favour, that before he found himself obliged to quit his house he would either throw me over the gallery, or in any way despatch me, and not leave me in violent agonies lingering a few hours to die a most miserable death. He desired me not to talk in that manner, and assured me affectionately he never had intended to leave me, and if no other help came, he would carry me himself upon his back; that we would take our chance together; that the fire had not yet surrounded us, and that there was still a passage free.'

Under the same friendly guidance he was conducted among falling houses, during shocks constantly repeated, past streets partly blocked up with ruins, partly already on fire, to the open place in front of the palace, whither a vast number of fugitives had already repaired, with what clothes and other property they had been able to save, tied up in bundles.

'To find myself then, so much beyond all expectation, so suddenly relieved from the constant apprehension of falling houses and danger of the fire, as I thought at least, when I was in the greatest despair and had given up all hopes of further assistance, raised my spirits to that degree, that now for the first time, notwithstanding the great pain I was in, I began to hope that it was possible still to live, till new terrors employed my thoughts. For the people, all full of the notion that it was the Judgment Day, and willing therefore to be employed in good works, had loaded themselves with crucifixes and saints; and men and women equally the same were, during the intervals between the shocks, either singing litanies or cruelly tormenting the dying with religious ceremonies, and whenever the earth trembled,
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all on their knees roaring out "misericordia!" in the most dismal voice imaginable. The fear that my condition might excite their piety at such a time, when all government was at an end, and it was impossible to guess what [treatment] a heretic [might receive], made me dread the approach of every person. Add to this, that the Cais de Pedra, or stone key adjoining to this square, had already sunk, and the least rising of the water would overflow us all.'

The writer was eventually conveyed to a boat on the river, and thus rescued from the ruined city. He winds up his simple account of these events with an expression of gratitude to Mr. Forg 'with whom I had had a slight acquaintance, who, like a guardian angel, appeared always ready to assist me in the utmost extremities.'

'Some time afterwards I learnt that no part of our house fell, except the Urado where I was, nor were any of the family killed, only the housekeeper and one man-servant were much hurt by the falling of the Urado upon them as they were going out of the house. The ceilings of the upper story were, however, so much hurt, they were afraid to venture into any of the rooms. It is universally agreed that all the mischief proceeded from the three first shocks of the earthquake, which were attended with a rumbling sort of motion like the waves of the sea; that it was amazing the houses resisted so long as they did. No place nor time could have been more unlucky for the miserable people. The city was full of narrow streets; the houses, strong-built and high, that falling, filled up all the passages.'

Grecian earthquakes have hitherto obtained less attention than others, probably for want of an historian, but such an one now presents himself in the person of Dr. Julius Schmidt, who has availed himself of his position, as the Government Astronomer at Athens, to obtain information on the spot, and to record really scientific observations on all the facts that fell within his own knowledge. He has embodied the results in a truly valuable volume, 'Studies of Earthquakes,' which, besides his own personal experience, contains a very complete chronological table, carefully compiled by him, of all Levantine earthquakes from 1840 to 1878. Our readers may be surprised to learn that this record occupies no less than 200 pages, including the day, hour, place, and character of the shock.

Greece had of old obtained the reputation of being 'the easily-shaken' country (*εύσειστος*). The god Poseidon, the earth-shaker, held sway there of old, and it would seem as if his malign influence had prevailed even to the present day, and that it must be due to his trident that the 'long deserted shrine of Delphi' has been desolated, and the sacred spring of Castalia buried out
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of sight—literally buried up under a heap of rubbish.* This occurrence was one of the disastrous consequences of the earthquake of 1870, one of the severest to which Greece has been subjected in modern times. It lasted, with more or less severity, for three years, the shocks and detonations continuing day and night with slight interruptions. The province of Phocis, north of the Gulf of Corinth, was the chief theatre of its ravages, and Dr. Schmidt places the centre and origin of the convulsion beneath that district.

From January to June 1870 was a comparatively quiet time; only about eighteen shocks—not an unusual number—being recorded in his list. On July 31, however, the Earth Storm began in earnest, and early in the morning of August 1 occurred the first terrible vertical blow, lasting from fifteen to twenty seconds, in which short time the towns and villages of Itea, Xeropigo, Chryso, and Delphi, with parts of Arachosa and Amphissa, were entirely destroyed. Nineteen minutes later the earth heaved again, causing rock-slides from Parnassus and Korax, unexampled for quantity, which completed the ruin. Fortunately the intense heat of the weather of the preceding day had induced the greater part of the inhabitants to sleep in the open air, so that the loss of life in all the district did not exceed 100.

On August 5th, four days after the great shock, Dr. Schmidt set forth, at the instigation of the Queen of Greece, on a tour of inspection, to ascertain the extent of the misfortune, and, if possible, to devise measures for the relief of the sufferers.

'At 6 A.M. on the morning of August 6th,' he says, 'we set out to ride to Delphi, not far off. The path is a steep ascent, and I dismounted, to be more free to escape rock-falls. Detonations were constantly heard. At 7 I halted close to the site of Lenormant's excavations. Delphi lay before us absolutely prostrated on the ground; single fragments of wall alone standing upright, along with the small church tower. The convent and church of the Panagia, a little to the East, was also in ruins, the olive-trees around it being interspersed with huge blocks, which had rolled down and had smashed trees centuries old. Rubbish and blocks of stone, olive-trees and poplars, lay in confusion one above the other in the steep gully ending in the Pleistos river.

'Close to the fountain of Castalia, west of it, gigantic obelisks of rock, from 300 to 400 feet high and 60 to 80 feet thick, had been detached from the face of the far-famed lofty cliff known as Phædriades, and had fallen across the open field which separates

* We have recently heard that the spring has been cleared out, but the rock basin which received it, is destroyed.

Delphi from the Castalian spring. The spring itself had been partly overwhelmed by rock shaken down from the eastern precipice, and, in order to approach the broken basin which heretofore received its waters, it was necessary to climb over the rubbish.'

Dr. Schmidt proceeds—

'Anticipating that the venerable spot would soon be obliterated from human sight, we ventured to approach it, though the continuance of the thunderings and earth-shocks kept us in a state of constant alarm, and we rapidly withdrew, glad to escape further dangers. Delphi lies upon unstable ground, and therefore suffered terribly. Its destruction began early at night and was completed by the shock which occurred about half-past 1 p.m. We found the inhabitants camped out a little to the west of the ruins, without a tree to shade them, but so as to be out of the reach of falling rocks. Under temporary sheds of planks were many sufferers wounded in the catastrophe, attended by two military surgeons sent from Athens. Twenty-two dead bodies had been buried. Some had remained three days under the ruins before they could be extracted.'

The rest of Dr. Schmidt's tour of inspection was performed under the noise of constant thunders and the tremor of incessant shocks.

'If we are to credit verbal assurances that in the three first days of the Phocian earthquake a shock occurred every third minute, there must have been at least 86,000 shocks. Counting myself at Itea, four days after the great outbreak, I found that the perceptible shocks and detonations amounted to 1700 or 2000 in the 24 hours.'

Until winter set in, the earth enjoyed no complete rest, so that, including the slight tremors readily perceptible in the silence of night, it is evident that for the last five months of 1870 the shocks and detonations must have reached the immense number of 500,000.

The village of Delphi remained long in so utter a state of demolition, and the site is so greatly menaced by rock-slips as well as earth-tremors, that it seems doubtful whether it will be rebuilt.

Although most of these shocks were trifling, and some scarcely perceptible, yet they were interspersed with dangerous concussions, so as to keep up an uninterrupted reign of terror among the inhabitants, who never could feel secure; for, although in the second year the shocks diminished in violence, the rock-falls were numerous, and the subterranean roar as loud as ever. Thus on October 19th, while the inhabitants of Amphissa were all in the open air gazing at a fearful prodigy in the sky, a blood-red aurora, there came 'an annihilating blow,' which levelled

levelled with the dust every edifice still standing in that place, and even shuffled the planks laid to form temporary sheds. On October 25th, at Chrysso, the swaying backwards and forwards of the props of a similar shelter measured more than six feet.

One merit of Dr. Schmidt is that he does not weight his observations with theories, but merely furnishes facts from which others may draw conclusions. One of the results at which he has arrived is that the great earthquakes almost invariably have a direction from north-east to south-west;* and he illustrates this by the fact observed by the inhabitants of Amphissa, that on the occurrence of shocks they displayed themselves by the loosened rocks falling from Korax on the west, in the first instance, followed by similar shoots from the sides of Parnassus on the east, after an interval. It is somewhat remarkable that upon that same October 19th, 1870, occurred the most severe shock observed in the Middle and Eastern States of North America, during the present century. The instant the shock was felt at Quebec it was telegraphed to Montreal, and the message reached that place about thirty seconds before the shock arrived. Here again the course taken by the shock was from north-east to south-west. Is not this the line of path habitually followed by electric currents?

Want of space prevents our entering into details of a previous earthquake of December 26th, 1861, in Achæa, of which our author was also an eyewitness, except to refer to his description of the very remarkable fissuring of the earth caused by it. Through the low alluvial Achæan plain or delta, five small rivers, which by their deposits have created it, find their way into the Gulf of Corinth. The effect of the shocks upon this plain of sand, mud, and clay, and of three or four great sea-waves which followed them and rushed a considerable distance inland, was to cause the loose soil to be starred and split by a sort of network (*étoilement*) of thousands of cracks and fissures for a distance of nearly eight miles, with a width varying from 200 to 20 metres, and from 5 to 10 feet deep. This remarkable appearance was doubtless due to the loosening of the earth by the shock, aided by the washing of the sea-waves, their combined action causing the upper stratum to slide over the lower. At the same time, a margin of the shore, varying from 20 to 200 metres in width, was in one or two places swept off into the sea. One consequence of the uneven pressure thus caused was the formation of hundreds of circular *sand-craters*, along the line of the splittings, through which were discharged jets of

* Schmidt, 'Studien,' p. 120.

water, mud, and sand, according as the unequal pressure acted upon the soft soil below. The theatre of these commotions was within a very short distance of the site of that ancient port of *Helice*, which Diodorus tells us was swallowed up by an earthquake, along with its houses, inhabitants, and even ten ships in its harbour, in the dead of night, so that when morning dawned not a vestige was visible, but the sea flowed over the site of the grove of Poseidon, the Earthshaker, to whose wrath the calamity was attributed.

So far we have traced the effects of earthquakes upon land; let us now observe what are their consequences upon the sea. The most remarkable of these are the enormous waves which ensue, sometimes within a few minutes, sometimes after an interval of many hours after a shock. At such times the sea, rising to a height of 50 or 60 feet, rushes inland with power irresistible, sweeping along with it seaweed, shells, and shingle, which it deposits at various heights and distances. Vessels are torn from their anchors and transported a mile or more inland, over intervening obstacles, so as to leave them high and dry, where they remain, not to be returned to their natural element. These fearful waves are among the chief instruments of destruction to seaport towns, as at Lisbon in 1755, and at Lima (Arica) in 1724, which was utterly destroyed by such a wave, and every soul drowned. They are propagated, not only along the coast for hundreds of miles, but even across the broad ocean, which seems to oscillate from side to side, like the water in a full basin which has received a sudden blow or jar. They follow one after another, backwards and forwards, alternately deserting the shore and sweeping beyond it, 'spilling the ocean o'er its boundary.' The earthquake in Peru (August 13th, 1868) made itself felt in Hawaii the same evening, 6300 miles off, by the huge billows which came rolling in at the rate of three or four per hour, and continued after an interval for four days. In about the same time the wave had made its way north to San Pedro Bay in South California.

One very remarkable phenomenon connected with earthquakes is the way in which ships out at sea, in the midst of comparative calm and in deep water, are affected by them. It appears from numberless instances* that they receive a sudden concussion from below, so violent as to strain the timbers and snap ropes and masts, giving to those on board the impression of striking upon a rock, or, as a naval friend tells us, of the chain cable running out rapidly through the hawse-hole. An earthquake occurred while the English and Turkish fleets were

* Lyell's 'Principles,' vol. ii. p. 149.

anchored off Ismid in 1878. A lady, seated in the cabin of one of the British ships, was aroused by a crash which made her think the vessel had been run into. The Turkish crews were seen rushing to quarters, supposing Russian torpedoes to have exploded under their keels, but no sooner did our informant reach the shore than the toppling minarets revealed the source of the surprise. Lyell enumerates many instances of concussions felt out at sea.

Looking to this then as a usual consequence of earthquakes, it seems to us to afford a hitherto unsuspected clue to their origin. Considering the irresistible force, the unmeasured rapidity, the quick repetition and long duration of the shocks, what known agent in Nature, we would ask, except ELECTRICITY, is capable of producing at the same time such singular effects in the sea and such tremendous results on land? We will endeavour to strengthen our conjecture by a few more facts in evidence. Lyell* and other authors have mentioned, without laying upon the occurrence the stress it deserves, the state of the atmosphere before an earthquake as densely charged with electricity,† and they even speak of evolutions of electric matter or inflammable gas. Mr. Mallet‡ was repeatedly told by various witnesses in different parts of Campania, that on the night before the shocks they had seen an unusual light in the air or sky. Some asserted that a halo came out of the ground just before the shock; the same belief prevailed at Val Viggiano and at Auletta. Mr. Mallet observes: § 'It is difficult to see any direct traceable connection between it and the earthquake.' But we know well that lightnings constantly flash among the smoke and vapour issuing from eruptions of Vesuvius and other volcanoes. The vicinity of hot springs, volcanoes, mud lakes, regions of intense heat, and centres of the electric influence, are the special haunts of the earthquake, and science has pretty well proved that heat and electricity are convertible. To what other cause also but lightning can we so fitly attribute the accompanying, long-continued underground thunder and the conflagrations|| which constantly ensue among the prostrate ruins of towns visited by these catastrophes, as at Lisbon 1755?

These and other circumstances inseparably connected with earthquakes, all point to the conclusion, that an earthquake is

* 'Principles,' vol. ii. p. 82.

† Before the earthquake in October 1875 at Martinique, M. Rivet, telegraph inspector, found a very marked disturbance in the electric telegraph.—*Comptes Rendus*, lxxxi. October, 1875.

‡ Mallet's 'Reports,' vol. i. pp. 322, 23.

§ Mallet, vol. ii. p. 375.

|| Lyell's 'Principles,' vol. ii. p. 140.

the result of *discharges of terrestrial electricity* accumulated in the bowels of the earth, which we know to be a reservoir of electric matter, whose extent and capacity we may in future be enabled to measure by the number and duration of earth convulsions.

Even if it be proved that the solid strata beneath the surface, and the mountain masses above it, are unfavourable to the transmission of electric energy, there are plenty of cracks and fissures in its solid substance through which the electric force may penetrate and shoot forth. In the waters of Ocean it finds a ready conductor, which accounts for the way in which ships on the sea are affected by it; but when it approaches the earth's surface it encounters the resistance of deep, partially incoherent beds of clay, gravel, alluviums, late Tertiaries, and the like, forming the most perfect non-conductor which can be conceived, with difficulty movable by the force exercised upon it, yet not doggedly resisting like the mountain masses. This earthy cushion not only arrests the progress of the electricity, but compels it to force its way out, if not vertically, horizontally, whenever it reaches a thin or weak layer, where it can most easily break through and escape.

This struggle will account for the undulatory movement, so constantly following a shock, which has caused the whole phenomena to be attributed to 'a wave of transmission,' or 'translation,' 'an earth-wave returning at intervals to a certain favourite spot'; whereas it is quite certain that the shock is a direct blow, not differing probably from that of a lightning stroke. The 'earth-storm' resembles the atmospheric storm, except that the one comes from below, the other from the clouds above. The object struck in both cases is shattered to pieces by an irresistible blow; the shock and the flashes follow, shot upon shot, with varying rapidity; and, as the storm dies away, end in vibrations—in one case of the sky, lasting for hours, in the other in tremblings of the ground, which may endure for months.

Mrs. Somerville* mentions a case of a storm near Manchester, in June 1835, when 'the lightning was observed to issue from various points of a road, attended by explosions as if pistols had been fired out of the ground, and a man seems to have been killed by one of these explosions taking place under his feet.' Very worthy of note is A. von Humboldt's description of the accompaniments of the earthquake at Cumana, at which he was present, March 26th, 1812. For six days previous a reddish vapour had covered the whole azure vault of heaven—

'The atmosphere appeared on fire. Clouds gathered over the

* Somerville, 'Connection of the Physical Sciences,' p. 305.

mountains on the 6th day; and amidst a storm of lightning, at the moment of the strongest electric explosion, there were two shocks of an earthquake. Some slaves drawing water from a well, more than twenty feet deep, heard a report like the explosion of a strong charge of gunpowder. It seemed to come from the bottom of the well.*

In narratives of earthquakes we read of the shattering of masonry, of stones scattered to a distance, and of the top of a heavy tower shorn off, results clearly not due to a mere shaking of the ground, but to blows delivered from below, vertically or at a high angle. If we imagine lightning-strokes multiplied in number and magnified in intensity, attacking the lower walls and foundations of buildings, instead of the towers and chimneys, we have a force capable of effecting the complete overthrow of a city. Observe, we do not attribute such catastrophes exclusively to direct blows, nor do we doubt that the uplifting of the ground, caused by the electric force seeking to escape, effects great part of the injuries. The progress under ground of the electric jet may be traced, where there are no buildings, by its power to rip up the surface, and we venture to suggest this as the cause of those cracks and chasms opened in the soil, such as were observed near Agram, 1880, in some instances extending for two or three miles.†

We offer this hypothesis to the investigation and scrutiny of our readers, and of scientific men in general, believing that it is as worthy of consideration as the many existing theories, that earthquakes are produced by such causes as the following:—either by water expanding into steam‡ on coming into contact with subterranean lava;—or by chemical changes or combinations within the earth;—or from the shrinking and cooling down of the earth's crust;—or from rupture by tension;§—or by collision between solids and a liquid. Mr. Mallet, in his 'Dynamics of Earthquakes,' explains the phenomenon to be the passage of a wave of elastic compression, causing each particle of earth to perform a vibratory movement—an idea based upon the supposed analogy of aqueous waves. Another authority regards it as 'an uncompleted effort to *establish a volcano* '!

We especially invite the attention of that learned body, the Telegraphic Engineers, who have made such progress in studying the electric currents of the earth and their line or order of circulation around it, to consider whether it may not be possible to invent some species of conductor capable of averting the calamity

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 512.

† See 'Nature,' April 7, 1881.

‡ 'The agency is certainly steam.'—J. PHILLIPS.

§ Most of these attempted explanations are enumerated by Professor Phillips, in his volume on 'Vesuvius.'

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from its habitual haunts? We would gladly ask of medical men who have attended upon the victims of earthquake, whether there be no cases among the deaths, showing traces of lightning scars upon the bodies, and not merely of contusions from falling buildings?

A sketch of the natural history of Earthquakes, however, can by no means be regarded as complete without a careful examination of their alleged *permanent* influences, especially of their power to lift up a whole mountain chain, or the bottom of the sea—assumptions not only adopted but reasoned upon in books of elementary geology.* If the theory we have just propounded should be accepted, it of course settles the question; but, in the present state of geological opinion, we wish to test the now prevalent hypothesis of *Modern Causes* upon its own merits, by passing in review the chief instances brought forward by Lyell, in his 'Principles of Geology,'† of so-called permanent elevation.

Since the first publication of his popular work, great additions have been made to our stores of information about subterranean movements. We have before us the elaborate memoir on the Theory of Earthquakes and of Elevation, by the late Professor Hopkins‡ of Cambridge, who sums up with the conclusion that earthquake shocks, even the greatest, raise neither continents nor islands. Through very small spaces, the earth is lifted by them and let fall again, the momentary elevation comes to an end, and we have no warrant for believing that any sensible or permanent change of the relative level of sea and land can be produced by such mechanism. Mr. Robert Mallet visited one prostrate town after another in South Italy and Calabria, immediately after the destructive catastrophe of 1857, describing the nature and extent of the calamity in each; but, after traversing 150 miles of sea-coast and river-courses 'he could find no trace of *permanent* elevation.' One district which he visited, the Plain of Diano, furnished the most delicate of all tests, because, being cultivated under a system of irrigation, the slightest derangement of the levels of the water-courses would have been instantly perceptible.§ Of these he found not the least trace. He winds up with this conclusion: 'Experience and facts disprove the assumption very commonly made and constantly repeated, without any attempt to apply measures to the test of the doctrine,—that earthquakes are direct agents of elevation of the surface of our globe.'||

* See Lyell's 'Principles of Geology,' vol. ii. pp. 82, 94, 135, 162.

† Vol. ii., *passim*.

‡ Mallet, vol. ii. p. 33.

§ Report of the British Association, 1847.

|| Mallet, vol. ii. p. 321.

Against this is to be set the long array of stories of earthquakes produced by Lyell, all told in a way to favour his own conclusions; yet throughout with the most perfect fairness, in so much so as to induce us to think we shall be able to show that his own admissions, in most cases, invalidate or destroy his premises. Indeed, it would not be possible to conduct the case against him on a more unbiassed method than that of adopting as far as possible his own words.

In regard to the Campanian earthquake, the author of the little volume 'Scepticism in Geology,' to which we shall have occasion to refer again, gives the following very necessary warning to the readers of the 'Principles':—

'But the reader of Lyell, who has admired the curious woodcuts of straight and starred fissures, holes, ravines, and chasms, must not for a moment suppose that these were formed in *solid rock*, that they lasted any time, or that any one visiting the spot would be likely to find any trace of them at the present day. All the fissures gradually closed up, for they were confined to superficial deposits, alluvium, clay, gravel, and an incoherent tertiary sandstone, according to Dolomieu (Brit. Assoc. Rep. p. 39). This is also acknowledged by Lyell, who adds that "in more solid rocks we may expect that fissures will remain open for ages." Yet he is able to adduce no example of such permanent fissures in Calabria, nor of any enduring change of level.'

Concerning any alterations of the surface produced by a former Calabrian earthquake of 1783, Lyell admits that 'none of the accounts establish that they were on a considerable scale.*' Great stress, however, is laid upon an asserted change of level of at least 20 feet in the Bay of Naples, since the Christian era, on the evidence of the condition of the so-called *Temple of Serapis*, three marble columns of which still stand on the shore or in the water of the Bay, a spot more than any other in Europe subject to volcanic commotions. This building, the puzzle of the antiquary and geologist, and the plaything alike of earthquakes and of volcanic action for centuries, its pillars bored by the teredo for a height of 6 feet, is now supposed to have been no temple, but a grand public bath. In the teeth of Lyell's assertion, that 'it could not have been built originally under water, and must therefore have first sunk down 20 feet,' recent researches render it highly probable that it was *founded in the sea itself* in order to enclose a hot spring rising in the sea amid the waves, which along with the sea-water was conducted into baths sunk below

* 'Principles,' vol. ii. p. 120.

the surface. At all events it can upon no pretence be correctly cited as an example of *permanent* elevation of the sea-level or depression of the coast, for the three columns, after all their ups and downs, now stand nearly on the same level that they did 1600 years ago.* In 1852 the floor of the temple was on a line with the sea, and Lyell was informed 'that the downward movement had ceased.'† Mallet ascertained that the earthquake of 1857 had caused no change in this spot.

The *Fort of Sindree*, on the east bank of the Indus, Lyell tells us, was in 1819 partly submerged by an earthquake‡ and surrounded by water; while a long mound, the Ullah Bund, was lifted above the waters. 'In 1838,' says a traveller who visited this spot, the 'lagoon has diminished both in area and depth, and part near the fort was dry land.'§ In 1869 Mr. Wynne|| 'found the area of water and marsh nearly filled up, and but a small shallow pool remained about the fort itself.' He doubts the supposed elevation of the neighbouring mound called the Ullah Bund, and conjectures that the temporary depression of the ground round the Fort gave rise to the story.

The Chilean earthquake of 1822, very fully described in the 'Principles,' derives importance from the extraordinary conclusion which the author draws from it in support of his theory of the power of earthquakes. In one of his early chapters occurs the following sentence (vol. i. p. 130): 'It may be well briefly to state in this place that in Chili in 1822 the volcanic force has overcome the resistance and has *permanently* uplifted a country of such vast extent, that the weight and volume of the Andes must be insignificant in comparison,' and he refers his readers to vol. ii. for explanatory details. Turning to that volume, at pp. 94, 95, and 96, we find it asserted that this earthquake of November 19th, 1822, said to have been felt along the coast for a distance of 1200 miles, according to the evidence of certain eye-witnesses raised the land about Valparaiso 3 feet, and at Quintero 4 feet.

We feel bound to point out that these observations as to the land lifted up applied only to a limited space, and that another trustworthy witness, living on the spot (Mr. Cuming, the well-known conchologist), could detect no sign of a rise in the land or sea-bed. He remarked that the tides reached the

* When it is known that the height of the tide round the base of the columns varies from 18 inches to 2 feet, according to the influence of wind, one source of error in estimating the position of this building is made apparent.

† 'Principles,' vol. ii. p. 175.

‡ Ibid. p. 100.

§ Ibid. p. 102.

|| Quoted by Mr. Blanford in his 'Geology of India,' p. 421.

same level after as before the shocks. At all events, whether this rise was permanent or not, does not appear, nor is there a record of any scientific measurements or observations having been made in recent times to ascertain this.

Next we are told that by or after the shock 'the watercourse of a mill about a mile from the sea gained a fall of 14 inches in little more than 100 yards.' *

'From this fact it is inferred that the rise in some parts of the inland country was far more considerable than on the borders of the ocean.' †

This is a mere inference.

'Some observers supposed that the whole country from the foot of the Andes to a great distance under the sea was upraised.' ‡

This is a supposition.

'It is also conjectured by the same eye-witnesses to the convulsion that the area over which this permanent [?] alteration of level extended may have been equal to 100,000 square miles.' §

This again is a *conjecture*, the only ground for which, in Lyell's own estimation, was 'the fall in certain watercourses'—and he himself dismisses it 'as very hypothetical.' || He nevertheless thinks it 'may be useful to reflect on the enormous amount of change' which this single convulsion occasioned IF the extent of country moved upward really amounted to 100,000 square miles. ¶

After carefully analysing this remarkable passage, we believe we have fairly stated the facts, as well as the process by which the author arrived at the astounding conclusion which we have cited above.

We would submit, therefore, this is no evidence either that the rise of ground caused by the earthquake was permanent, or that it extended in an increasing ratio inland to the foot of the Andes, or at all under the sea, much less that a country equal to half the area of France was elevated; and these inferences are more especially confirmed when, recurring to Lyell, we find that 'An opinion has often been promulgated of late years that there is a tendency in the Chilian coast after each upheaval to return towards its ancient position.' **

Mr. Darwin, who was in Chili at the time of the earthquake of 1835, appears, to quote again the words of the author of 'Scepticism in Geology,' 'to have been so blinded' by his bias towards 'the permanent elevation theory,' as not to be able to

* Lyell, 'Principles,' vol. ii. p. 95.
§ Ibid.

† Ibid. p. 93.
¶ Ibid.

‡ Ibid.
** Ibid. p. 156.

trust the evidence of his own eyes. 'There can be no doubt,' according to Darwin, 'that the land round the Bay of Conception was upraised two or three feet, but it deserves notice that, owing to the waves having obliterated the old lines of tidal action on the sloping sand, *I could discover no evidence of this fact*, except in the united testimony of the inhabitants, that one little rocky shoal, now exposed, was formerly covered with water.'*

The demands of exact science are surely not complied with by substituting conjectures, inference, supposition, for stern irrefragable facts, nor will these be accepted as a proper basis for a Cosmical Theory of the Earth, which that of Causes now in Action pretends to be.

The narrative of the New Zealand Earthquake of 1855 closes thus:—

'A question arose whether the land about Port Nicholson, upheaved in January "several feet, had not sunk again to some slight extent before September, 1855."†

It would be waste of time to dissect the accounts of the Jamaican, New Madrid, and other supposed upheavals, more especially since this has been done in considerable detail by the author of 'Scepticism in Geology' (pages 27, 29, 32).

Have we not adduced facts enough to prove that the power of earthquakes, or of subterranean and volcanic influence, at the present day upon the permanent condition of the globe, if not a mere vision, is at least not substantiated as a certain truth of science?

It is now some hundred years since Hutton propounded his Theory of the Earth, to account for all former changes on its surface by the operations of existing agents. Lyell, by his genius and skill as a writer and investigator, gave popularity to these speculations, through the weight of his name as a leader in science, and his merits were nowhere more warmly acknowledged than in the 'Quarterly Review' (see Nos. 53, 126). But with the expansion of experience and research, Hutton's hypothesis has been subjected to a severe test, which has not been followed by a confirmation sufficient to establish it as a theory based upon scientific truths. The inadequacy of such feeble agents as modern causes, to produce the enormous results displayed in every mountain chain, is not to be got over by magnifying the petty forces they exert, or by spreading them over an untold number

* 'Naturalist's Journal,' p. 310.

† 'Principles,' vol. ii. p. 88. Mr. Roberts, the narrator of the events of this earthquake, nevertheless maintained that, three months after it had happened, he had perceived no sinking.

of ages. The Huttonian theory has failed to give to Geology fixed and permanent principles such as those by which Newton established Astronomy. There exists, be it observed, no question or doubt with us as to the proved and certain laws of Geology—the succession of strata, the order of fossil creations, the distinction of volcanic and sedimentary deposits, and a thousand other facts which go to form the basis of that science. We dispute only the fanciful and exaggerated views about the power of earthquakes, the action of *modern* denudation, and river erosion, and we exercise the privilege of doubt only in matters which have not been proved. To persist in a dogmatic adherence to mere conjectures is a baseless superstition, and we are happy to have some assurance for believing that it is dying out.

It was, therefore, with some regret that we read a recent declaration deliberately made, and afterwards confirmed, by no less eminent an authority than Professor Huxley,* of his belief in the power of modern subterranean agencies to lift up a part of the bed of the Atlantic or Pacific, equal to the size of Europe, as high as Mont Blanc. We must avail ourselves of the privilege of what Tennyson calls ‘honest doubt,’ as to the power of any known agent upon or underneath the earth performing such a feat. If the long array of facts opposed to this theory, enumerated above, do not suffice to justify our doubts, we will strengthen them by one or two more examples, producing chapter and verse for each. One of the latest instances of a volcanic disturbance under the sea, affording the best opportunity of ascertaining how volcanoes really act under such circumstances, was that of the rise, off the coast of Sicily, in July 1831, of *Graham’s Island*. What happened was that, through a hole or vent in the sea-bed, heaps of ashes and floods of lava were sent up from below, and after these had accumulated to a height of 800 feet, so as to appear above the surface, they quietly subsided until they sank into an ordinary shoal or sandbank. But was the bed of the ocean lifted up? Nothing of the kind. Listen to Lyell: ‘No appearances observed, either during the eruption or since the island disappeared, give the least support to the opinion promulgated by some writers that part of the ancient bed of the sea had been lifted up bodily.’†

In fact, although granite and trap have often forced them-

* We will quote his own words, as reported in ‘Nature,’ November 4, 1880: ‘He was aware,’ he said, ‘of no biological or geological evidence at present accessible, to render untenable the hypothesis, that an area of the Atlantic or Pacific sea-bed as big as Europe, should have been upheaved as high as Mont Blanc, and have subsided again any time since the Paleozoic period, if there were any ground for entertaining it.’

† Lyell’s ‘Principles,’ vol. ii. p. 63.

selves in between other strata, and by *lateral* pressure have thrown them up into folds and anticlinals, it is not the habit of volcanoes to lift up masses of strata. This is the reason why there is no problem in the 'Theory of Modern Causes' more difficult to accept, and to account for, than the recourse to constant upliftings and downcasts of strata of enormous extent. Formerly the geologist talked lightly of elevations of the earth's crust, but to effect these, even in an hypothesis, is no longer so trifling a matter, since we have learned from the submarine discoveries of the 'Challenger,' disclosing how vast, beyond all previous knowledge, are the depths of the ocean, that it involves the raising up of a solid rock-mass (thickness unknown) to a height, not of three or four miles, but of eight or ten miles, beginning at the bottom of the sea, and taking Mont Blanc on its back. Again at what depth, and where, would Mr. Huxley apply his lever, and how would he fill up the breach in the sea-bed which this great fracture he proposes would occasion; and above all, where and how would he dispose of the water displaced by such a convulsion without inflicting a new Deluge and converting large part of some continent or other into sea? The Professor has shown himself always so earnest in the pursuit of truth, that we trust he will, with his usual candour, reconsider the evidence on this subject, and will not refuse to give some weight to the facts opposed to his view. He is not likely to retort with the answer of the Abbé Vertôt, '*Mon siège est fait.*' In examining the earthquake question, he will doubtless remember that there are districts on the earth's surface where, as in certain islands of the Malay Archipelago, earthquakes are chronic, and *scarce a day passes* without a shock. How happens it that these islands are neither raised up into mountains, nor thrust down beneath the waves? Again, look at the city of Lima, destroyed eleven times in less than 300 years by shocks, and yet the Lima of to-day stands on the same level as that founded by the Spaniards in 1586.

Before we dismiss the subject of earthquakes, our readers may not be displeased to have some information about the three which have lately occurred in Europe in 1880-81. That of Agram, though it sufficed to damage more or less every building in the town, having left scarcely a chimney standing, caused but slight loss of life. The town stands in the flat alluvial valley of the Save, a likely spot. Near the town crevices were opened in the ground, one of them three miles long. The shock was felt to the north at Vienna and at Debreczin, and to the south as far as Istria.

Few places in Europe have been so haunted by subterranean movements from the earliest times as the isle of Ischia. Homer, Pindar,

Pindar, and Virgil, have in turn celebrated its throes, which they attributed to the struggles of the giant Typhœus, whom Jupiter had imprisoned by clapping the mountain Inarime (now Ipomeo) upon his body, just as he secured another revolutionary Titan, Enceladus, under Ætna. Desiring to relieve himself from the restraint of his uneasy couch, 'durum cubile' as Virgil styles it, we may suppose the giant to have been the author of the commotion of March last, which shook all the south side of the island. Reverting to the sober history of Ischia, we have continued records of convulsions from the days of Strabo and Pliny onwards. Indeed, not until A.D. 1300 did Ipomeo, the crest and centre of the island, cease to pour forth lava and ashes, though now ranking among extinct volcanoes. The island has not escaped without a shock occurring nearly every year; but few have attained the severity of that of March 4, 1881, which concentrated its violence on the town of Casa Micciola, shaking down great part of its houses over the heads of the inhabitants, with great loss of life. So sudden was the catastrophe, that the body of a cobbler was dug out from the ruins, with his last between his knees, and that of a woman, with the stocking she was knitting upon her hand. The part of the island exclusively affected consists of enormously thick beds of clay, similar to those over which the Campanian earthquake wreaked its ravages.

What specially distinguishes Ischia is the development of internal heat in those parts where the earthquake prevailed. Nowhere within so limited a space are there so many or such intensely hot mineral springs, whose waters are in part used for the cure of maladies, while the rest goes to scald pigs and wash clothes. Indeed, in this part of the island there seems to be no cold water whatever.* The soil is hot, the dry sand on the seashore is hot, and the earth breathes out from its crevices jets of intensely hot air, which is used medically for *stufe* or air-baths. Such copious emanations of heat, gas, and scalding water, indicating as they do a direct opening or communication with the interior of the earth, favourable to the discharge of electric energy, all combine to characterize Ischia as a very hot-bed of the earthquake.

The rich and lovely island of Chio, the scene of the third great earthquake, which began April 3rd, 1881, though standing upon the belt of subterranean commotion which we have mentioned, had not been subject in recent times to very serious tremors. It does

* See Mr. George Spottiswoode's informing and entertaining 'Lecture on a Tour in Italy.'

not appear in Dr. Schmidt's Catalogue before 1859. The shock of the 3rd was repeated on the 11th of April with such tremendous force, as to overthrow what had been spared on the 3rd. The ground swayed and rocked under it, shuffling the ruined walls to and fro, throwing them on the side opposite* to that in which they first fell. Indeed, there are instances of a second shock uncovering and releasing those buried under fallen houses at first, and allowing them to escape from their prison. Not until the 20th did the surface quiet down. In that time some 4000 persons perished; from 8000 to 10,000 were more or less maimed, and from 30,000 to 40,000 rendered houseless. Out of 250 shocks between the 3rd and 12th, the intelligent correspondent of the 'Daily News' tells us, 40 were capable of overthrowing a well-built house, but vibrations continued until June 10th, when a shock threw down a Turkish minaret and a tottering wall. In the town of Chio the old fortress is utterly prostrated, but viewed from the streets many houses present their usual appearance, the fronts standing although the interior is down. The scene of this fearful and distressing catastrophe was the S.E. corner of the island, consisting, as usual, of modern alluvial and slightly coherent deposits. Here the devastation of 42 out of a total of 75 villages occurred. The central strip or backbone of the island, of old limestone, sandstone, and slate, scarcely suffered at all. The physical aspect of the country is unaltered, and, though the opposite coasts—Smyrna, Mytilene, &c.—were affected, the statement that the sea-bed between was raised is simply unfounded.

We have thus been at some pains to explain the probable connection between electricity and earthquakes; but the subject thus opened up does not end here. Sir William Thompson and other eminent men of science, now intent upon the acquisition, collecting, and storing of electric force, will, it is to be hoped, direct their attention to that storehouse of unlimited energy already filled within the bosom of the earth, and to the modes of turning these supplies to the use of man in lighting, warming, locomotion, and all other purposes to which this mysterious power may prove to be applicable; while they may, not improbably, be able to devise some means of averting the fearful calamity of the earthquake shocks in years to come.

* In the Cretan earthquake of 1846 one shock threw the minaret of a mosque on one side, but the next one set it upright again.—*Schmidt*, p. 38.

- AET. IV.—1. *Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII. on the Restoration of Christian Philosophy in Catholic Universities, according to the mind of St. Thomas Aquinas, the Angelic Doctor.* Translated by Father Rawes, D.D., with a Preface by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. London, 1879.
2. *Doctoris Angelici Divi Thomæ Aquinatis Opera Omnia.* Studio ac labore Stanislai Eduardi Fretté et Pauli Maré. 33 vols. Paris, 1871-80.
3. *Vita di S. Tomaso d'Aquino.* Da Paolo Frigerio Romano, Prete della Congregazione dell' Oratorio. Roma, 1668.
4. *La vie de S. Thomas d'Aquin.* Par le P. A. Touron, de l'Ordre des FF. Prêcheurs. Paris, 1737.
5. *Histoire de Saint Thomas d'Aquin.* Par M. l'Abbé J. Bareille. Paris, 1846.
6. *The Life and Labours of St. Thomas of Aquin.* By the Very Rev. Roger Bede Vaughan, O.S.B. 2 vols. London, 1871-2.

SIX centuries ago there passed away, almost in the flower of manhood, having barely completed his forty-eighth year, a Dominican monk, who left behind him so great a repute for learning, wisdom, and sanctity, that throughout the Roman Catholic world he has ever since been honoured as the Prince of theologians and the Angel of the Schools, as well as invoked by the young as the Patron-Saint of chastity; whose writings on philosophy and theology have constantly, in Bulls of Popes, decrees of Councils, and statutes of Universities and Orders, been accepted and enjoined as the most perfect guide of reason and faith; whose summary of divine knowledge was solemnly laid open on the altar at the Council of Trent, together with the Bible and the Pontifical decrees, as being of co-ordinate authority to inspire and control the decisions of the assembled Fathers; and who in this latter part of the nineteenth century has been proclaimed from the Vatican, as the champion in whose name and by whose weapons the aberrations of modern sceptical thought may be most effectually corrected, and Society saved from the pestilence of lawlessness and revolution. That monk was Tommaso, born Count of Aquino in Southern Italy, and better known to Englishmen as St. Thomas Aquinas.

Of the innumerable testimonies to the impression left by this remarkable man on the mind of Western Christendom, the recent Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII. may well be esteemed the most noteworthy, and not least for the air of anachronism that hangs about it. In the midst of the illumination
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with which most of us are accustomed to credit the present century, and especially the third quarter of it, to be sent back for light to the Dark Ages is rather startling. When the broad blaze of day is around us, we do not invoke the stars of the departed night to irradiate our path; it is not to raw provincials that we are wont to look for the laws of taste, nor to unfledged tyros for the ripe fruits of learning. Not indeed that, even now, any candid historian or critic would for a moment think of denying the solidity and genuineness of medieval reputations, or would grudge a niche in the temple of fame to the men who, before the dawn, were eminent above their fellows for mental gifts and acquirements, and really played no unimportant part in giving an impulse to the development of human culture. But to go back now to call them our masters, and to sit humbly at their feet, looks so like putting backwards the hands of the world's clock, and wantonly sacrificing the gains of the most fruitful centuries which have ever been marked upon its dial, that to reconcile us to such a retrogression we should certainly require a great deal of persuasion. Between their times and ours the distance, measured on the scale of knowledge and experience, strikes the imagination as so enormous, that the suggestion to accept them for our authoritative teachers, and to fetter our minds with their conclusions, sounds almost equivalent to an invitation to commit intellectual suicide. The centuries which have brought to the birth the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the splendid triumphs of the physical and critical sciences, have transformed for us the world of thought, and made all things new. What can the heirs of such vast accumulations of knowledge have to learn, we are inclined to ask with a disdainful smile, of men who were so far back in the long and slow procession of human discovery, as not even to have got beyond deeming this little globe of ours the central metropolis of a universe, flashed into full-grown existence not half-a-dozen *millennia* ago? To bid the modern world go back to the classroom of even the prince of the old Schoolmen, to be instructed in philosophy and taught their relations to the great cosmic Order,—surely this is like recommending grey-haired men to take counsel of children, and drink in wisdom from the lips of infancy!

To most of us, to whom medievalism has long been little more than a synonym for darkness, and its brightest lights have seemed to be but as twinkling forerunners of the dawn, such reflections as these present themselves perhaps too readily, but in the breast of Leo XIII. they find no place. Meditating within the chambers of the Vatican on the state of Christendom,
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and the widening breach between the thought of modern Europe and the claims of the Holy See, he very naturally sighs over 'the bitterness of our times;' and 'of the evils which are now overwhelming us, and of others which we greatly fear,' he finds the cause in 'the evil teaching about things human and divine, which has come forth from the schools of the philosophers.' With sorrow and alarm he perceives that 'in our times the Christian faith is commonly opposed by the wiles and craft of a certain kind of deceitful wisdom, and that great dangers threaten family life, and even civil society itself, because of the pestilence of perverse opinions.' As the supreme Pastor, then, of the universal Church, he very properly sounds the note of warning, and aspires to stem the flood of error which unhallowed freedom of thought has let loose, and to recover an erring world to the obedience of faith. But merely to reiterate the anathemas of his predecessor's Syllabus does not seem enough to the present more enlightened occupant of the Papal throne. To the false and destructive speculations of modern thought he would oppose the true science, the divine tradition of philosophy, which by uniting reason and revelation in perfect harmony and indissoluble alliance, erects an 'unassailable bulwark of the faith.' For this he goes back without misgiving to the medieval Schoolmen, and, singling out the 'Angelic Doctor' as their acknowledged chief, discovers in his angelical and golden wisdom the true medicine for the healing of the nations.

'Far above all other scholastic doctors,' writes the reigning Pope in his Encyclical, 'towers Thomas Aquinas, their master and prince. . . . Greatly enriched as he was with the science of God and the science of man, he is likened to the sun; for he warmed the whole earth with the fire of his holiness, and filled the whole earth with the splendour of his teaching. . . . So far as man is concerned, reason can now hardly rise higher than she rose, borne up in the flight of Thomas, and faith can hardly gain more helps and greater helps from reason than those which Thomas gave her. . . . We therefore exhort all of you, Venerable Brothers, with the greatest earnestness to restore the golden wisdom of St. Thomas, and to spread it as far as you can, for the safety and glory of the Catholic faith, for the good of society, and for the increase of all the sciences. Let teachers carefully chosen by you do their best to instil the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas into the minds of their hearers, and let them clearly point out its solidity and excellence above all other teaching. Let this doctrine be the light of all places of learning which you may have already opened, or may hereafter open. Let it be used for the refutation of errors that are gaining ground.'

We have pointed out the air of anachronism which strikes us in this latest scheme of the Vatican for recovering the obedience
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of Christendom, and, indeed were we to take the Encyclical as having no other purpose than that which it openly avows, we should only wonder at the simplicity that could hope by such means to curb the activity and daring of modern speculation. But we suspect that beneath the surface, or between the lines, something else is to be discovered. The emancipation or revolt of European thought from the guidance of the Church is not the only source of danger against which the Papacy has to seek a safeguard. Within its own borders the temper which in recent years has wantonly accentuated its quarrel with society at large, and strained the allegiance of many of its most intelligent adherents—which has procured the enactment of the dogmas of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, and the personal infallibility of the Pope, and still hankers after new-fangled and fanatical excesses in belief and ritual—this temper, to which the long pontificate of Pius IX. gave free scope, constitutes an internal peril, of which his more prudent successor is believed to be keenly sensible. And in the whole armoury of Roman theology, no weapon more effectual to combat it could be found than the broad massive teaching of Thomas Aquinas. A return to that would mean, not indeed the formal retraction of the new dogmas, for that, unhappily for Rome, is not possible—but a practical extenuation of their force, and a relegation of them to the background, together with an abandonment of the dangerous path of development. We cannot but think that the reigning Pontiff had this object in his mind, as well as the avowed purpose of arming the Church against the external ‘enemies of the Catholic name who borrow their warlike preparations from philosophic method.’ But whether our surmise be well-founded or not, the bare fact that so enlightened and liberal a Pope has solemnly invoked the name of St. Thomas, as potent enough to exorcise that spirit of rebellion and unbelief which he believes is hurrying society into anarchy and dissolution, invites renewed attention to this famous Doctor-saint of the Middle Ages, with whose character and work not many, probably, outside the circle of theological students, possess more than a superficial acquaintance. Hence it appears to us to be far from a superfluous or useless undertaking, to put together some brief account of what St. Thomas of Aquino was and did, and to examine how far his authority is likely to serve the purpose for which the Vatican has appealed to it.

Until ten years ago there was no *Life of St. Thomas* to be found in the English language, and those who wished for fuller information about him than was furnished by the short notices in *Encyclopædias* and *Biographical Dictionaries* had to seek

satisfaction

satisfaction from foreign sources. Of these the best known appear to be those which we have named at the head of this article. First in order comes the small Italian quarto of the Oratorian Frigerio, having been published more than two centuries ago: without being of much critical value, it is redolent of a certain devout and graceful simplicity, which, at least to a sympathetic mind, makes it pleasant reading. On this little volume, half a century later, the French Dominican, Tournon, based his more ambitious work, nearly half of which is devoted to an exposition of St. Thomas's doctrines; but the gain in completeness and erudition was accompanied by a loss of the simple charm of the earlier narrative, and we are afraid that by modern readers Tournon will not escape being thought professional and tedious. Probably it was a sense of this defect, rather than any hope of throwing new light upon the subject, which prompted the Abbé Bareille some thirty years ago to work up the materials in a more popular form; and although, to use the words of the saint's latest biographer, this new *Life* 'can hardly be considered much more than a summary of Tournon's larger and more original work,' it has proved its suitability to the public taste in France by having already passed through several editions. This success seems to have stirred up one of our English Benedictines to emulation, and we have the result in Father Vaughan's two bulky volumes, containing nearly a couple of thousand pages, in which for the first time any adequate account of the life and labours of the Angelic Doctor has been presented in an English dress. It may be added that this work, being on too large a scale for wide circulation, has been allowed to fall out of print, and has been superseded by an abridgment in a single volume of moderate size, in which the whole of the strictly biographical portion of the original has been textually reproduced.

Notwithstanding all that has been written about St. Thomas, the authentic facts of his life would not fill many pages. His enormous activity was the activity of a recluse; his labours were the silent toils of an intellect that scorned repose; his score of folios is his true record. But such glimpses as we can now get of the real man through the legendary mist which encircles him are of considerable interest; and indeed about one who for centuries, in all the renowned seats of learning in Europe, 'reigned,' to use the phrase of the Encyclical, 'as a ruler in his own kingdom,' no trustworthy information can be regarded as valueless. We feel persuaded, therefore, that although we shall be telling an old story, we need not apologize
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for presenting it anew, and endeavouring to place the famous theologian as clearly as possible before the reader's mind.

There is a slight uncertainty about the precise date and place of his birth, but it must have occurred in or very close to the year 1226, and it undoubtedly took place in one of his father's castles, which were scattered about the territory belonging to the Counts of Aquino, midway between Naples and the opposite Adriatic shore, but whether at Rocca Sicca, Belcastro, or Aquino itself, seems undetermined. On the noble descent of the future saint all his biographers expatiate with effusion. Born of a line of warriors, and cradled amidst the bloody feuds of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, Thomas might have seemed destined, like his two rough brothers, to a life of arms; but a disturbing influence, strong enough eventually to exchange the sword for the pen, and the camp for the monastic cell, was found in the neighbouring Abbey of Monte Cassino, the famous and powerful centre of the great Benedictine Order, over which his uncle, Landulf Sinnebald, at that time presided as Abbot. To secure the splendid succession to the Abbacy for their son was a natural object of ambition for the young Thomas's parents, and it was probably to pave the way for this that at five years old he was conveyed by his nurse to the Abbey, and given over to the monks for his schooling. We need not believe more than we like of the tale, framed on the model of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, that before his birth a hermit foretold to his mother Theodora her child's future renown, warning her at the same time that her desire to see him become Abbot of Monte Cassino would be frustrated by the divine Providence, which destined him to the Order of the Friars Preachers. It has been so much a matter of course that miraculous legends should grow up around the childhood of notable saints, that we should almost have been inclined to charge the monkish chroniclers with shirking their duty, if they had not given a fair share to the infant Thomas. Besides the Annunciation-story, they tell us that on the day of his birth, and frequently afterwards, a ray of light was seen hovering over his face; and that during his babyhood, instead of showing the eager and insatiable desire common to infants, his behaviour was so self-denying and submissive, as plainly to intimate his predestined devotion to almsgiving and obedience. A singular exception, however, to his usual docility is much insisted upon by them. One day, when he was exactly a year old, having been laid on the ground by his nurse, while she was attending to her mistress's bath, the child was presently found to be clasping a piece of paper,

paper, obtained no one knew whence, but which, on being with difficulty forced from his tiny fingers, was found to be inscribed with the *Ave Maria*. Nothing would pacify his passionate cries till it was restored to him, upon which he crammed it into his mouth, and, after the example of the prophet Ezekiel, forthwith swallowed it—an evident presage of that lifelong devotion to the blessed Virgin, which to his contemporaries appeared perfect, however short of the orthodox standard it may be reckoned in these days of advanced Mariolatry.

About five years were spent by the child in the great monastery, during which he is supposed to have been grounded in some of the Latin Classics, and to have imbibed such rudiments of grammar, logic, and philosophy, as so tender a vessel could receive. Out of this early schooling at Monte Cassino has grown an amusing controversy over him between the Orders of St. Benedict and St. Dominic. The latter naturally consider him exclusively their own: having taken their vows and habit at an early age, and lived and died in their community, he is their legitimate glory and boast. But the Benedictines are resolute in claiming a share in him for the honour of their Order; and, because some years of his tender childhood were passed among them, they contend that to all intents and purposes he was a Benedictine monk before he became a Dominican, and that he bore the manifest impress all his life of 'the mighty and constraining Benedictine principle.' What is lacking in historical evidence for their statement is supplied by an argument, which perhaps may be called more ingenious than convincing. The rule of St. Benedict, it is urged, enjoins silence; Thomas was a taciturn child. It condemns levity; he never shared in the amusements of his companions. It lays stress on prayer; he prayed much. It insists on strictness of life; he had an instinctive dread of breaking rule. Clearly, then, if to St. Dominic belong the branches and fruit of this splendid tree, the root and stem are no less due to St. Benedict.

When the little Count was ten years old, Monte Cassino was stormed and sacked by the soldiers of Frederick II., and the child was brought back to his home, whence after a couple of years he was sent to pursue his education at the recently founded University of Naples. Of the four years spent by him there, the only surviving record is a single story, which, bating some obvious exaggeration, may be taken as substantially true. It was the custom for the students to be set to reproduce from memory, as a public exercise, as much as they could retain of the lectures delivered by the professors; and when it came to the young Thomas's turn, he is reported to have 'surpassed the

the original compositions, and repeated them with greater depth of thought, and greater lucidity of method, than the learned professor himself was enabled to command.' So promising a youth, who had besides the recommendation of belonging to the noblest blood in Italy, naturally attracted the attention of the Dominicans, who had got possession of one of the chairs in the University, and at that period, just twenty years after their founder's death, were eagerly pushing forward their missions and establishments into all parts of Europe, and trying to enlist in their Order the best intellects they could discover. It was in their church at Naples that the young Thomas had been seen praying far into the night, while other students slept or caroused; and it was reported that on one occasion, as he knelt before the high altar, rays of light had been seen darting from his head. Everything marked him out for their prize, and moral scruples were trifles light as air when the interests of the Order were concerned; so long as they could secure the lad for their own, it mattered little to them what murmurs were heard about their sharp practice and unjustifiable plot to entrap him. So it came to pass that, in the presence of an enormous crowd, at the tender age of sixteen, and unknown to his widowed mother, he was received into the Order, took the vows, and assumed the well-known white serge of the Friars Preachers.

Troubles quickly followed this audacious stroke. The annoyance of the family was intense, when the news was carried home by some of the vassals, who loudly bewailed the disgrace that had fallen on their lady's noble house. To become the princely Abbot of Monte Cassino would have been suitable enough; but for the young Count henceforth to trudge through the world as a miserable mendicant friar, was intolerable. With a numerous retinue Theodora hurried to Naples to reclaim her boy, but she arrived too late, for the Dominicans, being warned, had despatched him to Rome. Thither the aggrieved mother followed in hot haste, and, having stormed in vain before the closed gates of the monastery where he was secreted, she made the eternal city resound with her complaints and threats; while the friars, alarmed by her vehemence, again started him off, in the hope of putting him beyond her reach in Paris. His brothers, however, who were gaily ravaging Lombardy with the imperial forces, were apprised of his escape, and, watching the passes, soon caught the fugitive, and ignominiously dragged him to one of the family castles, where he was rigorously confined, and plied with every kind of inducement to shake his constancy to his vows. Other devices failing, they had recourse to an infamous expedient, hoping that here at least no second

St. Anthony

St. Anthony would be found; but the issue was that the temptress soon fled shrieking from the chamber, chased by the youth with a glowing brand which he had snatched from the hearth. According to the chroniclers, no sooner had he disembarassed himself of her presence, than, marking a cross on the wall with the brand, he knelt before it, and prayed earnestly for the gift of invincible chastity; upon which two angels descended, and tightly bound his loins with a girdle, the emblem and safeguard of perpetual continence. This miraculous cincture is said to have been worn by him, unknown to any one, until his death, when it became one of the chief treasures of the Dominican monastery at Vercelli, which refused to part with it even to a Pope. In honour of it was founded the great confraternity of 'The Angelic Warfare,' every member whereof wore a girdle of the same pattern, and invoked the aid of St. Thomas against fleshly temptations.

The forcible detention, however, of the young votary of St. Dominic did not cease with the failure of all attempts to seduce him from his profession, and it was not till the authority of the Pope was brought to bear on the Emperor in a season of reverse, that orders were sent for his release. Even then he had to be smuggled out of the castle: being let down, so the story runs, like St. Paul in a basket from the window of his chamber, by the hands of his sisters, whom his constancy had converted, he was received by some of his fellow-friars 'as an angel from heaven,' and secretly conducted by them to Naples, in the hope that, when once they had got him there, they would be left in unmolested possession. But there was yet a battle to be fought for him. His mother, fretting over his escape, laid the whole case in person before the Pope, and, accusing the Dominicans of dishonesty in entrapping her son, begged that his vows might be pronounced void. The Pope, doubtful in which direction it would be most politic to move, postponed his decision till he had heard what the youth had to say for himself: he was accordingly fetched from Naples, and pleaded his vocation with such combined modesty and firmness, that the whole Court was filled with admiration, and with tears of joy congratulated Theodora on having so admirable a son. To make things pleasant to both parties, the Pope went so far as to offer him the Abbacy of Monte Cassino, with permission to continue a Dominican and wear the habit of the Order; but even to this the lad was inexorable, and turning a deaf ear to the entreaties of his family, he implored the Pope to leave him alone, and suffer him henceforth to follow his vocation as a simple friar. Thus, after two years of struggle, the conflict ended, and at

the age of eighteen his lot was irrevocably thrown in with the mendicant brothers of St. Dominic.

How to turn their prize to the most profitable use was now to be considered. They had evidently got hold of a rare combination of splendid intellect with fervent piety, and nothing but good training was needed to develop it into a glorious bulwark of the Order. Where the best training was to be found there could be little doubt. The most brilliant teacher of the age, Albert, surnamed the Great, himself a Dominican, was then lecturing on philosophy and theology to crowds of students at Cologne, and under his care the neophyte must be placed. The General himself of the Order took charge of him for the three-months' journey, and the pair trudged along on foot by way of Paris, in the usual light marching order of the friars, a prayer-book and a staff, begging their way. 'Brother Thomas,' said the old man, as the towers of the capital came in sight, 'what would you give to be king of that city?' 'I had rather possess Chrysostom's "Commentary on St. Matthew,"' replied the youth, 'than be king of all France.' In this spirit he entered on the course of study, which, partly at Cologne and partly at Paris, occupied three years; after which, being selected to return with his master to the former city, he was appointed *Magister Studentium*, or second Professor, of the new schools just established there by the Dominicans.

About the Master to whom he was indebted for his training a few words may not be amiss, so much has he dropped out of the world's common memory. The 'universal doctor,' as Albert was called by his admirers, to balance the nickname of 'Aristotle's ape,' given him by others, was born in 1193 of a noble German family, and died at the advanced age of eighty-five, having outlived his more celebrated pupil by several years; but even so prolonged a life seems scarcely sufficient for all that he crowded into it. He is said to have written eight hundred treatises, by no means an incredible statement, when we look at the twenty-one folio volumes which bear his name; and as, besides composing or dictating, he was incessantly lecturing as a professor, travelling on the business of his Order, or filling high offices in the Church, among which were those of the Master of the Sacred Palace, Bishop of Ratisbon, and Papal Legate in Poland, his time would appear to have been sufficiently occupied, even without his customary recitation every day of the entire Psalter. His versatility was no less remarkable than his industry. Besides his more strictly professional authorship, he was an original writer on various branches of natural history, drew plans for cathedrals and churches, made experiments in chemistry,

chemistry, devised a garden in which the soft airs and bright flowers of summer could be enjoyed in the depth of winter, and even succeeded after thirty years of labour in constructing a speaking automaton, which, according to tradition, was taken by the youthful Thomas for a mocking demon, and was forthwith smashed by him to pieces. Perhaps it was the distraction occasioned by such a multiplicity of pursuits which at first helped to blind Albert to his pupil's extraordinary talent. For Thomas is said to have been a singularly reserved youth; large, grave, taciturn, and so frequently absorbed in reverie as often scarcely to know what he was eating, he became a butt to his fellow-students, and received the nicknames of 'Dumb ox' and 'Pythagoras's wallet.' How the illusion was dispelled may be read in the old Latin memoir of him, ascribed to a contemporary friar, William de Thoco, or Tocco, but probably written in the following century, and printed in the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*. Albert having lectured on some abstruse question, Thomas for his own improvement wrote an elaborate essay upon it; and the paper having been accidentally dropped was picked up and carried to the Master, whose surprise at its excellence was so great that he resolved to draw out the silent scholar, by ordering him publicly to defend a thesis on the following day. Having fortified himself by prayer, the lad handled the thesis with such ability and decision that the Master cried out, 'Brother Thomas, one would think you were pronouncing sentence rather than sustaining your side.' 'Master, I know not how to speak otherwise,' was the humble answer. Whereupon the Master himself tried to pose him with a variety of objections, the subtlety of which was such that he flattered himself he had completely 'shut up' the youthful respondent ('omnino se eum crederet conclusisse'); but his triumph over them all was so manifest, that Albert broke up the session with the prophecy: 'We call this student a dumb ox, but the time will come when such shall be his bellowing in doctrine that it will sound throughout the whole world.'

From the time that St. Thomas entered, in his twenty-third year, on his subordinate teaching functions under Albert at Cologne, down to his death, his personal history is little more than a record of lecturing, preaching, and writing. Some obscurity hangs over the steps of his advancement to office and honour, it being difficult to disentangle the dates from the confusion in which admiring biographers have involved them; but we think that the following account will be found substantially correct. After spending three or four years at Cologne, during which he received the priesthood, and began his career as an

author by writing some short metaphysical treatises, he was sent by his superiors to Paris, in spite of his modest reluctance, to be admitted to the degree of Bachelor. We must remember that in those days University degrees had a very different significance from that which they now bear. Out of the many thousands of students then attracted to Paris by the fame of celebrated professors, very few aspired even to the Baccalaureate, which was mainly reserved for such as aimed at becoming lecturers in one or other of the numerous schools affiliated to the University. The students, in fact, came to learn, or at least to hear, rather than to graduate; often when tired of one University they migrated to another, for the most part an undisciplined, tumultuous body, of all ranks and classes, from wealthy young nobles led by fashion, down to ragged mendicant scholars, of whom two or three might own a single frock between them, and take turns to attend lectures and lie in bed. The selection, therefore, of Thomas to receive the grade of Bachelor carried with it both honour and responsibility; and its immediate consequence was that he became a lecturer on theology, under the supervision of one of the Dominican professors of the sacred science. It was his duty to expound the usual divinity textbook of the time, the 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard, his lectures on which, when collected and revised, formed the earliest of his great theological treatises; and his renown rapidly spreading, he was before long made a Licentiate, a provisional grade entitling him to occupy a professorial chair, and proceed to the highest degree which the University could confer. In consequence, however, of the quarrels that broke out between the University and the Mendicant Orders, and in which he played by his pen a very leading part as a champion of the principles on which those Orders were founded, his elevation to the Doctorate was deferred; and meanwhile his superiors despatched him to Italy, in concert with the celebrated Franciscan, Bonaventura, to plead the cause of the Friars before Pope Alexander IV., who was then holding his court at Anagni. This was in 1256, when Thomas was in his thirtieth year; and the Friars having gained the day, chiefly it is said through his splendid advocacy of their cause, he returned to Paris, with the Papal orders at his back, to receive his diploma—the like honour being also conferred, it is believed on the same occasion, upon his Franciscan colleague and friend. It seems that the ceremony was one of unusual interest, partly because of the conflict which had preceded it, and was now ended by the submission of the University to the Pope's decree, and partly because of the immense reputation already acquired by Thomas for learning
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and sanctity; and a vast concourse was gathered to hear him perform the public Act for his degree.

Without drawing on the imagination, as Father Vaughan has so largely done, for the scenic effects of the pageant, enough of the chronicler's account may be accepted to give us an idea how the candidate bore himself. Weighed down by his excessive humility, he had spent the previous night praying and weeping before the altar, till towards morning he sank exhausted into a deep slumber. As it has often happened in such cases, the needed comfort and strength came to him in a dream. A venerable old man, robed in the habit of St. Dominic, appeared to him, and asked why he so cried and wept before God. 'Because,' replied Thomas, 'such a grievous burden is laid upon me, and I know not what to say.' Whereupon he was bidden to go forward without fear, and to take for the text of his Act nothing but Ps. civ. 13, which runs in the Vulgate—'Watering the hills from Thine upper chambers; the earth shall be filled with the fruit of Thy works.' The eventful day had already dawned when Thomas awoke, and going with lightened and thankful heart to the great hall, he made that simple expression of God's operation in the world of Nature the starting-point of an excursion through all the fields of theology; using it, as Touron says, 'to explain how Christ, the adorable Chief of men and of angels, waters the celestial mountains with the river of His graces, and satisfies the militant Church with the fruit of His labours, through the sacraments which He has ordained to impart to us the merits of His passion.' Of the fanciful and barren method of exegesis then almost universal, and scarcely extinct it may be feared even now, no better illustration could be found; unless indeed it be in the chronicler's comment, that the passage was also a prophecy how Thomas himself should water the whole Church with the showers of his wisdom, 'since it is manifest to every one that throughout the whole world, among the Catholic faithful, nothing is taught, whether of philosophy or theology, in any of the schools, but what is drawn out of his writings.' The Act being concluded, the reception into the Doctorate followed, attended no doubt with the customary ceremonies; such as the espousal to Wisdom by a symbolical ring; the placing of the right hand on a closed Bible, in token of mastery over its contents; the delivery of an open Bible with the words, 'Receive power to teach throughout the whole world;' the invitation, 'Be seated among the Doctors;' the final investiture with the cap of office.

For the following year or two he was engaged in lecturing from the Dominican chair of theology at Paris, and assisting in remodelling

remodelling the schools of the Order; after which he was summoned by the Pope to Italy, where the next eight or nine years of his life were passed. These were years of immense intellectual activity. At Rome, Civita Vecchia, Anagni, Viterbo, Perugia, and perhaps other cities, he delivered courses of theological lectures with brilliant success, and constantly preached in the churches; of the Holy See he was the unfailing counsellor on many a difficult question; from his cell an incessant stream of writings was poured forth. In the earlier part of this period Clement IV. issued a brief, conferring on him the archbishopric of Naples; but the prospect of the elevation caused him such profound melancholy and anguish of soul, that he found no peace till at his earnest entreaty the brief was withdrawn. His next move was back to Paris, where he was received with signal honour by the King, then on the eve of his second crusade; and for about two years he reoccupied his old chair of theology. Only one more sphere of work was allowed him. Among the Universities which competed for the benefit of his teaching the preference was assigned to Naples; and thus for the brief remainder of his life he presided, as the greatest living master of theology, in the place where as a stripling he had first sat on the scholars' bench.

While impressed by the intellectual brilliancy of St. Thomas's career, we should still fail to do him full justice unless we also recognized the profound piety of his spirit. No one could have shown himself more free from self-conceit and personal ambition, or more thoroughly obedient to the sacred calls of duty. His whole life bore the stamp of unworldliness, and simple self-devotion to the work of God. Purity, humility, obedience, reverence, were the very atmosphere in which he habitually lived. It is true that the forms assumed by his piety and devoutness were necessarily moulded by the dominant ideas of his age, and thus became to some extent infected with that unpleasant taint which a rigid monasticism never fails to engender. One cannot, for instance, read without repugnance and silent protest the statement made admiringly by the enthusiastic Frigerio, on the authority of some old manuscript memoir, that St. Thomas 'to exercise his patience was wont frequently to spend a large portion of the night in inflicting torment on his body by scourging it with an iron chain.' But such things are of the outside; and much as we may grieve at seeing really noble souls brought under an artificial and debasing bondage by misconceptions of the will of God and the true vocation of man, to count them the less inherently admirable on that account would be to confound the substance of goodness with

with the external moulds into which circumstances may have happened to cast it. Notwithstanding, then, our firm persuasion that the monastic ideal of perfection is a perverted and false one, we do not scruple to hold that the extraordinary veneration bestowed on St. Thomas by his contemporaries, and perpetuated to this day in his Church, which has embalmed his memory with her choicest spices, is in the main well-founded, and that he was really one of those elect and saintly souls, of whom it may be said that their virtues were their own, but their defects those of their time. One of the stories which became current about him beautifully indicates the impression made by his unselfish single-minded devotion to the cause of religion. He had gone at early dawn, as was his custom at Naples, to pray alone before a large crucifix in the Dominican church, when a friar, stealthily watching him as he knelt, saw him miraculously raised two cubits from the ground, and heard a voice proceed from the parted lips of the Image, saying, 'Well hast thou written concerning Me, Thomas; what wages wilt thou accept for thy labour?' 'Lord,' was the reply, 'none but Thyself.' Another story relates that Bonaventura, paying him a visit while he was writing his treatise on the Sacrament, perceived an angel by his side assisting him to compose it. Smile as we may at such legends as puerile, still we should be uncandid if we did not confess them to have a substratum and core of truth in the heavenly-mindedness of the man round whom they grew up; and indeed there is ample reason to wish that, among the praises lavished upon him in later times, there were none more offensive to a pure religious taste than those transparently simple products of a genuine admiration. We cannot doubt that Thomas of Aquino was, by divine grace, a man of rare saintliness both of temperament and conduct.

We left him in the theological chair at Naples, and must now add how in the midst of his days the end unexpectedly overtook him. If we may translate the chronicler's account into the language of common-sense, we should say that his overwrought brain began to give way. He was leading a very ascetic life, eating only once a day, and allowing himself so little repose that he is described as 'always either praying, teaching, writing, or dictating'; and he was eagerly pushing on with the third and last part of his greatest work, the '*Summa Theologica*,' which was approaching completion, when he began to see such frequent visions as to give the impression of one who almost dwelt in the unseen world. The crisis seems to have come in the shape of a strange rapture or trance, which visibly shook and changed his whole frame as he was celebrating mass. From that time the
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pen fell from his idle hands; he neither wrote nor dictated; and, although urged for the glory of God and the illumination of the world to carry on his great treatise to a conclusion, to every entreaty he replied that 'all he had written seemed now to him but as so much rubbish, compared with what had been revealed to him in his trance.' While he was in this state, he was ordered by Pope Gregory X. to attend the Council convoked at Lyons for the purpose of negotiating with the Eastern Church, and to bring with him his famous treatise against the Greeks. With his usual obedience he set out, but fever coming on, he took refuge in the Cistercian Monastery of Fossa Nuova, near Terracina, where after a month's gradual wasting he peacefully passed away on March 7, 1274, the day afterwards assigned to him in the Roman Calendar, being probably just about forty-eight years old. It is characteristic of the time that an ugly rumour got about, and obtained considerable credence, to the effect that his death was owing to slow poison, administered to him by order of the King of Sicily, under the apprehension that he would shortly be made a Cardinal, and bring to the House of Aquino too large an accession of influence. Such authorities as there are for this rumour may be found noted in the preface by the Thomist Editors to their admirable edition of the Saint's works, recently published at Paris; happily the evidence is very insignificant, and we may safely acquit of the suggested atrocity an age which was already black enough without this additional stain.

In compiling the foregoing sketch we have endeavoured to exclude legendary and doubtful materials, and to present the Angelical Doctor such as he appeared, before the uncritical admiration of the faithful threw around him a nimbus of fictitious glory. If we have erred at all on the side of scepticism, we might plead that by far the most sceptical treatment to which his life has ever been subjected proceeded from a member of his own Church. Our reference is to that strange compound of learning and folly, the Jesuit Father Jean Hardouin, who in his epitaph was justly described as 'the most paradoxical of mortals, in credulity a babe, in audacity a youth, in dotage an old man.' His craze, that all the Greek and Roman classics, with half-a-dozen exceptions, were monkish forgeries of the thirteenth century, is familiar to most; but it may not be as widely known that he extended the same measure to the greater part of the Christian Fathers, to the Acts of the Œcumenical Councils before the Tridentine, and to many other ecclesiastical writings. The life of Thomas Aquinas was regarded by him as an allegorical myth, with the scantiest foundation of fact; and,
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taking his cue from the annunciation-story with which it opens, he expounded it in the following ingenious manner. Thomas stands for our Lord; Monte Cassino, the place of his early schooling, is Nazareth, and its monks are the Galilæans; Paris and Naples, the chief centres where he studied and taught, are Jerusalem; the temptress repelled by him is the synagogue; his brothers ill-treating him are the Jews nailing Jesus to the cross; the angels binding him with the girdle of continence are Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, wrapping the sacred Body in fine linen and spices; the Council summoned at Lyons, on his way to which he died, is the concourse of Jews assembled for the Passover of the Passion. But merely to mention such trifling, as a literary curiosity, is enough, and we must hasten on to more serious matters.

In approaching the writings of St. Thomas, we may advantageously take with us the idea presented in a picture painted in his honour by Orcagna's pupil, Francesco Traini, in the fourteenth century, and preserved in the Dominican church of St. Catherine at Pisa. The following description of it from Father Vaughan's pen, though inexact as to some of the details, very fairly expresses the sentiment of the composition:—

'The saint is in the centre; above him is represented the Almighty in a sea of light surrounded by choirs of angels; below, in the clouds, are Moses, the Evangelists, and St. Paul. From the Eternal Father lines of light shine down upon these men of God; and from them, in a threefold ray, concentrate upon the forehead of the Angelical. On either side of St. Thomas, somewhat lower down, are Plato and Aristotle, the one holding the *Timæus* open before him, the other the *Ethics*; and from each of these a beam ascends and fastens itself on the brow of the Angelical, harmonizing with the divine illumination which proceeds from the everlasting Father. The saint himself is seated; the sacred Scriptures lie open before him; whilst he, calm, gentle, and majestic, points to the first words of the "*Summa contra Gentiles*," "My mouth shall meditate truth, and my lips shall hate the impious one." The impious one is Averrôes, who lies prostrate at his feet with the "Commentary" at his side, struck by one of the flashes which shoot from the pages of the inspired writings unrolled upon the knees of the Angel of the Schools.'

The symbolism of this elaborate painting scarcely needs explanation. From two sources, Revelation and Reason, the one having the sacred writers, the other the Greek philosophers, for its organ, the saint derives his illumination; and from this combination of the supernatural with the natural proceed the immortal works, in which he establishes theology upon an
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impregnable basis of philosophy, and overthrows all the errors of heretics and unbelievers.

In accordance with this representation, the writings of St. Thomas may be broadly divided into three classes, which may be conveniently designated the *expository*, the *philosophical*, and the *scholastic*: the first commenting on Scripture, and setting forth its doctrines according to the received traditions of the Church; the second establishing a metaphysical system and logical method, by the voice of reason and the light of Nature; the third fusing the doctrines of the Church with the philosophy of reason, so as to present the sum total of truth in an organized scientific form, purged from every kind of error, and standing 'four-square and immovable,' to borrow Cardinal Manning's phrase, against all the Church's enemies. About each of these classes we must say something.

To the first belong his voluminous comments on a large part of the Bible, and in particular his 'Golden Chain' ('*Catena Aurea*'), or continuous exposition of the four Gospels, compiled from the chief Christian writings of the first twelve centuries. In this great work not less than eighty different authors are resorted to for materials; besides the principal Fathers of the Church, of whom Augustine, Hilary, Origen, and Chrysostom are the most frequently used, many much later writers are laid under contribution, such as Rabanus, Remigius, Bede, Alcuin, and Anselm. The sense, rather than the exact words, is given; and the extracted passages, condensed and frequently rearranged, are woven together with excellent method and clearness, so as to form a running exposition of the text. Both for breadth of learning and lucidity of arrangement this celebrated work stands very high amongst the older Commentaries on Scripture, and, in Cardinal Newman's opinion, is scarcely to be surpassed for 'masterly and architectonic skill.' Indeed, when we take into account the difficulties to be overcome in constructing a *Catena* on such a scale before the invention of printing, while the comparatively rare manuscripts which had to be consulted were scattered about in conventual libraries, and none of the modern facilities of indices and analyses were in existence, we can scarcely wonder at the growth of a tradition that St. Thomas, as he plodded his way from monastery to monastery to pick up his materials, was miraculously enabled to keep them all in his memory, from which alone he afterwards reproduced them while writing in his cell. There can be no doubt that his memory was extraordinarily tenacious, for otherwise the production under the circumstances of such works as his in a short lifetime would have been impossible; and there may

may be a good deal of truth in the story, that during the year or two of his early incarceration by his brothers he learnt the entire Bible by heart—of course in the Vulgate, the original languages being unknown to him both then and always.

Of the second class of his writings—which we have designated as philosophical—the most important part consists of his Commentaries on Aristotle. Here his aim was to build up, on the basis of reason, a complete science or theory of Being, which he might afterwards employ to illustrate and confirm the dogmas taught authoritatively by the Church. He had been introduced, while a student, to Aristotle's philosophy by his master, Albert, who had been the first, at the cost of much opposition and reproach, to make the method and doctrine of the Stagyrte the foundation of systematic theology. It is sufficient to say here that, in the hot controversy which raged in those centuries between the Nominalists and the Realists, St. Thomas, like the orthodox in general, ranged himself with the moderate section of the Realists, who, while holding that Universals—namely *Genera* and *Species*—are more than mere mental abstractions, and have a real existence, yet limited them to an existence in the individual, and refused to attribute to them any antecedent or independent existence. There is more to interest us in the curious, but somewhat obscure, story of the relation between Aristotle and the medieval Church. Since the time of Charlemagne a translation of Aristotle's 'Organon' had been in use as a text-book in the schools of the West; but with this exception his works remained almost, if not entirely, unknown to the Latin theologians till several centuries later. But at an earlier period, probably as far back as the end of the sixth century, they had been translated into Syriac by the Syrian Christians, who again, at a later date, translated them into Arabic, and thus introduced them to the brilliant Arabian school of philosophy which flourished in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and had Avicenna in the East and Averroës in the West for its most illustrious representatives, in whose hands, as might be expected, they became weapons of attack on some of the tenets of Christianity. From these Mahomedan teachers they passed to the Jewish rationalistic philosophers, Maimonides and others, who translated them into Hebrew, and wrote commentaries upon them; and it was in the first instance through these learned Jews that they began at length to find their way into a Latin version, and thus became accessible to the theologians of the Western Church, about the beginning of the thirteenth century. At first the opposition to them was strong, and the Church, prejudiced against them by their having
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been used in the interests of heresy and unbelief, placed them under a ban; but now that the intellect of Europe was on the stir, the movement in their favour soon became too strong to be resisted, and the Schoolmen, having vindicated them from Mahommedan and Jewish misuse, and remodelled their teaching so as to bring it into accordance with the dogmas of the Church, went on to make them the main basis and support of Christian theology. Thus Rationalism, against which since the days of Abelard a fierce struggle had been waged, was now attacked and routed by its own weapons, and faith was wedded to reason in an alliance which it was hoped would prove indissoluble. In this work of buttressing authority by philosophy, and vindicating orthodoxy by the light of nature, as the way was led by Albert, so his greater pupil carried it on to perfection; and the consequence has been that the stately edifice of systematic theology, reared in the Church of the West by the labours of the Schools, reposes on the foundations laid by the great luminary of pagan Greece.

On the remaining class of St. Thomas's writings we must dwell at greater length. Of these, as we have already intimated, the aim was to fuse the doctrines of Revelation with the philosophy of Reason, and thus to produce a complete body of knowledge, human and divine, against which error and unbelief should in vain level their assaults. Under his treatment divinity was transmuted into philosophy, and philosophy was absorbed into theology. Henceforth theology was to present itself to mankind, not merely as the queen of sciences, the crown and completion of the great fabric of knowledge; but as the total sum of science, a philosophy of the universe, embracing everything that could be known about God, angels, men, matter and spirit, and exhibiting in ordered logical connection the nature, relations, and destiny of all existences. In a word, as developed by St. Thomas, the Scholastic philosophy or theology, for it may with equal appropriateness be called by either name, was the apotheosis of that very Rationalism against which the Church had long been protesting; only with this difference, that whereas with the unorthodox Rationalists reason had gone about its work with an audacious independence, and shrunk from no results to which it could see its way, now with the Schoolmen, while it retained the semblance of freedom, an invisible bit was put within its mouth, by which it was compelled to obey the Church's guidance, and to lead to none but the Church's conclusions. And nothing was held by them too sacred, too mysterious, too spiritual, for reason to define, analyse, and demonstrate by the methods of logic. Religion

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was no longer allowed to have its reserves for the heart, its solemn regions of awe and mystery, its inmost realities which must be felt rather than conceived, and which seem too ethereal, too subtle, to be set out in rigid definitions, and handled by the processes of the understanding. The heights of the Godhead, the recesses of the human soul, the secrecies of divine grace, the mystic relations between heaven and earth, all were invaded by an unshrinking logic, and drawn out in formal propositions and syllogistic arguments. Whereas in Scripture the things of the Spirit are set forth under the veils of symbols borrowed from the natural world, and metaphors which are suggestive to the heart rather than descriptive to the intellect, now in the schools the veils were plucked aside, the figures discarded, and what were supposed to be ultimate and naked realities and essences were brought out into the arena of dialectics, were analysed and sorted, defined and discussed, and scientifically disposed in a minutely articulated system of thought. The practical effect was to present religion under the aspect of a formal science; faith became identified with an intellectual assent to a body of dogmatic statements; revelation was chiefly regarded as a communication of new knowledge, a gift of materials which reason could employ to construct for itself a complete philosophy of the universe. The use of the Scriptures in such a system became, almost necessarily, of an artificial and misleading character; little account was taken of those features of the sacred Word which in modern critical theology hold a very prominent place,—such as its historical evolution and progressive character, the circumstances under which its successive communications were given, the special purpose of each, and the poetical, rhetorical, or figurative forms in which they were often clothed: the Bible was mostly employed as a book of propositions, all on a level, each absolute in itself, and warranting whatever inferences could be logically deduced from its phraseology. Of the gigantic system thus elaborated, the nature is well described by a modern divine,* who had made a thorough study of it, although in his recoil from its hard, formal presentation of spiritual truths he laid himself open to the charge of having gone too far in the depreciation of dogmatic theology. ‘The object’—wrote Bishop Hampden in the famous Bampton Lectures, which stirred so much controversy in the last generation—

‘The object of the Scholastic Philosophy was to detect and draw forth from the Scripture, by aid of the subtle analysis of the philosophy of Aristotle, the mystical truths of God on which the Scripture Revelation was supposed to be founded. The Scripture itself, addressing

ing us in the language of our natural knowledge, conveys to us the principles of the divine science by analogies, which at once intimate the truth, and veil it from human apprehension. Philosophy applied to the Scripture dispels those shadows with which the truth, as now seen, is overcast; removes the veil which now intercepts our view; withdraws our attention from the mere symbols and signs, and brings ultimately before the mind the mysterious yet more real verities of the Divine Knowledge.'

Within the Church of Rome, by all its most approved theologians and teachers, from the occupants of the Papal chair downwards, this blending of reason with revelation, whereby the intellectual and spiritual worlds are assimilated and fused together, and theology is cast into the mould of a logical philosophy, is with one consent held to be the sovereign achievement and crowning glory of Thomas Aquinas. To Natalis, who may be accepted as expressing the general opinion, we are indebted for an ingenious illustration of the service thus rendered by him to religion. Before the time of St. Thomas, says this author, philosophy was a Hagar, wandering in the desert; but as an angel bade the bondwoman return to the tent of Abraham, and submit herself to her mistress, with the promise of becoming the mother of a great nation, so St. Thomas brought the philosophy of Aristotle within the bosom of the Catholic Church, and consecrated it to be henceforth the fruitful handmaid of theology. Nor is this estimate of his achievement that of individuals alone, however eminent or high-placed, within the Roman obedience; the Church itself, speaking through the organ of its supreme authority, has endorsed it by enrolling him among the 'Doctors of the universal Church,' whose function it is not only to teach within the Church, but to teach the Church itself; and whose doctrine, if not technically and absolutely infallible, is yet binding on all the bishops and clergy, as the standard by which they are both to judge and to be judged. To minds, however, that have been trained in a freer school to distinguish between the realities of things and the logical forms under which the human understanding conceives and apprehends them, the very claim to systematic completeness made by the theology of the Schools, so far from being a recommendation, seems to cast over the whole result a suspicious air of unreality. So, at any rate, thought our Bacon, who in a well-known passage of his '*Advancement of Learning*' singles out for animadversion precisely this feature of the Scholastic theology:—

'As for perfection or completeness in divinity,' he writes, 'it is not to be sought, which makes this course of artificial divinity the more
suspect.'

suspect. For he that will reduce a knowledge into an art will make it round and uniform; but in divinity many things must be left abrupt and concluded with this,—“O the depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!” So again the apostle saith, “We know in part;” and to have the form of a total where there is but matter for a part cannot be without supplies by supposition and presumption.’

The truth, we believe, is that the theology elaborated by the Schoolmen, just so far as it is scholastic and philosophical, is not in any real sense theology at all, but is simply an exposition of the terms under which the subject-matter of theology is conceived by the human mind. What these renowned doctors of the Schools effect, by all their subtle ratiocinations and distinctions, is nothing more than to draw out what is logically contained in the conceptions of God which we have already formed: of God Himself they tell us nothing that we did not know before. They explain to us our own notions about divine things, but to our real knowledge of divine things they add nothing, nor can all their dialectic resources assure us that our conceptions correctly represent the spiritual and eternal facts of religion. Could these facts, indeed, which are the ultimate materials of theological science, be so accurately defined in language, that the definitions could be used, as in geometry, for the premises of strictly reasoned proofs and deductions, the results would in that case undoubtedly have a legitimate title to be accepted as demonstrated truths; but the accuracy of verbal definition, on which the value of the inferences must depend, is exactly the thing which is unattainable in these mysteries of the spirit. Nor can logical processes add anything to the ideas from which they start. After we have been permitted to see every conceivable dialectic feat performed with such terms as essence, spirit, personality, substance, accidents, and so forth, we cannot be said to have gained any addition to our knowledge of the things themselves for which these terms stand; it is only by confusing the very realities themselves with the propositions about them, which are merely modes of our own understanding, that the semblance of an increase in our knowledge is produced. To discuss the properties of the Godhead, the mode of the Incarnation, the action of divine grace on the human will, the difference between the essence of an angel and the essence of a human soul, and other similar topics, through a thousand pages of subtle analysis and irrefragable deduction, may at first strike us as an astonishing display of intellectual force, and impress us with the idea that the mysteries of Being have been penetrated and laid open to our gaze; but when we seriously

seriously examine what trustworthy additions have been made to our knowledge, it will probably be found that the discussions have been for the most part a mere playing with words, and the apparent progress in science little more than a barren round within the circle of our own definitions and conceptions.

Of the chief works in which St. Thomas treated theology by the scholastic method, it may be said generally, that while they differ in their immediate occasion and purpose, they have such a family resemblance in the nature and style of their contents, as to make it difficult, on taking a page at hazard, to guess to which it belongs. The plan usually adopted by him is to present for discussion some question or proposition; to state as strongly as possible the arguments which have been, or may be, advanced in favour of a wrong answer or solution; to follow these with the orthodox determination, and the authorities or reasons for it, whether drawn from the Bible, the Fathers, or Aristotle, who always figures as the philosopher, *par excellence*; and lastly, to reply in order to the opposing arguments. Thus each question is thoroughly sifted and threshed out, before it is dismissed for the next. One consequence of this method is that these volumes, besides containing the grounds for the beliefs sanctioned by the Church, are also storehouses of all kinds of erroneous, heretical, and infidel opinions, and of the arguments by which they may be advocated, and are a very manual of heterodoxy as well as of orthodoxy. Speaking from our own experience, the effect produced on the mind by these closely argued, interminable discussions, is not a little curious. The whole process may be likened to the action of a machine, pounding away at its work with measured beat and play; never hasting and never resting; absolutely passionless and indifferent, whatever the materials it is fed with, or the products that issue from it in a manufactured state. Logic, logic, everywhere, but not a morsel of nourishment for the famishing soul, not a drop of refreshment for the thirsting heart. Truth and error, right and wrong, move across the page in abstract impersonal forms, a procession of fleshless skeletons, an army of spectral propositions, which the dialectic faculty marshals in battle array, and manœuvres to and fro as on some phantasmal field of warfare. Not an emotion breaks the imperturbable calm; not a breath as of a living soul passes over the dry bones of the desert; not a word carries with it a hint of spiritual struggle with doubt, or of joy in the victory of faith. Were there, between the weak, trembling soul of sinful man and the solemn mysteries of the eternal world, no deeper puzzles than those of the logical understanding, no worse difficulties than those

those which dialectics can solve, then indeed we might sit contentedly at the feet of St. Thomas, believing that all we had to do was to listen and be at peace, so clear is his arrangement, so subtle his analysis, so triumphant his reasoning. It was especially the calm, cold, passionless movement of his intellect which won for him the title of Angelical, as if he dwelt in the upper serenity, far above the emotions and infirmities of mankind. But alas, for all the mighty pretensions of Scholasticism! when the shadows of real doubt close in on the soul, and the foundations seem to be sinking beneath it; when before the eye of the spirit the heavens are shrouded in impenetrable darkness, and God and immortality become as illusive phantoms, flitting without substance or truth across the awful void. What help can then be found in the fence and play, however dexterous, of the school-logic over substance and accident, matter and form, quiddity and essence? The abysses yawn beneath, and no metaphysical assumptions can bridge them over, no subtle logomachy dissipate their terrors. Truth, not logic, is the soul's need; but when it cries in its agony for bread, scholasticism offers it a stone.

But we would not be unjust. In its own line and way the embattled and mighty fortress of scholastic divinity, reared by Thomas Aquinas for the defence of the faith of Christendom, is a wonderful achievement. It shows what logic can do with theology, on the supposition that divine and spiritual truths can be profitably handled by its methods; it sums up, with an unparalleled lucidity of arrangement, the whole body of knowledge and thought about the Universe, to which the orthodoxy of the Middle Ages had attained; it was the instrument of training the intellect of Europe for centuries, and it became the starting-point from which the human mind essayed fresh flights, when it came to discern more clearly the difference between the realities of existence and the modes and forms under which the understanding conceives them. Giant's work the whole structure may justly be called; and although in our altered circumstances its pertinency has passed away, and the stir of life has vanished from its empty halls, it stands for ever as a stupendous monument, an imperishable landmark in the development of human culture.

The scholastic works of St. Thomas fall naturally into three classes, corresponding to the purposes out of which they grew: the *academical*, mainly composed of professional lectures and disputations; the *polemical*, directed against particular errors; and the *systematic* or *synoptical*, exhibiting the whole body of truth in an ordered and scientific arrangement. Within the

compass of an article like this to attempt to give any comprehensive account of these voluminous and elaborate compositions would be ridiculous; but we may hope that a few words about the chief of them, with some specimens of the questions debated, will not be unacceptable.

Of the first or academical class the earliest and largest is the vast Commentary on the 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard, to which a brief reference has already been made. As the famous Book of the Sentences, originally published in the preceding century, was a synopsis of theology as then understood, the lecturer upon it was taken pretty well round the entire circuit of divine science; and hence St. Thomas's Commentary travels over a great deal of the ground which is more fully covered in his maturer works. He was no slavish follower of the Lombard, and did not hesitate to correct both his arguments and conclusions, as well as to offer solutions of many curious theological problems about which the Master was unable to make up his mind. A few of the questions discussed may bear to be quoted as illustrations of the scope of the current theology, which certainly neither modest diffidence nor dignified self-respect withheld from handling matters of any kind, from the most incomprehensible to the most trivial; indeed nothing seemed to come amiss to it, and it may be compared to the elephant's trunk, now uprooting a tree, and now picking up a pin. Our first instance is taken from the Distinctions about the doctrine of the Trinity. When what theologians designate as the eternal generation of the second divine Person is under discussion, we come upon the following group of questions:—

'Whether the Father personally begets the divine Essence, or the divine Essence itself begets the Son. Whether the Essence begets the Essence; or whether the Essence itself neither begets, nor is begotten.'

We may pause here for a moment to observe how this instance confirms what has been already remarked about the unreality of much of the theology of the Schools. Before such questions as these can be debated to any purpose, the terms, essence, personality, generation, &c., must be intelligibly defined; and it is only out of the ideas contained in the definitions that the answers to the questions can be drawn. But it is certain that, in their application to the infinite and incomprehensible nature of the Godhead, these terms baffle all human attempts at exact or logical definition, and remain symbols of mysteries which surpass apprehension; and the inevitable consequence is that, whatever ingenious dialectic feats are performed with them, the conclusions

sions arrived at are of as little practical meaning and value, as the solutions of equations expressed in quantities, all of which are unknown. A similar remark may be made about the only other group of questions which our space will permit us to quote from the same treatise. They occur in the 'Distinctions concerning Angels'; an extremely favourite subject with the Schoolmen, whom we might imagine to have possessed as accurate an acquaintance with the structure, properties, and habits of angelic beings, as our most skilful anatomists and physiologists can pretend to have acquired, by long observation and experiment, with the human body. Among a host of questions proposed for solution, and triumphantly worked out to definite conclusions, we find these:—

'Whether angels are compounded of matter and form. Whether they possess personality. Whether there is a definite number of angels. Whether every angel forms a distinct species. Whether all angels belong to the same genus. Whether an angel differs in species from a human soul.'

Next to the Commentary on the Sentences comes a very large work, entitled '*Quæstiones Disputatae*,' being a collection of academical discussions upon various difficult questions in theology, philosophy, and metaphysics. Among them occur these:—

'Whether a man can be taught by an angel. Whether it was possible for angels to exist prior to the visible world. Whether demons are evil by nature, or by will. Whether they possess a knowledge of the future. Whether they discern men's thoughts. Whether they can change one substance into another. Whether they can move bodies from place to place. Whether the Book of Life is a created thing. Whether it belongs to the Son. Whether there is a Book of Death. Whether Christ possessed merit in the very instant of His conception, or not till the following instant.'

Supplementary to this is a smaller work, '*Quæstiones Quodlibetales*,' or Miscellaneous (What-you-please) Questions. It appears to have originated in the problems submitted to St. Thomas for solution, by persons who desired to profit by his faculty for subtle argumentation, and it deals with matters which for the most part may be pronounced as unedifying as they are certainly curious. A few specimens of these *Quodlibets* will suffice to convey an idea of the contents:—

'Whether two glorified bodies can occupy the same part of space at the same moment. Whether God is able to make a body be in two places at once. Whether an angel can move from one point to another without passing through the intermediate space. Whether God is able

to sin, should He wish to do so. Whether truth is stronger than wine. Whether it is sinful to wish to be a bishop. Whether lost souls rejoice in the punishment of their enemies. Whether, if Adam had not sinned, exactly equal numbers of males and females would have been born.

The reader may perhaps be interested to learn how to the last of these questions an affirmative answer was established. In a sinless state there would, of course, have been no deaths; but neither would there have been any celibates, for every one would have been occupied in fulfilling the primeval command to increase and multiply. The marriages, too, would have been without exception monogamous, for polygamy can exist only in a state of imperfection. Hence for every man there would have been a woman, and for every woman a man; and as there would have been no thinning out by death, this exact pairing of the couples could only have been secured by equal numbers of the two sexes being born into the world.

Of the second or polemical division of St. Thomas's writings the most important is the one entitled '*Summa contra Gentiles*,' or '*Concerning the truth of the Catholic Faith against the errors of heathens and infidels.*' It was undertaken at the desire of the General of his Order, who had been urged by the Spanish Dominican Raymund to enlist the abilities of their ablest theologian in defence of the orthodox creed, against the heresies and pantheistic doctrines taught by the Moorish and Jewish philosophers of Spain and the East. There is a story that this elaborate treatise was written in shorthand on waste scraps of paper, the saint being too poor to buy proper sheets, and too enamoured of poverty to beg them from others who would gladly have provided him with them; for never, it is added, was there a man so wedded to purity and poverty. It was begun in 1261, and occupied about three years. It is remarkable for its scientific order and logical compactness. Of the four books into which it is divided, the first treats of the nature of God; the second, of His relation to the creature; the third, of His providence and grace; and the last, of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Sacraments. It thus sweeps across the whole field of theology; and as it deals its strokes at the earlier heresies, as well as those of the Saracenic and Jewish Schools which were its immediate occasion, it soon became a convenient armoury of weapons to equip orthodox controversialists for their battles with the enemies of the Church. We select a couple of short passages from the last part, to give an idea of its style, and throw light on the Scholastic method. One of them occurs in a discussion on the Incarnation, of which the object is to show
why

why it was more fitting for the Eternal Word to assume the nature of men than that of angels. Of the reasons assigned, one is that the sins of angels are incapable of forgiveness, and this position is proved as follows:—

‘An angel apprehends things in an unchangeable manner, knowing them by the naked intellect in a degree which admits of no alteration. Hence, whatever choice his will makes, that choice is necessarily unchangeable; and he either never turns to evil at all, or he turns to it unalterably, once and for ever. Whence it follows that, if he sins, his sin does not admit of expiation.’

The other passage is from the part of the treatise which undertakes to prove that, in the future world, the wills, both of the saved and lost, must remain for ever without change. In the case of the latter, the proof which we extract rests upon two assumed premises, namely, that the lost are those who die in mortal sin, and that their punishment is unending; and the argument proceeds in this way:—

‘To mortal sin is due a punishment that has no end. But if the wills of the lost could ever change and become inclined to good, their punishment could not go on for ever, because it would be contrary to justice to continue to inflict pain upon them after they had attained to a good will. Since then it is certain that their punishment is perpetual, it follows that it is not possible that their wills should ever be changed.’

How alien from our modern habits of thought this style of reasoning is, it is superfluous to suggest. A sort of old-world air hangs about it, as about fossil remains of an extinct creation. With us, when seeking for truth, the primary concern is about the validity of the premises from which our search sets out; but in the Scholastic method the premises from which the results are triumphantly deduced are little better than arbitrary propositions, so selected and manipulated as to lead to those foregone conclusions which the authority of the Church has determined. It is this which makes such a treatise as the ‘*Summa contra Gentiles*,’ with all its logical coherence, of so little real help. Could mere dialectics deliver questioning souls from their doubts, and establish them in divine truth, the book might still have a living power; but inasmuch as the prevailing perplexities of our age take their rise far behind the starting-points of the Scholastic trains of argument, it will be found, we fear, of little more avail against modern doubt, than the stone hatchets and leathern shields of our forefathers would be against the ironclad fortresses and rifled artillery of the present time.

Many smaller polemical treatises issued from St. Thomas’s cell,

cell, but only three are of sufficient importance to be named here. Two of them were written in defence of the Mendicant Orders, against the bitter attack made upon them by William de Saint-Amour, the best-known of the original founders of the Sorbonne at Paris, whose book, 'The Perils of the Last Times,' made an immense stir, and endangered the very existence of the Orders. The crisis, in which the Friars, both Franciscan and Dominican, found themselves, was the more alarming, in consequence of their having been recently compromised in public repute by their connection with a fanatical publication called 'The Introduction to the Eternal Gospel,' the burden of which was the speedy passing away of the old gospel and its ministers, and the advent of a new dispensation, an era of spiritual perfection, with a new gospel for its law, and the Friars for its illuminated guides. For this *avatar* of the Spirit, or regeneration of Christendom, when Pope and clergy should be swept away to make room for a bare-footed priesthood, the rapidly approaching year, 1260, was named, on the strength of the mysterious apocalyptic 'time, times, and half a time,' which were measured from the Nativity. The odium arising from this wild vaticination gave force to Saint-Amour's charges, and St. Thomas was anxiously put forward as the champion of the incriminated Orders. Two treatises were accordingly written by him, entitled respectively, 'Against those who attack Religion and the worship of God,' and 'Against the pestilential doctrine of those who dissuade men from entering into Religion;' and these books were esteemed so masterly a defence of the principles of the Religious or monastic life, that they not only carried the Friars triumphantly through the storm, but have ever since been regarded by the Regulars of the Church of Rome as a sort of charter of Monasticism. The other controversial work to which we have alluded treats of the questions in dispute between the Eastern and Western Churches, and is known as the 'Summa contra Græcos.' The four topics handled in it, and the conclusions to which the arguments lead, may be gathered from the following passage:—

'When they say that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son, they diminish that dignity of the Son by which, together with the Father, He is the Spiration of the Holy Spirit. When they deny that there is one head of the Church, that is to say the holy Roman See, they manifestly dissolve the unity of the mystical body; for there cannot be one body if there is not one head, nor one congregation where there is not one ruler. . . . When they deny that the sacrament of the altar can be consecrated of unleavened bread, they manifestly go against Christ Himself, who on the first day of unleavened

leavened bread, when by the law of the Jews nothing leavened was to be found in their houses, instituted this sacrament. . . . When they deny purgatory, they diminish the virtue of this sacrament, because it is the custom in the Church to offer mass for the living and the dead, and by doing away with purgatory the efficacy of the mass as regards the dead is destroyed. For neither to those in hell, from whence is no redemption, nor to those in glory, who have no need of our suffrages, can it be of any advantage. Therefore I will briefly show how these errors are confuted.'

For us the interest of this treatise chiefly arises from the fact, that it is the earliest theological work in which a claim of personal infallibility for the Popes of Rome is seriously advanced; it was accordingly brought prominently forward in the discussions over the dogma promulgated by Pius IX. in the recent Vatican Council. That the claim should have been admitted by so cautious a theologian as St. Thomas, in the teeth of the general belief and practice of the Church up to his time, must seem not a little strange till we know the real history of the matter; and what that was may be briefly learnt from 'Janus.' We cannot forbear to quote the passage, for the sake of the light thrown by it on Roman methods of procedure:—

'A Latin theologian, probably a Dominican, who had resided among the Greeks, composed a catena of spurious passages of Greek Councils and Fathers, St. Chrysostom, the two Cyrils, and a pretended Maximus, containing a dogmatic basis for these novel Papal claims. In 1261 it was laid before Urban IV. . . . Urban, evidently deceived himself, sent the document to Thomas Aquinas, who inserted the whole of what concerned the Primacy into his work against the Greeks, without the least suspicion of its not being genuine. . . . It left no doubt on his mind that the great Councils and most influential Bishops and theologians of the fourth and fifth centuries had recognised in the Pope an infallible monarch, who ruled the Church with absolute power. . . . It was then on the basis of fabrications invented by a monk of his own Order, and on the forgeries found in Gratian, that St. Thomas built up his papal system.'

There is reason for believing that St. Thomas afterwards became aware of the cheat which had been put upon him; for, as Father Gratry remarks in his pungent letters, where also the story is told, the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility not only finds no place in the saint's final and complete Summary of the Church's faith, but the language used there about the Pope and the Episcopal Order is incompatible with it. But for all that, the forgery has done its fatal work.

We come at last to St. Thomas's great synoptical treatise, the
'Summa

'*Summa Theologica*,' or encyclopædia, as it may be called, of Scholastic divinity. All his other labours were gradually leading up to this, the crowning achievement of his life, and the chief foundation of his fame. In religious literature it is unique. Vast, imposing, and exhaustive, it rose before the eyes of his contemporaries as a temple of divine philosophy, in which all knowledge, natural and supernatural, found its place. According to one of the Popes, every article in it was miraculous; 'as many articles, so many miracles.' Yet its principal excellence lies in its arrangement and comprehensiveness. One searches it in vain for anything original, whether of conception, method, or doctrine. It is but a systematic welding together and filling up of what lies scattered in the writer's previous volumes. Here everything is bound together in an organic whole, with incomparable lucidity and proportion. It reminds one of nothing so much as of some colossal forest-tree, ramifying on every side from the massive column of the trunk, through a maze of huge limbs and lesser branches, to the slender twigs and delicate sprays which show like fine lace against the background of the sky, the innumerable parts being all vitally compacted together in a single living organism. The style, too, is exactly of the kind which is suitable to such a compendium. No rhetorical ornaments disturb the student's imagination, no digressions break the even flow of the reasoning, no obscurities betray an uncertain grasp or wavering step. There is no parade of learning, no air of triumph, no invective or abuse. Clear as the running brook, cold as ice, passionless as marble, regular as mechanism,—such is the calm, measured march with which the gigantic scheme unfolds itself, from the profoundest and most sacred mysteries, down to the pettiest acts of human conduct, and the veriest trifles that ever flitted across a human brain.

The work is cast into three divisions, corresponding to Entities, Morals, and Sacramentals. Under the first are treated the argument for the existence of God, now distinguished as the cosmological, because based on the evidences of causation and order in the universe; the divine nature and attributes; the Trinity; the creation of angels, the physical world and mankind; the Divine Providence and government. Under the second, the end for which man was created; the nature and causes of his actions; his virtues and vices. Under the third, the Incarnation, its mode and consequences, as being the source of all sacraments, itself the sacrament hid from eternity in God; the seven sacraments of the Church, with their nature, conditions, and effects; the final resurrection, and

and consummation of all things. Thus the scheme, as laid out by its author, although not quite completed when death arrested his labours, has a place for everything that man can know: heaven, earth, and hell are grasped within its sweep; it rolls on from everlasting to everlasting. The part which most closely touches the earth, and has a practical basis in human experience, is the second; the latter half of which, treating of virtues and vices, and technically known as the *'Secunda Secundæ,'* was for at least three hundred years the ethical code of Western Christendom, and had the merit, to borrow Sir James Mackintosh's phrase, of 'laying the grounds of duty in the nature of man and the well-being of society.' Out of the vast mass of questions discussed in this encyclopædic treatise we gather a few, almost at hazard, convinced that they will do more than many pages of general description could accomplish, to convey to the reader's mind a definite idea of the manner in which theology is treated in it. Those which we extract are scattered here and there along its thousands of pages:—

'Whether a created intellect needs any created light to behold the essence of the Godhead. Whether it is possible for God to do what He does not do, or to leave undone what He does. Whether an angel can be in several places at once; or many angels at once in the same place. Whether angels can speak to each other. Whether they speak to God. Whether Adam in the state of innocence could discern the essence of angels. Whether local distance has any effect on the speech of an angel. Whether men can teach angels. Whether grief is mitigated by weeping; by the sympathy of friends; by contemplation of the truth; by sleep and baths. Whether the justification of a sinner is the greatest work of God. Whether a disembodied human soul can move bodies from place to place. Whether the body of Christ, as it exists in the sacrament of the Eucharist, can be seen by any eye, at least by any glorified eye. Whether, if the sacrament had been reserved, or consecrated, while Christ was dead, He would have died in it.'

Our space being almost exhausted, the little that remains must be devoted to a brief enquiry, whether any real success is likely to attend the present appeal of the Vatican to the philosophy of St. Thomas. The object of that appeal has already appeared in our quotations from the recent Encyclical; but it may be well to add Cardinal Manning's official explanation, prefixed to the English version for the instruction of the faithful:—

'The scholastic philosophy,' he writes, 'is the intellectual system of the natural reason, handed down by tradition as an inheritance of objective

objective truth, certain by its proper evidence. . . . The light of nature is infallible, and the light of faith is infallible; for the light of nature and the light of faith come from one and the same Fountain, the Father of lights. Such is the twofold tradition of truth, natural and supernatural, which the Church guards and teaches in its philosophy and theology. And here we may see at once the motive of the Encyclical. As in the sixteenth century Luther threw off the objective certainty of faith, as guarded and taught by the divine authority of the Church, resolving all certainty of faith into the subjective judgment of the individual mind, so in the seventeenth century Descartes, inverting the order of philosophical tradition, made the subjective consciousness the starting-point of certainty. And as the legitimate heir of Luther is the rationalism of Germany, so the legitimate heir of Descartes is the scepticism of the nineteenth century. . . . Out of the unity of the Church, the whole world of philosophers have been departing further and further from the objective traditions of philosophical truth. . . . As it was the office of the Church in the first centuries to rectify the aberrations of the human intellect, and to bring men through the lights of nature to the obedience of faith, so now in these last centuries, and especially in this Gnostic age of inflated science, it is the supreme office of the Head of the Church to call back the wandering intelligence of men to the divine tradition of philosophy; which has God for its Author in the order of nature, as theology has God for its Author in the order of supernatural truth. . . . To this philosophy therefore, guarded and taught by the Church alone, Leo XIII. calls upon all men to return.'

No one can complain of ambiguity in this explanation. Men have erred in their beliefs, and are wrecking the order of society, because they have followed the guidance of their individual reason, instead of accepting 'the divine tradition of philosophy,' of which the Church is the guardian and teacher; let them henceforth submit their reason to the authority of the Church, and accept the philosophy which she propounds in the writings of St. Thomas, and the result will be a perfect accord of reason and faith in the unity of infallible truth. Well, the remedy prescribed for our distractions is charmingly simple; but if at the first proposal of it our hopes are excited, we fear that they will prove very short-lived, because as soon as we attempt to apply it we find ourselves once more imprisoned within the old barren circle, in which the reasoning always brings us back to the very point from which it set out.

When formerly the Church of Rome claimed supreme dominion over faith, and was asked for her credentials, she pointed to certain texts of Scripture as the assurance of her perpetual gift of infallibility. But to the inevitable question which then arose, respecting the authority and meaning of those texts, the
reply

reply was far from satisfactory. The question could not safely be left for human reason to discuss and determine, for the result might in that case be adverse to the Church's pretensions; her supremacy was in danger, unless she constituted herself the judge in her own cause. Her answer accordingly was, that the authority and meaning of Scripture must be accepted on her authority, because she was its infallible witness and expositor. And so the argument went round in a fruitless circle, from which there was no escape:—The Church is infallible, because Scripture affirms it; and Scripture is to be believed and interpreted in that sense, because the Church, which guarantees its authority and meaning, is infallible.

Now it is true that at first sight Leo XIII. seems to abandon this vicious circle, and to make a fair appeal to reason instead of authority. Let us bring the Church's doctrines, he appears to say, before the tribunal of the common intellectual faculty; see how the light of nature points towards them; how reason lays the foundation for them; how philosophy harmonizes them with the science of Being, and presents them to the mind as part of a consistent and self-evidencing body of truth. Nothing at first can make a fairer show. But it presently turns out that this appeal to reason is illusive. Those who refuse submission to the Church of Rome appeal to reason just as much as Leo XIII. does; it is our reason against yours, they urge, and who is to decide between us? And, thus questioned, the Pope frankly answers that it is for the Church alone to decide. The reason to which he makes his appeal is not the general reason of mankind, labouring in freedom and independence to discover the priceless treasure of truth; but reason enslaved and fettered by the Church, and compelled, like another captive Samson, to grind out arguments in support of the doctrines to which the Church is already committed. There is an amusing *naïveté* in Pope Leo's admissions to this effect. While invoking reason and reviving philosophy for the establishment of truth, he declares it to be his duty 'to watch with the greatest care that all human learning shall be imparted according to the rule of the Catholic faith.' He exhorts the prelates 'so to organize the course of philosophical studies as to ensure their perfect correspondence with the gift of faith. Philosophy,' he warns them, 'must, above everything, take care never to wander from the path trodden by the venerable antiquity of the Fathers, and approved in the Vatican Synod by the solemn suffrage of authority. . . . The human reason must not measure supernatural truths by its own strength, or interpret them at its own will.' In a word, reason is to be a servant, not an umpire, and
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the conclusions at which it is to be permitted to arrive are all settled beforehand by the Church, in the exercise of her prerogative of infallibility.

Nothing, then, can be plainer than that the tribunal to which the Vatican now affects to appeal, under the name of the voice of reason, or the light of nature, or philosophy, is a mere creature of its own, set up to give judgment in its favour. The tribunal is infallible, the Cardinal assures us; the philosophy is a 'divine tradition;' 'the truths of the natural order are certain by the light of nature.' But where are we to find this philosophy, these truths, so set forth as to furnish an unerring test of doctrine? Certainly not in the ancient philosophy, for Leo XIII. is careful to tell us that 'among the ancient philosophers, living without the faith, they who were reckoned the wisest erred most harmfully in many things.' And as certainly not in modern philosophy, for it is from the pestilential errors of modern philosophers that he is trying to rescue Christendom. Where then? Why, in the philosophy which the Church herself has fabricated, for the express purpose of furnishing a basis for her doctrines and claims! It is to this philosophy, 'guarded and taught by the Church alone,'—as Cardinal Manning informs us with a suicidal frankness—that the appeal of the Vatican is made.

The moral is not far to seek. There is no royal road, whether by philosophy or by authority, to certainty of belief. The logic of the Schools is of no more avail than the assumed infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, to pilot the soul across the ocean of doubt to the haven where assurance dwells undisturbed, and truth shines by its own light. But there is no ground for despair. Not one only, but millions have been able to say, 'I know Whom I have believed.' For it is by processes that are spiritual rather than intellectual, that faith springs up in humble, earnest hearts. After other methods have failed, there remains the divine method: 'If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine.'

- ART. V.—1. *Field Paths and Green Lanes : being Walks chiefly in Surrey and Sussex.* By Louis J. Jennings. London, 1875.
2. *Rambles among the Hills in the Peak of Derbyshire and the South Downs.* By Louis J. Jennings. London, 1880.
3. *Lavengro.* By George Borrow, author of 'The Bible in Spain.' London, 1851.
4. *The Romany Rye.* By George Borrow. London, 1857.
5. *Visits to Remarkable Places.* By William Howitt. London, 1856.

MANY Englishmen who have travelled indefatigably on the Continent must be inclined to regret, with advancing years, that they have seen so little of their own country. We are persuaded that many of the hard-working men, who seek to relieve the prolonged brain-strain by change of life and scene, are mistaken in hurrying abroad for their annual holiday. Not that we question for a moment either the pleasures or the advantages of foreign travel. The wise Bacon never said a truer thing than when he pronounced it to be in the younger sort 'an essential part of education.' But it is a taste that grows on us, till as matter of habit it is apt to monopolize the whole of the leisure, and we may be reminded, when it is too late to retrieve the mistake, that we have been neglecting the wealth of enjoyment that lies at our very doors. Then there are inveterate wanderers who profess themselves alive to the varied attractions of their native islands, but who defer the exploration of them on principle. They will do their more distant travels in the freshness of their powers, and make leisurely expeditions about England when their strength begins to fail them. They are wrong, we believe, in many ways. Old habits are not easily changed; nor are the familiar grooves of travel to be lightly deviated from. Moreover, and what is still more to the point, England is emphatically a country for the active pedestrian. The railways, laid along levels and through cuttings, are of course convenient for rapid transit, but little more; and even the carriage-roads are comparatively commonplace. The fascinations of England are in its shady lanes; in the heaths and commons and unenclosed wastes; in the straggling copses and hanging covers and untrimmed hedgerows; in the lonely cross-roads, where delusive finger-posts, far gone in decay, may confound confusion; in the field-paths where you scramble over dilapidated stiles and force yourself through half over-grown gaps, steering perhaps for
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a doubtful destination by the occasional glimpse of some distant church-tower. Until we actually commit ourselves to the guidance of our instincts, aided by chance questionings of rustics more or less intelligent; until we plunge into the unexplored, losing ourselves in the mazes of those lanes and those field-paths; it is impossible to realize the broken character of the scenery in the more picturesque districts of even 'the home counties.' Looking out over the slightly-rolling landscape from some commanding height, it may seem to be very much on a dead level. In reality, as the tired pedestrian may learn long before evening, it is a blending of swelling hill and dale, where we are perpetually dropping upon farm-steadings in unsuspected hollows; emerging, after a sharp climb through hidden woods, on some breezy bit of heath or common; or stumbling, when we least expect it, on a sequestered village where the sight of a stranger is the sensation of a week. We say nothing now of the more remote districts that are stern or almost savage in their aspects—the bleak hills of Cumberland and Derbyshire—the brown dales of Yorkshire and Lancashire—the moorlands and green pastoral valleys of the Border—the rugged boulder-strewn moors of Devon—or the rocky coast scenery of Northumberland and Cornwall.

But in whatever direction the English tourist may bend his steps, he ought to be fairly independent, not only of conveyances but of accommodation, and of the weather as well. He may generally make sure of clean night-quarters, and in the more primitive neighbourhoods, should he be benighted far from an inn, he may count on the hospitality of some farmhouse or cottage. But if he be inclined to dyspepsia or fastidious about his eating, his pleasure trip may possibly become a pilgrimage of penance, and more beneficial in its consequences to his doctors than to himself. We do not speak of hotels in the hackneyed tourist countries, where perhaps the greatest inconvenience is the inevitable scramble. But, owing to the scarcity of critical customers, the life in little-frequented inns is a lottery where the prizes are few and far between. Nothing in its way can be better than a simple English table satisfactorily served. But too often the stranger finds the larder bare, and takes the listless landlord unawares. His arrival is the signal for a descent on the poultry-yard, or a rush down the village street to the butcher, who may chance to have killed a sheep that morning. Or at best the bill of fare is likely to be limited to a choice between the tough chops and tougher steak; and the visitor may deem himself fortunate if he can fall back on homely eggs and bacon. Experiences of the kind are serious to the valetudinarian; but they are nothing more than
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some of the excitements of a chequered day to a healthy man in good walking condition.

And so it is with the changes of our variable climate. The walker must be content to take the weather as it comes; and it is seldom that the steady downpour is so relentless as to baffle his plans, or keep him a close prisoner for more than half a day at the utmost. With a waterproof or Scotch plaid slung to his shoulders, he is indifferent to flying showers; and although shrivelling east winds are trying to the temper, he manages to take the rough edge off even these, by quickening his pace and keeping the blood in circulation. Perhaps the most unpleasant effect of protracted rains on a pedestrian ramble is the state in which they leave the country. Shady lanes have been flooded from the overflow of the land-springs in their banks; the paths that cross heavy soil have been turned into quagmires where progress is most difficult; here and there in the low-lying meadows they have been swamped beyond recognition; while streams have risen over their banks, leaving the foot-bridges inaccessible. The day's work is lengthened indefinitely. What should be a pleasure becomes pain when the boots are clogged with mud or clay; and the pedestrian may be driven to betake himself to the high-roads, or even to resign himself to confinement in a carriage. It is annoying, and he relieves his feelings by grumblings; and yet in his calmer moments he would hardly have the weather very different. For it is to those lowering clouds and that somewhat excessive moisture we owe the green of the smiling landscapes; the rich masses of foliage in the feathering woods; the wild undergrowth in the well-timbered parks, where the deer are almost lost to sight in the beds of bracken; the luxuriance of the climbers and creepers that make tangled thickets of the hedgerows; and the bloom of the wild-flowers that enamel the roadsides and the copses in the spring and the early summer.

Next to the freshness of the colouring that delights and rests the eye, the genuine charm of lowland English scenery is in its homelike character. In the most sublime scenes of the Continent there is generally either a certain monotony of beauty, or a severity of grandeur repelling familiarity. Even in the brilliant sunshine of the long summer day there is a sense of chill desolation and lurking death among the peaks and glaciers of the higher Alps. Lord Beaconsfield gave another proof of his fine instinct when he wrote, a few months before his death, 'Lakes and mountains, however glorious for a time, in time weary; sylvan scenery never palls.' In fact, with the exception of the Alps, which have attractions of their own, the
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parts of the Continent, to which the English 'foot wanderer' returns by predilection, are those where he is most constantly reminded of our more picturesque English scenery; the Tyrol, for example, or the more glorious Salzkammergut; the Black Forest or the Harz; the valleys of the Vosges and Haardt; or the woodland departments of Western France. There will sometimes be a depressing preponderance of the dark fir-trees, though nothing can be finer than the effects in the open glades, where the slanting sunbeams are gilding the slender columns, and streaking with long black shadows the beds of bilberries underneath. But there are great beech-forests as well, and orchards in a flush of bloom or bending under the burden of their fruits; there are swift streams with mossy banks in green meadows, and masses of English-like ferns, and the general exuberance of growth that tells of abundant moisture. The landscapes are dotted over with scattered hamlets and mills, and farmhouses with their hanging eaves and open-air galleries, standing among great barns and outbuildings. It is those farmhouses, with their signs of rustic wealth and rough-and-ready farming—the pigeons cooing on the roofs—the poultry scraping round the barns—the bees humming over the garden flowers—the cows coming home from the meadows for the milking—that remind us of 'Merry England' as it used to be before these latter days of agricultural distress, and the development of high-pressure competition with America.

Yet even there, in spite of the *Freundlichkeit*, we have somewhat too much of the sameness we have complained of elsewhere. We have pretty scenery and picturesque farming, but that is all. Everywhere is the same sharp division between the country and the city. Wealth and lettered ease, the enjoyments of intellectual society and the refinements of educated luxury, are almost entirely confined to the towns. Men only take their families to the country for flying visits in the fine season; and then nineteen-twentieths of the busy and fashionable worlds crowd themselves into the Baths and the watering-places. The schloss or château is seldom attractive to the English taste; there is nothing between the schloss and the suburban villa; and the parish priest is sprung from the people he lives among. It is one of the principal charms of rural England, that we have never had these arbitrary lines of delimitation. From the highest to the lowest, and from time immemorial, class has shaded away into class, covering the country with their residences. Pursuits have been confounded in common rural tastes, and one man makes his pleasure of what is the business of another. The peer may be a working farmer, looking after his flocks and fields as keenly as any

any of his tenants. So may be the rector, if he have a comfortable glebe, or the merchant retired from the firm, or the colonist come home with a competency. Families have been settled for centuries under the ancestral roof; and the new men, though sometimes with vulgar ostentation, do their best to fall into the fashions of the others. Money or money's worth has been scattered broadcast by the worthy old folks who went their ways in peace before these modern days of reformation. It has been sunk in the soil; it has been left to lie fallow, as political economists say, in commons, and wastes, and straggling hedgerows; it has been lavished in the parks of princely domains, or it has been spent on the grounds of quiet parsonages and unpretending ornamental cottages. The rural architecture of eight hundred years ago still perpetuates its varieties among us. There are stately castellated piles, like Raby or Lumley, that have been little changed in the course of centuries. The irregular half-fortified Grange of the Saxon franklin, as Scott described it in his *Rotherwood* and *Baldringham*, still has its counterpart in the picturesque and rambling mansion of many an hospitable country squire. There are farmhouses which bear in antiquated figures the dates of the *Stewarts* or the later *Tudors*, and which may have been modelled after older buildings that had seen the Wars of the *Roses*. Nay, there are still such cottage huts among the charcoal-burners of the *New Forest*, as might have stood there before the Conqueror cleared the district for his deer.

For in England, rich in natural beauties as it is, it is not only the artist or the amateur of Nature, who finds on a walking tour that he is wandering in a Paradise. To make the most of one of those expeditions, a man should have some versatility of tastes. There is so much to interest the archæologist and antiquary, that England may make an archæologist and antiquary of a poet and romancer, as happened with *Walter Scott*. As for our country churches,—when spared from the visitation, of which *Pugin* used to say, ‘the enemy has been here,’—they bear the living impress of spontaneous work, and show what manner of men they were who built them. There is no servility of imitation in the designs: on the contrary, there is an endless display of individuality, with perceptions of beauty and a pre-science of effect, which excite surprise as much as admiration. Heaven-born architects must have been more common then than now; nor can there have been any lack of cunning workmen in stone to carry out the graceful fancies of the master-builders. There was a sad wrecking of the monasteries at the Reformation, when the nests were pulled down that the

rooks might be scattered. Nevertheless, from Brinkburn on the border to Battle or Beaulieu on the Channel, we may realize the splendours of the ecclesiastical architecture of the middle ages. Cathedrals and cathedral closes belong rather to the towns than to the country; though St. Cuthbert's Minster, with the neighbouring Castle, overhanging the Wear, which sweeps round the base of the precipices clothed with woods, forms at once the grandest and most picturesque of rural scenes, and a scene essentially English.

If we miss the altarpieces of the great continental churches from our own cathedrals, on the other hand the connoisseur comes on art-treasures everywhere among the gentlemen's seats in each English county. Merely confining our visits to the 'show places,' an English tour may be an art-education; though it must be confessed that there is a drawback to making the most of opportunities in the difficulty of finding time for leisurely examination. In their paintings and panellings, armour and tapestries and quaint old furniture, we may remember that our country-houses owe many of their attractions to our long immunity from war. Even in the fierce struggles of the King and Parliament, the combatants showed much regard for property and did comparatively little wanton mischief. Time and fire have been the worst enemies of venerable mansions, of sculptured monuments, of stained glass and fretted ceilings. And although Time has caused a certain amount of injury, he has done infinitely more in the way of embellishment. As for the scars of our wars, they have been effaced long ago, and all they have left behind are memories and associations. The least imaginative of men can hardly fail to be excited when he is standing upon Flodden ridge or looking across Bosworth Field, or straying among the scenes of those Border ballads that ring in the ears like the echoes of a trumpet blast.

For we remember that it is English scenery, with its historical associations, which has inspired our poets, artists, and novelists. There are spots everywhere that evoke the shade of Shakspeare, from the cliff at Dover to the blasted heath of Forres; and he has written a travelling history of the Plantagenets and Tudors, as faithful in its main facts and features as it is full of dramatic fire. Who can look on the windings of the Severn without thinking of Milton's 'Comus'; and what prettier pictures can we have of cottage life and country superstitions than those he gives with such exquisite grace and delicacy in 'L'Allegro'? The spirit of old Chaucer guides us, of course, along the yew-dotted pilgrimage roads of Kent, and on our visit to the shrine of Becket.

Becket. In our own times, the 'wizard of the North' has not failed to throw his charm over England also, both as a poet (witness 'Rokeby'), and still more as a novelist. We recognize the rare power of his genius in the grasp it laid on the salient features of local landscapes and historical scenes in the course of some flying visit. The most laborious of their county historians never gave a better idea of the especial beauties of Berkshire and Warwickshire than we gather incidentally from the pages of 'Kenilworth.' And Scott could reproduce with the instinctive perceptions of a Chaucer or a Shakspeare the representative types of former generations, so that the Giles Gosling of the Bear at Cumnor, and 'the cutting-mercier' of Abingdon, seem as real as Harry Baillie of the Tabard and mine host of the Garter at Windsor, or Justice Shallow at Charlecote Park. It would detain us too long to speak of other novelists and poets; and of artists we can have little to say—for the simple reason that, although it is the beauties of the country that have inspired the masterpieces of our landscape schools, yet the most brilliant copy can never reflect any charm of its borrowed beauties on the original. In that respect the play of imaginative genius may actually lessen our enjoyment in the work; since even a Gainsborough, or a Turner at his best, cannot gild refined gold or paint the lily. Rather do the most delightful of our landscapes serve very imperfectly the purpose of photographs, recalling in faint translations of their subjects recollections that had partially faded from the mind. When we see Romney's gipsies seated round their camp-fire on the common, Gainsborough's waggon being driven down the shady lane, or Linnell's sheep and wheatsheaves on the Sussex Downs, we flatter the painters by our eager impulse to leave the exhibition-room for the open air and the sunshine, and be off and away among the scenes they depict.

There have been writers enough on the country scenery of England, though perhaps scarcely so many as might have been expected. Men who are modestly conscious of some lack of originality naturally shrink from describing what should be familiar to everybody. There have been eminent foreigners who have recorded their impressions of us, from Washington Irving down to M. Alphonse Esquiros and M. Taine. But, though a foreigner's ideas may be novel and striking, they want the knowledge, with the sympathetic affection and pride, of the native-born Englishman. And if we are to seek among native Englishmen for piquant and entertaining guides, we are sure that we cannot possibly do better than pitch on George Borrow

and William Howitt. Mr. Borrow happily is living still; while Howitt died only the other day, deeply regretted by innumerable readers, who had come to regard him almost as a personal friend. Happily the mantle of Howitt seems to have fallen on Mr. Louis Jennings, whose lively little volumes are the best companions we can have among the hills of the Peak, and the downs and lanes of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. With regard to Borrow, we have already described at length, in a previous number of this Review, his roving life in England.* It is therefore unnecessary to say more at present, than that his 'Lavengro' and 'Romany Rye' contain passages which, in their way, are not surpassed by anything in English literature.

With no pretensions to the learning of Borrow, Howitt is the best-informed of companions. He can read off the story of a long-descended family from the escutcheons on their ancestral roof-tree; and he is seldom at a loss in intricate archæological questions. Nor is he ever dull, although his subjects may seem dry. He had graceful tastes, versatile powers of appreciation; while above all—and it is that which gives the piquancy to his pages—he was a passionate admirer of nature and of the England of the olden times. We need not add that he had the happy faculty of adaptation, indispensable to writing those books of his. It was seldom that in the course of his 'visitation' he met with such churlish rebuffs as at Seaton Delaval, or at Rosanna in Wicklow, once the home of Mrs. Tyghe, the poetess. Generally speaking, he had a welcome everywhere; for in fact his fame had often preceded him; and notably he insinuated himself into the confidence of the old women in the North, whom he found so often established as the guardian spirits of the old castles and churches. His enthusiasm is contagious, as enthusiasm ought to be; for it is tempered by good taste, and stops short of extravagance. His 'Visits to Remarkable Places' are in no way exhaustive; but they are a fair selection from those varied objects of interest, which invite the cultivated Englishman to the exploration of his native island. In many ways Mr. Jennings much resembles Howitt; though he leaves history and archæological details almost entirely to the guide-books. He prides himself on borrowing nothing from printed authorities; and he says himself, apropos to the history of Lewes Priory, 'I deal only with what I have seen or heard.' Howitt hardly excepted, he is the most sociable of guides; he chats easily with his

* 'Quarterly Review' for April, 1837, vol. ci. pp. 468 *seqq.*

readers, as with the rustics he comes across in his strolls; and his bright little volumes are altogether made up of his personal observations and impressions. It is noteworthy that, in the course of their extensive peregrinations, Howitt and Mr. Jennings seldom cross each other's routes, and the fact shows how inexhaustible are the attractions of rural England. So far as we remember, there are but two of the ancient English seats which both happen to have described, and these are Penshurst and Hardwicke.* With the exception of the Wye Valley, and 'the Dukeries' in the Midlands, Mr. Jennings confines himself to Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and the Peak of Derbyshire. And it strikes us as strange that Howitt should seem to have avoided these, for he could not fail to appreciate their charms, since he was born and passed his boyhood among the hills of the Peak, while in later life he spent, we believe, some years at Esher. The second volume of his 'Visits' is devoted to the North, and a more picturesque field for his powers of description it would have been impossible to find. The contents of the first volume are more miscellaneous. They embrace the poetical scenery of Wharfedale, and the reminiscences of Stratford-on-Avon; with battle-fields like Flodden, Edge-hill, and the more distant Culloden. They take us from the lime-tree avenues and suburban gardens of Hampton Court to the cliffs of Tintagel. They search out such secluded country seats as Compton Wingates and Wotton Hall; and transport us from the venerable antiquities of Winchester to the renovated mansion of Stonyhurst, modernized into a Jesuit college. We have said that the sole occasion on which he has anticipated Mr. Jennings in any of his Southern rambles was on a visit to Penshurst; and, in a few happy sentences he has described the feelings with which the wayfarer approaches that cradle of a gifted race:—

'In the great national changes which, since the days of the First Charles, have passed over England, the great families and their houses have necessarily undergone ruinous changes too. Many such houses at this moment stand roofless and ivy-grown, never again to be restored. Others have only been recovered by the outlay of princely fortunes; and others still, though inhabited by the descendants of their ancient lords, bear about them, and will to the last, the marks of the scath and ravages which they have suffered. Penshurst is one of these; and no one who treads its silent park, and beholds its huge trees shattered by the tempests—its grass-grown pleasance and its grey walls—but will feel that it derives a stronger interest from these circumstances. It is not in a scene of entire modern gaiety and splendour that we would wish to come upon the domestic haunts of

* Howitt's 'Rural England.'

the Sidneys. Such a scene would violate all our ideas of the past, and disturb those feelings which drew us to the spot.'

Walking from Edenbridge, through the delightful village of Chiddingstone, with its gabled and timbered cottages restored in admirable taste, Mr. Jennings approached Penshurst through the charming little park of Chiddingstone, which like Lullingstone and others of the smaller Kentish home domains, breaks away in the background into something like mountainous woodlands in miniature. His way to the 'Place' was somewhat roundabout, yet, whether it is approached from the side of the station or from the Tunbridge road, we are almost rewarded for any detour by 'the glimpses occasionally caught of the historic house to which we are going.' As stately castles like Alnwick or Lumley show best in all their commanding advantage from the bottom of the steepes on which they stand, so old mansions of various periods like Penshurst, with their jumble of weather-stained roofs and gables, strike us as most impressive when viewed from above. We doubt if Mr. Jennings is right in advising his readers to follow the road, instead of turning into the footpath through the open park, which keeps the house full in view in front. But without pausing to admire in the meantime, he walks on into the village, where he is delayed by the houses between the street and the churchyard. The group with the archway and the tower behind has been a favourite subject for painters, and, as a bit of the picturesque, their effect is unique. As Mr. Jennings describes them,

'A little below the inn on the opposite side of the way is a pollarded oak, and that leads beneath a couple of old cottages into the churchyard, through which there is a path to the great house. The cottages form a sort of archway, and are very fine specimens of the timbered building which was in vogue before lath and plaster played the important part they now do in modern dwellings. From the churchyard their appearance is particularly striking. They form a fit introduction to the old church and "castle," and I was glad to hear that Lord de L'Isle would "not have them taken down for any money."'

Mr. Jennings paid his visit late in autumn. The hopping was over, and the decorations for the harvest services were withering in the church. 'Round the entrance door was a garland of yellow hops, and the pillars inside were adorned with the bloom of the same plant, intertwined with chrysanthemums and other autumn flowers. There was a wreath of apples near the reading-desk, bright, rosy-cheeked apples, with a great branch of the "crab" near them, and various specimens
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of the harvest of the district.' Examining the brasses in the south chancel, he discovered among them 'a small and very plain one—the plainest and rudest I ever saw—incribed to "Thomas Bullayen, the sone of Syr Thomas Bullayen," whose tomb is at Hever Church.' There was another to a younger sister of Waller's Saccharissa, who died 'as is carefully set forth, on Easter day, 1558, aged only one year and three quarters.' In the opposite chancel is a brass to the memory of a 'P'son of this place,' a certain Wm. Darkenoll, with a long and quaint epitaph giving the very day of his decease. The singularity about it is, that no trace of the reverend gentleman's existence is to be found in the parish register.

'Adjoining the church is the Rectory, a house of the time of Charles the First, thoroughly home-like in its appearance, and with that bright ornament, a very pretty garden, in front. A few yards off is the great "Kentish shrine" of Penshurst, lying long and low and covering a great space of ground—partly ancient, partly modern in its external walls, but wearing over all that indescribable look which speaks of the long past, and of generations which have flourished and disappeared while these old bricks and stones were resisting the winds and rains of five hundred winters, and owners and builders, and all their descendants, and millions of our kind throughout the world, were being swept quietly into the grave.

'Yet time had laid its hand heavily upon this house, and but for great care and prodigal expenditure it would ere now have been merely a picturesque ruin. A few years ago, it was found necessary to shore up many of the old rooms, for they had become absolutely dangerous. The most extensive works were necessary to save the structure. These works have been carried out in a spirit of love and devotion—for surely such sentiments may be kindled by such a house as this—by the present owner, Lord de L'Isle.'

Crossing the courtyard and entering the Baronial Hall, Mr. Jennings finds that—

'So little change has taken place in it, that the imagination can almost revive the scenes which once took place in this famous hall—can place before these old tables the groups of knights and retainers who once made merry here, and recal the great and joyous festivals of harvest-home and Christmas, celebrated with the broad and generous hospitality of five hundred years ago. . . . Standing there alone, in the fading light of an autumn afternoon, the old scenes seem to come back and the old actors return—the five hundred years are as if they had not been, and one thinks in a half-doubting way of the many mighty changes which have happened in this land around us, since the bricks of this old floor and the heavy timbers of yonder lofty roof were put together.

Whatever time must have done in the way of injury, all the
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changes of nearly fifty years, that had gone by since Howitt saw the place, had been for the better. The roof had been made fairly watertight; and the 'monstrosities' which then encumbered it, in the form of leaden vases and urns, had been removed. *More suo*, Mr. Jennings protests that he 'cannot attempt to play the part of guide to this house or to describe the numerous portraits and paintings, or curiosities, which are treasured up within it.' But on a sofa in Queen Elizabeth's room he 'noticed a broken mandoline, looking as if some one had just injured it and laid it there. I asked the housekeeper about it, and she told me that it had belonged to Sir Philip Sidney's mother. It seemed as if it had been lying in the same place ever since that worthy lady finished playing her last tune upon it.'

Howitt alludes, as Mr. Jennings reminds us, to 'the silent park,' and the epithet might possibly not have been misapplied on a September day. Mr. Jennings, who wandered in it for some hours still later in the season, says, 'the walk produced a melancholy effect upon the mind, for everything has a deserted and mournful air.' 'It does not look like a park,' he adds, 'but like a very wild common or some half-forgotten wilderness, and this appearance is heightened by the spectre which now and then confronts you of a dead tree, without bark or leaf upon it, struck perhaps by lightning or dead of mere old age, and now seeming pitifully to beseech one to take it away.' Howitt could hardly have called it silent, nor would it have struck Mr. Jennings as melancholy, on a sunny spring day, when the rooks are cawing lustily over the clumps of magnificent trees, and the chattering jackdaws are flitting in and out of the holes in those spectral stumps standing each on its tiny mound, honey-combed underneath by families of rabbits. Impressions, like tastes, are not to be disputed about; but, in spite of the stagnant pool in the middle distance, overhung by alders and encircled by sedges, we should have said there was something cheerfully homelike in the view from the grand entrance, over the swelling slopes of timbered turf and bracken, enlivened by the groups of well-bred cattle.

Not excepting the seat of the Sidneys, few names sound more romantically in the ears of Englishmen than Hardwicke Hall, in the other region of England to which Mr. Jennings is our guide. 'Bess of Hardwicke' is almost as much an historical notoriety as her royal contemporary and namesake; and many who have never seen the place associate the mansion with its mistress and builder, as all that is most picturesquely Elizabethan. But while we have no differences of opinion as to the aspect of Penshurst,
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it is startling to find how differently Hardwicke strikes different people, who may be presumed to have gone thither predisposed to admiration. Howitt, who visited it for the first time some seventy years ago, says 'it was unlike anything I had ever seen; but there were solemn halls in the regions of poetry and romance that my imagination immediately classed it amongst. I advanced towards it with indescribable feelings of wonder and delight.' We might have fancied that an ardent youth of seventeen was an indifferent or impulsive judge; but twenty years afterwards he was at Hardwicke again—'twenty years to me of many sober experiences; of naturally extended knowledge; of observation of our old English houses in various parts of the kingdom; but as I once more approached Hardwicke, I felt that it had lost none of its effect; nay, that that effect was actually increased; it was more unworldly, more unlike anything else, or anything belonging to common life; more poetical, more crowned and overshadowed with beautiful and solemn associations, than it was when I first beheld it in my youth.' Although expressing himself so enthusiastically, Howitt must doubtless have had in memory the depreciatory criticism of Walpole, with whose writings he was very well acquainted, and which Mr. Jennings quotes. 'Never,' writes Walpole, 'was I less charmed in my life. The house is not Gothic, but of that betweenity that intervened when Gothic declined and Palladian was creeping in; rather, this is totally naked of either.' And Mr. Jennings altogether agrees, and 'ventures to say that Walpole accurately describes the impression which the house will make upon anybody who sees it for the first time.' For himself, he 'should have passed it under the impression that it was the work of some modern architect, built sixty years ago or so, for an Indian nabob or a flourishing broker.' He is persuaded that, in the many high-flown descriptions he has read, 'the gifted authors evidently allowed their imaginations to run away with them.' When men of taste disagree so decidedly, it seems to us an inducement the more for independent tourists to go to the spot and judge for themselves. At Hardwicke they cannot be altogether disappointed, for the interior, with its fittings and furnishing of the Elizabethan period, will reward a longer pilgrimage.

Not many parts of England, moreover, are richer in attractions to the pedestrian than the surrounding districts, and, were it not for our predilection for the South Downs, we should say that nowhere do we accompany Mr. Jennings with more enjoyment than in his 'Rambles among the Hills' of Northern Derbyshire. Like him, we care little for the hackneyed show-places,

places, which for the most part are very much overrated, and where the horrors of society are experienced in their most objectionable shapes. But not very far apart from the haunts of visitors from the Derbyshire watering-places lie historic castles and halls in out-of-the-way 'nooks of the world;' while the morass-encircled hills, with their magnificent prospects, are absolutely inaccessible to anybody without a sturdy pair of legs. We might take pleasant strolls with Mr. Jennings round Chatsworth and Haddon, though, as he remarks, there is nothing to be said of these places which has not been said ten thousand times before. We always listen with pleasure to such gossip as that with the stalwart keeper at Hardwicke, who saved him from the jaws of a gigantic bull-mastiff, and told him of battles with raiding poacher-gangs from the collieries, that remind us of old reiving warfare on the Border. But we prefer to follow him to seats that are less of show-places or to less frequented localities; to Bolsover Castle, for example, and the morasses of the lonely Kinderscout. Bolsover, with its great tower on the site of Peveril's Norman Keep, is another monument of Bess of Hardwicke's mania for building. Mr. Jennings's description of the place is admirable, and all the more admirable, perhaps, that it shows us the romantic and sentimental side of a writer, who for the most part figures as the practical man of the world, and who inclines to humour rather than pathos.

'Of all the houses I have seen, the castle at Bolsover is the most weird and ghostly—a place of mystery, where the spirit of the past still holds unbroken sway, and where the influences of modern life appear to be powerless. To enter its strange portals is to step back suddenly into the shade of vanished centuries. Its long vaulted passages, its subterranean chambers, the dungeon-like holes in its towers, the old-world doors and casements, the kitchen which might almost be a chapel, and the mysterious spaces beneath the adjoining vaults, which ring out a hollow reverberation beneath the feet—all transport one into a region which has nothing in common with the England of the present day. The associations which cluster round this spot take us very far back in our country's history. A castle has stood here since the time of the Norman conquest, and the foundations and cellars of the original buildings still remain. . . . Eight hundred years and more of strange eventful history have gathered round this grim and lonely castle; no wonder that in approaching it, on a dark bleak day, when the gloomy keep is but half visible through the shadows, a sense of mystery and wonder comes in upon the mind.

'As I closed the outer gate behind me, an immeasurable space separated me from the world I had left. A lofty and massive tower, standing

standing on the edge of a somewhat rugged hill, reared its head far above the surrounding country. The gateways were crumbling to pieces, coats of arms were mouldering on the walls of a long line of ruins, ancient terraces upon which empty chambers looked down were given up for the habitation of bats and the "obscene bird." Finely carved pillars stood stripped of the roof which they once supported, and the quaint windows gave no sign of life within, save when a starling or a jackdaw issued forth, scared by the unwonted step of an intruder. I rapped on the door of a long building which might have formed the wing of a palace, but there was no answer save a wandering echo. I came to another door, and rapped there also, but still there was no answer. The whole place seemed under a spell. I came to a broad wall, on the top of which a coach could be driven, but it led only to ruined apartments, where the grass grew high and thick, and through which the north-east wind swept with a mournful sound. The mysterious influences of the place began to steal into one's blood. I wandered into a gallery, all unroofed and desolate, where there are no fewer than ten lofty windows, the largest at the south end being large and stately enough for a church. Through these vacant spaces the country far and near lay extended before the eye—the green fields, the village churches, the towers of Hardwicke, the park of another ancient dwelling a few miles away, and the white road below the castle, winding like a snake. There were fine flights of steps leading down only to wildernesses of grass and weeds, and here and there on the dismantled walls were broken mantelpieces and cornices, preserving even in decay some remnant of their former beauty. From these melancholy scenes I turned towards the massive tower, and went down some stone steps, and hammered loudly at another door. At last an old woman came up panting from some region below, and told me that she was alone in the house, and yielded to my request to be allowed to look within. She bade me go round to the front, and after a long delay she made her appearance again, and with some difficulty opened the door, and I entered.

'I found myself in an ancient hall, vaulted, with stone pillars, and mouldering portraits on the walls of men and women who lived and died three hundred years ago. Everything was very old—the wainscoting, the windows, the furniture which looked as if it might have been there from a time almost forgotten. A date upon a cabinet made it appear far more modern than its apparent age, for it went back only to 1535. Then I passed into another vaulted room, with a large stone pillar in the middle, and into a third with a stone ceiling and black panellings, and through an ancient door which opened upon the broad wall outside. From thence the view around was superb, but the winds raved and roared so violently that it was distressing to stand there. "It is always terrible windy here," said the old woman, "and sometimes you cannot hear the sound of your own voice." The voices of the winds drowned everything—loud, angry, menacing: it was as if the guardian spirits of the place were wroth at the presence of a stranger.'

Within

Within doors it was even more 'eerie'! He was overcome by mysterious feelings he could not overcome or shake off, and which remind us of Lord Lytton's unrivalled ghost story, 'The Haunted and the Haunters.' And it turned out that there might even seem to be reasons for these feelings, in things undreamt of in our philosophy. 'It looks like a haunted house,' he remarked to the woman who conducted him. 'You would say so, if you lived here,' was her solemn and significant answer. At the moment she said no more, but ushered him into a weird-looking bedroom that bore the ominous name of 'Hell.' 'Very strange noises are heard here at night,' she observed incidentally, 'but we do not mind them. They are heard all over the house.' Then after visiting other apartments, almost as ghostlike, after rambling along draughty passages, and ascending and descending dark stone steps, opening into black recesses and grated dungeons, they went down to the great kitchen on the ground-floor, which was the housekeeper's living-room.

'There was a high vaulted roof to the chamber now used as a kitchen, and an ancient stone passage connected it with a sort of crypt, beneath which, as the old woman said—and I can neither verify nor disprove her account, but am content to take it as I received it—is a church, never opened since the days of William de Peverell, or Peveril, son of William the Conqueror. Our voices had a hollow sound; my footsteps awakened echoes from every corner. There must be some large empty space beneath the stone floor, but what it was used for in other days no one seems to know. They say it has never been opened or examined. The chamber in which I stood was sufficiently strange—it might have been a wizard's cave, and all the world asleep. "This," I said in jest, "is where all your noises and ghosts come from." But the old woman answered very seriously, "It is, sir; and when the family are here the servants sometimes will not come down except by twos and threes. Oh, many people have seen things here besides me. Something bad has been done here, sir, and when they open that church below they'll find it out. Just where you stand, by that door, I have several times seen a lady and gentleman—only for a moment or two, for they come like a flash. When I have been sitting in the kitchen, not thinking of any such thing, they stood there—the gentleman with ruffles on, the lady with a scarf round her waist. I never believed in ghosts, but I have seen *them*. I am used to it now, and don't mind it. But we do not like the noises, because they disturb us. Not long ago my husband, who comes here at night, and I, could not sleep at all, and we thought at last that somebody had got shut up in the castle, for some children had been here that day. So we lit a candle and went all over it, but there was nothing, only the noises following us, and keeping on worse than ever after we left the rooms, though they stopped while we were
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in them." An old woman's dream or idle tale, no doubt, but there is an atmosphere about the house which makes one half believe it. For it is, as I set out by saying, a sombre and ghostly house, and I had got far on my way to Chesterfield before I had shaken its influences entirely from my spirit.'

As wild and solitary, and in its way as sombre, is the Kinderscout, the summit region of North Derbyshire, though there at least are the free air and perhaps the sunshine.

'Vain would it be to try to describe the scene as I advanced farther and farther towards the mystic region left blank upon the Ordnance map, a region of which a very large part is rarely traversed by human foot. There is a mass of stern and lonely hills, many of them with rounded tops, and beyond them again is a wild and trackless waste of moss and heath and bog, intersected by deep runnels of water, soft and spongy to the tread, and dotted over here and there with treacherous moss. So strange, so wild, so desolate a region it would be hard to find elsewhere in England, unless, perhaps, we are to liken Dartmoor to it.'

There, too, he says, though 'loneliness, as many people suffer from it, is a feeling unknown to me, that night some unaccustomed influence stole over my mind.'

When he actually walked over the Kinderscout in a subsequent year and in broad daylight, he had shaken off depressing fancies and given himself up to the enjoyment of a hard day's work. But under any circumstances there must be something sad and solemn in the isolation of those savage surroundings, with the stern grandeur of the rugged ranges of hills shutting in the landscapes in all directions. The Kinderscout itself is almost misnamed a mountain, for, though nearly 2000 feet in height, it really is 'one vast moor, intersected with long broad gulches, and abounding in deep holes, patches of wet moss, and pools of dark water.' The trackless waste is always difficult walking, and at times may be dangerous; since even shepherds and keepers have lost their way when the mists are rolling over the moors. A slip into the water in the trenches may easily be fatal; and should the traveller wander off the moors, he may come upon precipices with the very respectable descent of 1500 feet. Mr. Jennings, as his custom is, gives the conspicuous landmarks which may guide the stranger, should the day be clear. Even then, unless he be accustomed to mountains and mosses, he may well come to grief in the deceptive patches of emerald green, which are usually swamps more or less bottomless. And not only are these to be avoided, but he must be perpetually turning the trenches which cut up the surface in all directions,

directions, so that any calculations as to time are to be made very much at random.

‘But the scenery is an ample recompense for all the trouble—a more glorious mountain view there cannot be in England. The hills of Cheshire, the moors on the high ranges above Buxton, line after line stretches far away, till sky and mountain meet, and the eye gets bewildered amid so much savage grandeur and so many chaotic forms and outlines.’

If the Peak, though beautiful in its grandeur, is gloomy, this cannot be said of the South Downs. Moreover, as Mr. Jennings observes, a man can transport himself to the Downs from London in a couple of hours, ‘and there with much advantage to himself exchange a murky and soot-laden air for a bright sky, invigorating breezes, and scenes of great freshness and beauty.’ Brightness, freshness, and cheerfulness, are the characteristics of the Downs, and it is strange that they should be so much less known than they deserve to be. Mr. Jennings is undoubtedly right in the assertion, that no better centre for excursions can be found than Lewes; and that a man who does not fall in love with the scenery within a few miles of the pleasant old town, ‘will never be one of the admirers of what White calls “the vast range of mountains.”’ But only give him sunshine, or that alternation of sunshine with flying showers which we hold to be infinitely preferable, and it is impossible that any man should not admire them, who has strength and wind to breast their slopes. Though it may be close and sultry in the hollows, there is generally in the hottest summer day air stirring on the heights, and nowhere is the air more exhilarating than that which breathes on us straight off the Channel. It is fragrant, besides, with the blossoms of the furze, and the wild thyme which gives Southdown-mutton its flavour. In the spring the linnets are making chorus in those furze thickets, while the larks are carolling in the air overhead. There is a homelike beauty of their own in the swelling masses of the chalk hills, rising out of the rolling expanse, and covered with their carpets of yellowish-green sward. There are sure to be always glorious views to seaward; and there is a peculiar pleasure in practically commenting on Shakspeare by looking down from the crest of the cliffs to the strip of shingle on the beach, measuring the distance by the flight of the choughs and crows that are clamorously flitting about their breeding-places. Above all, the sequestered villages and hamlets, with the walls of weatherbeaten flints, and the roofs that are gardens of house-leek, stoncrop, and lichens, with their vast barns and their storm-bent plantations, have a
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back-of-the-world air about them, which is irresistibly bewitching. As they well may have; for as they lie on the road to nowhere, nobody can possibly have any business there. And so hitherto they have hardly been touched but by time, although some have been brought within sound of the railway whistle.

It is difficult to speak of the Downs without waxing enthusiastic, and they have a literature of their own, inspired by affection for them. Among our favourite letters in White's 'Selborne' are those which he dates from Ringmer, near Lewes; while the passages in which he describes his rides to and from almost rise into eloquence. As for the atmospheric effects, which are strikingly soft, wild, or gloomy, according to the weather, nobody has described them more accurately or with more appreciative discrimination than the author of 'Wild Life in a Southern County.' Nor need we add that Mr. Jefferies is equally trustworthy for the details of their natural history and botany; while his books may be consulted with advantage as to the manners, peculiarities, and superstitions of the natives. But we are visiting the Downs now in the company of Mr. Jennings, and we must hear what he has to say as to the impressions they make and their most characteristic features. We take an extract or two almost at random, although separation from the context may do the author some injustice. He is walking along the inland range between Petersfield and Midhurst; he has just passed the burrows known as 'the Devil's Jumps,' and is standing on the summit of a hill above the village of Didling:—

'From the hill top I now obtained a panoramic view of the Downs along which I had come—a fine series of hills sloping backwards, and buttressed upon the plain, impressing one with a sense of inviolable strength and repose. The wind was high, as it generally is on the Downs, and strange voices seemed to ring in one's ears. Everybody knows how singular are the tricks played by the winds in producing weird sounds—now it seems that people are talking close by; anon that bells are ringing, as one may often hear them far out at sea. Who that has stood on the deck of a ship a thousand miles from land has not fancied that he heard the church bells ringing? Such are the sounds that seem to reach one's ears on the hills when the winds are blowing. The big furze-bushes creak and moan like living creatures in pain, and now and then something rushes by with a loud "whish," which will startle the solitary traveller out of a musing fit, and render it hard to believe that he is really alone. From a point not far from the "Devil's Jumps" I could plainly see the spire of Chichester cathedral, and the Isle of Wight ought to have been visible if the day had been clear enough.'

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That walk was taken on an April day ; and again we meet him in early January on the bold range of bluffs to the north-east of Ovingdean ; which proves, by the way, that one who knows them so well has found the Downs enjoyable at all seasons.

‘ At the top of the first range of hills beyond Ovingdean, in a north-easterly direction, the tower of Falmer church will be seen to the left, and a few yards further a track will be discovered running to the right through some furze, skirting chiefly the brow of the hill. There is now a beautiful walk before the visitor—a walk of which no one who cares for fine hill scenery and delightful air can well grow weary. To wander towards the right, away from the beaten track, is the best course to take—among furze-bushes, and past two sheep-ponds, and again skirting the top of the hill—when all at once you will see several hundred feet below you an ancient Sussex village, with a quaint rambling house, partly ivy-clad, in the midst of an old-world garden, and then a comfortable farm, a church with a low tower, and one street of red-tiled and thatched cottages. Looking back, you may descry the sea sparkling in the sun, just beyond Rottingdean, and again it makes itself visible on the south-east by Seaford and the “Seven Sisters,” the line of which can be distinctly traced. The green rounded tops of the hills stretch away far and near in all directions, and straight in front is Lewes, with a wide and varied landscape expanding beyond it. From the farms beneath comes the tinkle of the sheep bell, wondrously soft and melodious when heard at a distance. Get near to that bell, and it is only the cracked tinkling of a common bit of iron. A mile or two off its tone is of silver, bringing with it many a recollection of “fields invested with purple gleams,” the happy fields of life’s golden age, shining once more in all their beauty in the fair county of Sussex.’

The ‘ancient village’ beneath him was Kingston, interesting even among Sussex hamlets, for ‘it has a long history behind it,’ and has been little changed except by the progress of decay. It flourished under the fostering care of the Priory of Lewes, to which it belonged. The little church, now judiciously restored, had been dedicated to ‘God and St. Pancras’ by William de Warrenne. The village has its own legends and superstitions. There is ‘a goblin charcoal-spinner doomed to expiate some nameless crime by spinning charcoal, of all things in the world, in the likeness of a black calf.’ And a lonely cross-way, half a mile off, is haunted by the spirit of an unfortunate girl, who, having murdered her child and committed suicide, was buried on the spot with the horrors enjoined by statute. ‘That the spot is haunted I cannot of my own knowledge attest, but, on a dark and stormy night, superstition could scarcely find a more fitting home.’

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'Better, however, than all the history and traditions clinging to this old village is the delightful scenery which surrounds it, the noble Downs making almost a part and parcel of it, and the perfume of their wild thyme and sea breath hanging over it, like the fragrance of some celestial clime. The steep combes are deserted at all times of the year, save by some casual shepherd, and there are wild recesses where the grass never seems to have been cut for ages, and where year after year it dies off and is renewed till it resembles a patch of land in an untrodden country. The farmers do not go to these secluded hills, for the grass is rank and coarse, the sheep will not eat it, and it is too far to haul it for use as litter. In many parts of the Downs great circles of this grass may be seen, nibbled all round by the sheep, but not a blade of it touched. In the dead of winter the brown thick herbage reaches over one's knee, and it is not easy to wade through it, and not desirable to try to do so after dark, for some disused chalk or flint pit may be concealed on the hillside. There are strange, long-forsaken tracks now leading nowhere, but once going to farms or homesteads of which not a vestige remains. Even the hare, startled from its form by an unaccustomed rustling, can scarcely make its way through the long jungle-like grass. In stormy weather, a stray gull or two may often be seen in the shelter of the combes, hiding from the northern and westerly blasts which have blown it far from its accustomed haunts. The Downs descend here and there in precipitous banks towards the plains, or are cut into gulches and clefts, between which the sea may once have coursed up and down; and so strongly does the region recal coast-scenery, that at times one almost seems to hear the roaring of the waves below, especially when mist or fog hides the surrounding country, and a thick curtain is drawn over the valley and the plains. Then it is that even the practised shepherd may get confused on his homeward way, and stray far from the path which leads to his own fireside.'

A very graceful piece of description, and wonderfully true to nature. No less curious than Kingston, and places nowadays somewhat more important, are Alfriston and Wilmington, which are within easy reach of Eastbourne and equally accessible from Lewes. The best way to see them is to do like Mr. Jennings; to leave the railway at Berwick and walk to Eastbourne over the Downs. The situation of both is charming—

'At every stage of the road there are abundant signs that you are travelling in an old country. The farmhouses and barns have never known the hand of the modern builder. And when, about two and a half miles from the station, you come to the village (Alfriston), and see the ancient up-hill street, with the long sloping roofs of the houses and the remains of the market cross, which may have stood there five hundred years or more, it is difficult to realise that one is living in commercial England, in the midst of a driving pushing age.'

The Star Inn is unique, with 'the roof, which is half-sunken in
Vol. 152.—No. 303. M with

with age, and the bay windows with their small panes of glass. County authorities suppose that it was once a house of call for pilgrims, as it very certainly must have been, if any Pilgrims' Road passed that way. But even at Alfriston and at Wilmington, old-fashioned as they still remain, the present is rubbing shoulders with the past. As the Downs make admirable exercising ground, training-stables have been established there; and if you stand moralizing under the yew-tree among the graves in the churchyard, you may see a string of horses coming home from their afternoon gallops.

'A wonderful old place is Wilmington, or "Wineltone" as it was called before the Normans came over here, in the days when it was held by the great Earl Godwin, King Harold's father; a village with part of its old priory gate still standing, and a farmhouse made out of the monks' former home, and a church so old that one gives up trying to find out the exact date of it. It is primitive enough in construction, for some of the windows and doors are cut out of the chalk. On the west wall, outside, I saw a grotesque figure, with its knees doubled up nearly to its chin, carved in stone; and inside there is a finely carved pulpit with a beautiful canopy over it, and chalk walls and arches, and ancient seats—altogether one of the plainest, oldest, and least "improved" churches in England. In the churchyard there is an enormous yew tree, of great height (for a yew) as well as girth—a tree said to be at least a thousand years old. Its companions are the dead; and how many must have come to it since first it struck its root in this soil!'

From Wilmington the walk is five miles to Eastbourne, with its esplanades and promenades; and Eastbourne is excellent headquarters for some of the prettiest excursions in England. And there we reluctantly bid farewell to the Downs, as it is time that we likewise take leave of Mr. Jennings. We should give our readers a better idea of his volumes if we could go with him to old towns like Rye and Winchelsea; to such characteristic old churches as Crowhurst and Etchingham; to old castles like Pevensey, Hurstmonceux, and Bodiam, all, by the way, within easy reach of Eastbourne; to old houses like those in the village of Mayfield, which number among them a Palace of the Archbishops of Canterbury, frequently visited by English monarchs. Old trees, as is natural, fill a great part of the landscapes, and he paints them with the zest of an ardent admirer and the knowledge of a close observer. We are told of the yews, hollowed out by time, rent by storms and clamped with hoops and rivets of iron, in many another churchyard besides that of Wilmington; of the pines that Evelyn planted at Wotton; of the venerable beeches that flourish in the valleys of the chalk hills; of the oaks that
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are the special glories of the Weald; of the unrivalled yew hedges of Albury. And so we bring our article to a close with a pretty picture of the famous 'Druid's walk' at Norbury.

'As the path descends, the shadows deepen, and you arrive at a spot where a mass of yews of great size and vast age stretch up the hill, and beyond to the left as far as the eye can penetrate through the obscurity. The trees in their long and slow growth have assumed many wild forms, and the visitor who stands there towards evening, and peers into that sombre grove, will sometimes yield to the spell which the scene is sure to exercise on imaginative natures—he will half fancy that these ghostly trees are conscious creatures, and that they have marked with mingled pity and scorn the long processions of mankind come and go like the insects of a day, through the centuries during which they have been stretching out their distorted limbs nearer and nearer to each other. Thick fibrous shoots spring out from their trunks, awakening in the memory long-forgotten stories of huge hairy giants, enemies of mankind, even as the "double-fatal yew" itself was supposed to be in other days. The bark stands in distinct layers, the outer ridges mouldering away, like the fragments of a wall of some ruined castle. The tops are fresh and green, but all below in that sunless recess seems dead. At the foot of the deepest part of the grove there is a seat beneath a stern old king of the wood, but the *genius loci* seems to warn the intruder to depart—ancient superstitions are rekindled, and the haggard trees themselves seem to threaten that from a sleep beneath the "baleful yew" the weary mortal will wake no more.'

Mr. Jennings has been fortunate in the gentlemen who have illustrated his books. What Mr. Whympere did for 'Field Paths and Green Lanes' has been undertaken by Mr. Hallam Murray for 'Rambles in the Hills,' and Mr. Murray's sketches are as remarkable for their artistic feeling as for their clever execution. The vignettes especially are delightfully suggestive, notably those of Chatsworth Woods and Pike Pool in Dovedale; of Derwent Hall and Warbleton Priory; and of the 'personally conducted party' in the South Downs, where the author acts as guide to a foreign showman, with his forlorn little family and two bears. It is no disparagement to the useful and indeed indispensable 'Handbooks' and 'Guides,' to say that, while they furnish the traveller with the skeleton of facts necessary for him to know, he will find Mr. Jennings in these books a living companion throwing life over the scenery around, and helping him to

'Jog on, jog on, the footpath way,
And merrily hent the stile-a;
A merry heart goes all the day,
A sad one tires in a mile-a.'

ART. VI.—Charles Yriarte. *Florence : L'Histoire, Les Médicis, Les Humanistes, Les Lettres, Les Arts.* Orné de 500 Gravures et Planches. Deuxième Edition. Paris, 1881.

‘IT is impossible to help loving Florence. She is the mother of all who live by thought; she must be studied unceasingly, for she offers an inexhaustible source of instruction. Rome is grander and speaks more to the imagination of men: Venice is stranger, more uncommon and more picturesque. Florence is more indispensable to humanity: she has witnessed the birth of Dante, the divine poet: of Michel Angelo, the man of four souls: of Galileo, the great blind man who reads in the darkness and divines the secrets of worlds. If Florence were to disappear from the surface of the globe, the archives of human thought would lose their most precious titles, and the Latin race would be in mourning for its ancestors.’

These are the concluding words of an Introduction in which M. Yriarte eloquently expatiates on the views and motives which have led to the production of his splendid work on Florence; a work adorned with five hundred illustrations, and got up with every accessory of paper and print that could be lavished on what is pre-eminently an ‘édition de luxe.’ Fortunately, a corresponding amount of taste and learning has been bestowed upon the text; and we propose to deal with it as not long since we dealt with his work on Venice; namely, to make it the basis of a sketch of Florentine history and a summary of the causes which enabled the Florentine republic to fill for a period nearly the same proud position in reviving Italy, the Italy of the Renaissance, which Athens once occupied in Greece. We propose, however, to go to the fountain-head for the history, and take it when we can find it in the simple language of the chroniclers.

Florence first rose into importance and began to take rank as a city after the capture and annexation of Fiesole, A.D. 1010, but she remained subject to the imperial authority in some shape during the next hundred years; and at the beginning of the twelfth century we find her under the rule of the Countess Matilda, the enterprising lady who had managed to become possessed of the larger part of Central Italy, out of which she endowed her friend and ally the Pope with the territories which have ever since been regarded as the patrimony of the Church. The Countess died A.D. 1115, and the Florentines thenceforth figure as an independent community, having already exercised most of the functions and privileges of a free State, including

including home rule and the right of making war or peace on their own account. Their extreme versatility and love of change provoked the bitter irony of Dante:

'Athens and Lacedæmon, that ordained
Their ancient laws and were so civilized,
To living well made but a small advance
Compared with thee that weavest such thin web
Of policy, that unto mid November,
That lasts not, which was in October spun.
How often within time of memory
Laws, institutions, coins, and offices,
Hast thou changed, and renewed thy citizens?
And if thou thinkest well and seest the truth,
Thyself to a sick woman thou wilt liken,
Who cannot find repose upon her down
But by her tossing seeks to ease her pain.' *

At one time they were governed by Consuls, at another by a Captain-general or gonfalonier: then by Signors and Priors; and again by select bodies under the name of Senate, Council, or Balìa. Occasionally they had recourse to a dictator who turned out a tyrant. In 1207, when the supreme authority was vested in six consuls and a senate, they resorted to a singular expedient to ensure the impartial administration of justice. This was the nomination of a foreigner, 'a gentleman of another city,' to be Podestà and preside in their courts, civil and criminal, for a year, with full power to convict, pass sentences and execute judgments. One Gualfredatto of Milan was named and had the episcopal palace assigned him as a residence; but it would appear that the experiment did not answer, for when we next hear of the Podestà, it is as filling an office of inferior dignity under the consuls. The guardianship of the public peace, with the suppression or punishment of crimes of violence, was commonly a hopeless task in a community distracted by faction and intrigue. It was the Capulet and Montague feud repeated and multiplied; and it is remarkable how accurately Shakspeare has depicted by dint of genius the exact state of things which, according to the annalists, existed in almost every Italian city of the earlier middle ages. We are reminded of the Irish home rulers who, expatiating on the advantages of a separation from the hated Saxons, exclaimed: 'What capital fights we should have amongst ourselves if the Englishers would only let us alone!' This absence of restraint on their pugnacity was equally valued by the Florentines, who,

* 'Purgatory,' canto 6; Pollock's translation.

we learn from Villani, were in the habit of fighting one day and dining and drinking together the next, taking occasion in their cups to pay a just tribute to any extraordinary feat of bravery that might have been performed on either side.* The most memorable and durable of the Florentine feuds is related by Villani in a chapter headed, 'How the Guelph and Ghibelline parties were created in Florence:'

'In the year of Christ, 1215, Messere Gherardo Orlandi being Podestà, one Messere Buondelmonte of Buondelmonte, noble citizen of Florence, having promised to take to wife a lady of the house of Amidei, honourable and noble citizens, and the same Messere Buondelmonte, who was a gallant and handsome cavalier, then riding through the city,—a lady of the house of Donati called to him, making light of her he had promised to take to wife, as neither handsome nor good enough, saying, "I had kept my daughter here for you," whom she showed him, and she (the daughter) was very handsome, and incontinently the said Messere Buondelmonte, by the instigation of the devil, chose and espoused her. Thereupon the relatives of the abandoned one assemble in huge indignation, and take council as to the sort and degree of vengeance which their outraged honour required them to inflict.'

Their deliberations were brought to a conclusion by one Mosca de' Lamberti, who uttered the fatal phrase, *Cosa fatta, capo ha* (what's done, can't be undone); which, freely interpreted, meant death. The sentence thus passed was executed on the first day of Easter at the Ponte Vecchio, to which Buondelmonte was seen advancing 'nobly dressed in a new white robe on his white palfrey,' till he reached the foot of the pedestal of the statue of Mars, when he was assailed and struck from his horse by two of the Amidei and despatched by others:

'His veins were cut by Oderigo Fifanti, and there was with them one of the Counts de' Gangalondi; wherefore the city ran to arms and rose in tumult. And this death of Messere Buondelmonte was the cause and the commencement of the accursed Guelph and Ghibelline parties in Florence, although there were already factions enough among the noble citizens. But by the death of Messere Buondelmonte all the lineages of nobles and other citizens of Florence were engaged in them; some holding to the Buondelmonti, who sided with the Guelph party and were its head: some to the Uberti, who were the head of the Ghibelline party; whence all our city underwent much evil and ruin, of which we shall have to make mention, and which it may well be believed will never cease unless God should make an

* Giovanni Villani, 'Cronica.' Villani was the contemporary of Philippe de Comines. The authenticity of the preceding chronicle, Dino Compagni, has been seriously impugned and shaken, much of what passes under his name being considered spurious.

end of it. And thus was shown that the enemy of the human race, through the sins of the Florentines, had power through the idol of Mars, which the Florentine pagans formerly adored, so that such homicide began at the foot of his image, from which so much evil has flowed.'

So far Villani, who goes on to say that the names of these celebrated factions were reported to have arisen from the feud between two German barons called Guelfo and Ghibellino, who took opposite sides in the never-ceasing conflict between the Empire and the Papacy. Some additional details are given in an ancient manuscript from the Buondelmonte library, including the incident which has been made the subject of a striking picture by Mr. Paget, who represents the affianced bride as carried in procession with Buondelmonte's head upon her lap.*

The fatal influence of the Buondelmonte feud is commemorated by Dante:—

'O Buondelmonte! what ill counselling
Prevailed on thee to break the plighted bond.
Many who now are weeping would rejoice
Had God to Ema given thee, the first time
Thou near our city camest.' †

Mosca de' Lamberti, who counselled the assassination, is rewarded by a place in the 'Inferno':—

'Then one
Maimed of each hand, uplifted in the gloom
The bleeding stumps, that they with gory spots
Sullied his face, and cried: "Remember this
Of Mosca too, I, who alas! exclaimed
The deed once done there is an end, that proved
A seed of sorrow to the Tuscan race."'

In the ensuing struggle the first advantage was gained by the Ghibellines, who, with the aid of the Emperor Frederic II., drove their rivals from the city, and compelled them to take refuge in the upper Valley of the Arno; but, on the death of the Emperor, a reconciliation was effected, during which some important changes were made in the Government, especially as regards the military organization. The whole male population was enrolled under *Gonfalonieri* or banner-men, by whom they might at any time be summoned and arrayed:—

* 'Florentine History.' By H. E. Napier, Captain in the Royal Navy, F.R.S. In six volumes. Vol. i. chap. ix. This book leaves nothing to be desired in the way of learning or research, but it will affect most readers as Guicciardini, in the well-known story, affected the convict.

† 'Paradiso,' canto 16. Ema is the river which Buondelmonte crossed on entering Florence. Sismondi describes him as a nobleman of the Ghibelline party from the banks of the Arno.

'To give importance to their armies, and to serve as a point of refuge for those who were exhausted in the fight, and from which, having become refreshed, they might again make head against the enemy, they provided a large car, drawn by two oxen, covered with red cloth, upon which was an ensign of white and red. When they intended to assemble the army, this car was brought into the New Market, and delivered with pomp to the heads of the people. To give solemnity to their enterprises, they had a bell called *Martinella*, which was rung during a whole month before the forces left the city, in order that the enemy might have time to provide for his defence; so great was the virtue then existing amongst men, and with so much generosity of mind were they governed, that as it is now considered a brave and prudent act to assail an unprovided enemy, in those days it would have been thought disgraceful, and productive of only a fallacious advantage. This bell was also taken with the army, and served to regulate the keeping and relief of guard, and other matters necessary in the practice of war.'

With these ordinations, civil and military, continues Machiavel, the Florentines established their liberty; but these only lasted for ten years, after which, besides a fresh outbreak of the Ghibellines, who complained of being divested of their fair share of authority, divisions ensued between the people and the nobility, in which each of these naturally-opposed classes obtained the upper hand by turns. The Pope, Gregory X., interfered, but, finding his advice disregarded, declared them incorrigible and, by way of tranquillizing matters, excommunicated the whole of them; and the entire community remained under an interdict till his death.

Of the spirit that animated this remarkable people in the midst of their civil dissensions, no stronger proof can well be given than the decree of 1293 for the construction of their cathedral:—

'Considering that it is the sovereign prudence of a people of great origin to proceed in its affairs in such a manner that, by its external works, may be recognized not less the wisdom than the magnanimity of its conduct, the order is given to Arnolfo, master architect of our community, to make models or designs for the renovation of Santa Maria Reparata with the most devoted and prodigal magnificence, so that the industry and power of man may not invent nor ever undertake anything finer or more vast—according to what the wisest citizens have said and counselled in public sittings and secret committee, namely, that one ought not to stretch a hand towards the works of the community, if one has not the project of making them correspond to the great soul composed of all the souls of all the citizens, united in one of the same will.'

The worst of their feuds, that of the Guelphs and Ghibellines,

lines, was imported from a neighbouring State. Two members of the Cancellieri, one of the leading families of Pistoia, quarrelled and came to blows. Gere, son of Bertucca, was slightly wounded by Lere, son of Gulielmo, who ordered him to go to the house of Bertucca and ask pardon for what he had done. Here he was seized and bound by order of Bertucca, who, after causing his hand to be chopped off upon a block used for chopping meat, told him: 'Go to thy father and tell him that sword-wounds are cured with iron and not with words.' The father of the mutilated youth called his people to arms, and a conflict began, in which ere long the entire community was engaged. The family were descended from a Cancellieri who had two wives—*Bianca* and *Neri*—after whom the two factions, which became famous as the Bianchi and Neri, were named. Unable to bring matters to a conclusion at Pistoia, the rival chiefs repaired to Florence, where the Cerchi and Donati were then the two families most distinguished by wealth, birth, and the number of their followers. The Cerchi took part with the Bianchi, and the Donati with the Neri. The struggle was stoutly maintained on both sides with changing fortunes and on tolerably equal terms, till the Bianchi fell under suspicion of a conspiracy to introduce foreign influence; and such was the popular indignation, that the whole of them were banished, their property confiscated, and their houses pulled down.*

What invests these transactions with a peculiar interest is the manner in which Dante was mixed up in them. He was honourably known in war and public life before he obtained distinction as a poet. At the battle of Arezzo, 1286, *Veri de' Cerchi*, the commander of the Florentine cavalry, called for a forlorn hope of twelve to head the charge, naming himself, his son, and two nephews for four, and leaving the remaining eight to be supplied by volunteers. One hundred and fifty emulously presented themselves, and amongst the foremost was Dante. He was a Prior or (according to Machiavel) one of the Signory, when a transitory lull was brought about by banishing the most turbulent of both parties. The position he held may be inferred from his language when an embassy was proposed to him: 'If I go, who will remain? If I stay, who will go?' showing, observes Mrs. Oliphant, a contempt of his fellows which a popular assembly was little likely to brook.† He was employed in an embassy to Rome, when another revolution, fatal to his party, took place, and then (in 1301) commenced the exile

* Machiavel, 'History,' book ii. chap. iv.

† 'Foreign Classics for English Readers—Dante.' By Mrs. Oliphant. 1878.
which

which only terminated with his life. In the first instance a fine was imposed, and he was banished for two years; but to punish his contumacy, or on account of some aggravation of the offence, he was condemned in March 1302, along with fourteen others, to be burnt alive, and this sentence, repeated and renewed in 1311, was not formally reversed till 1494.

He was born and bred a Guelph, and his political day-dream was a free and united Italy under the Pope; but so passionate was his love of country, that he left no means untried, consistent or inconsistent with his principles, to procure a repeal of his banishment. At one time we find him seeking the protection of the Emperor, and eager to re-enter Florence in the imperial train with the Ghibellines. There was one degradation, and the only one that promised to be effective, to which he could not bring himself to submit. It was the custom at Florence on certain Saint days to amnesty offenders who were first dedicated to the saint, but any one so amnestied was placed on a level with a criminal who received a pardon. In 1315, on the day of Saint John the Baptist, Dante was chosen to benefit by the privilege. A decree was passed that he should be dedicated to Saint John in a public ceremony, and a monk was despatched to inform him of what had been resolved in his favour. His reply was worthy of the author of the 'Divine Comedy':—

'If you succeed in finding another way which leaves intact my honour and my reputation, show it me, I pray you. But if *that* is the road I must tread, and if it is the only one, I shall never see Florence again. Everywhere, thank God! I can contemplate the heavens and the rising of the stars; everywhere I can give myself up to the search for truth. And I am to lose my fair fame! And I am to debase myself within these very walls which have witnessed my birth; no, I will not do it, should I want bread.'

He died in exile at Ravenna in 1321. Such was the terror inspired by the advance of the imperial forces which Dante accompanied in 1312-13, that the Florentines gave up their city for five years to Robert, king of Naples, upon an understanding that he was to defend it as his own. He sent them first as commander of their forces the Count Novello, with whom they speedily became discontented, and subsequently Walter, Duke of Athens, who, in September 1342, contrived, under the show of a popular election, to become their absolute sovereign; a position in which no tyrant, ancient or modern, could well have behaved worse. They rose and expelled him in less than a year, and in the resettlement of the government, the power was equitably divided between the nobles and the people, respectively

respectively represented by Signors; but this arrangement was of short duration, the civil dissensions broke out with renewed fury, and after several days' fighting Florence presented the spectacle of a town taken by assault after a desperate resistance street by street. The popular party were victorious; 'and so complete (says Machiavel) was the ruin of the nobility, that they never afterwards ventured to take arms for the recovery of their power, and soon became humble and abject in the extreme. And thus Florence lost the generosity of her character and her distinction in arms.' Nor did she gain in tranquillity, liberty, social equality, or regular government, by the suppression of the nobles, many of whom dropped their armorial bearings, blended with the people, and began intriguing for influence as before. Factions, also, were formed amongst the citizens, and family after family continued rising and falling, till the whole powers of the government were gradually concentrated in one, and the Medici became the hereditary rulers of the State.

They were of plebeian origin: Sismondi states that the first time the name attracts attention was about the middle of the thirteenth century: and M. Yriarte says that the first of them who won a place in history and rose above the level of his fellow-citizens, so as to give token of the future sovereignty of the race, was Giovanni, born in 1360. But during an insurrectionary movement, occasioned by Maso degli Albizzi in 1379, a body of the people repaired to the house of Veri de' Medici, then the head of the family, to beg him to undertake the government; and (adds Machiavel) it is agreed by all who have written concerning the events of this period, that if Veri had been endowed with more ambition than integrity, he might easily have become prince of the city. He simply did his best to compose the disturbances, and so neglected or mismanaged the opportunity, that his party was completely deprived of power within two years. 'From that time,' says Sismondi, 'their rivals, the Albizzi, directed the republic for the space of forty-three years, from 1381 to 1434, with a happiness and glory till then unexampled. No triumph of an aristocratic faction ever merited a more brilliant place in history.' He goes on to describe this as the most prosperous epoch of the republic,—'that in which it acquired the greatest opulence, in which the arts, sciences, and literature adopted Florence as their native country,—that in which were born and formed all those great men, of whom the Medici, their contemporaries, have reaped the glory, without having had any share in producing them,—that, finally, in which the republic most constantly followed the noblest policy.'

Tomaso

Tomaso degli Albizzi and Nicolò da Uzzano are named as the chiefs of the aristocracy at this period of glory and wisdom, which was brought to an end by the folly or imprudence of Rinaldo, the son of Tomaso.*

There is hardly a sentence in this animated description that is strictly accurate. The old, the real nobility were still, as such, excluded from power, and what Sismondi calls an aristocracy was a popular party, headed by what Machiavel more accurately terms the new nobles or nobility of the people, many of whom sided with the Medici. The men of genius who form the chief glory of Florence,—Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, belong to an antecedent period; and most of the men of letters, who made her the seat of literature, to a subsequent one. No doubt her intellectual development was constantly in progress, but it nowhere appears that the Albizzi did anything to accelerate it, and their best claim to an honourable place in history rests on their foreign policy, when, if we may believe Sismondi, ‘the republic, directed by them, acting as the guardian of Italian liberty, by turns set limits to the ambition of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, of Ladislaus, King of Naples, and of Philippo Maria, Duke of Milan.’ This, again, is difficult to reconcile with the disastrous result of the war with the Duke of Milan. The Florentines sustained a defeat at Zagonara, which is described as spreading consternation through Tuscany. ‘Nevertheless,’ says Machiavel, ‘in this great defeat, famous throughout all Italy, no death occurred except those of Lodovico degli Obizi and two of his people, who, having fallen from their horses, were drowned in the morass.’ Speaking of another battle in which the Florentines were victorious in 1495, he remarks: ‘Nor was there ever an instance of wars being carried on in an enemy’s country with less injury to the assailants than at this; for in so great a defeat, and in a battle which lasted four hours, only one man died, and he, not from wounds inflicted by hostile weapons, or any honourable means, but having fallen from his horse, was trampled to death.’ Again in 1467: ‘The Florentine generals being now left without any hindrance, pressed the enemy more closely, so that they came to a regular engagement, which continued half a day, without either party yielding. Some horses were wounded and prisoners taken, but no death occurred.’ This is intelligible enough if both armies were composed of mercenaries who could earn their wages without hurting one another. Machiavel’s explanation is, that ‘being nearly all mounted, and covered with armour, there was

* ‘History of the Italian Republics,’ p. 225.

no necessity for risking their lives: while they were fighting, their armour defended them, and when they could resist no longer, they yielded and were safe.'

The defeat at Zagonara was the cause of a threatening amount of popular irritation, which Rinaldo degli Albizzi was unable altogether to calm down. He applied to Giovanni de' Medici to co-operate with him in restoring public confidence, and was told that he had better begin by alleviating the public burthens. On his refusing to do this, Giovanni brought forward and caused to be passed by a general assembly of the people, in whom the supreme legislative power always remained vested, the law known as the *catasto*, an *ad valorem* tax on property, peculiarly obnoxious to the rich. Soon after this (in 1428) he was taken ill, and, finding his end approaching, gave his parting benediction to his sons, Cosmo and Lorenzo, telling them that nothing cheered him so much as the recollection that he had never wilfully offended any one, but had always used his best endeavours to confer benefits upon all:—

'By adopting this method, although amongst so many enemies, and surrounded by so many conflicting interests, I have not only maintained my reputation, but increased my influence. If you pursue the same course, you will be attended by the same good fortune; if otherwise, you may be assured, your end will resemble that of those who in our own times have brought ruin both upon themselves and their families.'

In the following year, Florence was engaged in a war with Lucca, in which a notable part was played by Brunelleschi, who failed to maintain as an engineer the fame he had acquired as an architect. His notion was that the river Serchio might be dammed up or turned so as to inundate the whole of the country round Lucca, and embankments were raised under his direction with this view; but these embankments were cut, counter-embankments were raised, and the upshot was that the river overflowed the ground occupied by the Florentines, who were compelled to raise the siege. During this war, which lasted till May 1733, the Albizzi retained their supremacy; but the influence of the Medici had simultaneously augmented through the sagacious conduct of their chief, Cosmo, who had been conscientiously following the dying advice of his father. He is described as the most prudent of men; of grave and courteous demeanour, extremely liberal and humane.

'He never attempted anything against parties, or against rulers, but was bountiful to all: and, by the unwearied generosity of his disposition, made himself partisans of all ranks of the citizens. This mode of proceeding increased the difficulties of those who were in the government,

government, and Cosmo himself hoped that by its pursuit he might be able to live in Florence as much respected and as secure as any other citizen; or if the ambition of his adversaries compelled him to adopt a different course, arms and the favour of his friends would enable him to become more so.'

Rinaldo dei Albizzi saw and pointed out to his friends that the contest lay between them and the Medici, that it was an internecine contest, and that it was for their advantage to precipitate the crisis, since Cosmo was turning every hour to good account. But even the most eager of his adversaries hesitated to assail or proscribe a man against whom nothing could be urged except that he was winning his way to eminence by public and private virtues, by patriotism, munificence, and generosity. At length Rinaldo, by a mixture of persuasion and corruption, won over a new Gonfalonier, Bernardo Guadagni, to his cause. Cosmo was arrested, and a packed *balia* (committee of the assembly) met to deliberate whether he should be banished or put to death: no crime being alleged against him except his wealth and position and the uses he might be tempted to make of them. He was imprisoned in the palace under the charge of Federigo Malavolti, who, seeing that he ate only a few morsels of bread, said to him: 'Cosmo, you are afraid of being poisoned, and are evidently hastening your end by hunger. You wrong me if you think I would be a party to such an atrocious act: and that you may take your food with greater assurance, I will partake of your meals with you.'

Federigo also enabled him to communicate with friends, who, by bribing the Gonfalonier, got the impending sentence of death commuted to banishment to Padua. Here, and at Venice, where he was permitted to reside for some months, he received visits of condolence from the ambassadors of foreign States deputed to do him honour, and in less than a year his recal was imperatively demanded by his countrymen. The Gonfalonier and a majority of the Signory chosen in August 1434 were his partisans; and after a vain attempt of the exiled Pope Eugenius to mediate, an assembly was convened and a new *balia* created, which immediately restored Cosmo, and banished Rinaldo Albizzi with so many other citizens that 'there were few places in Italy which did not contain some, and many others beyond the Alps were full of them.'

M. Yriarte says that, 'dating from Cosmo's return, there was an end of the Republic: the name remained, and, with the forms, was permitted to remain for a long time to come; but the Medici already formed a dynasty, and all made it a joy and a duty to obey a family marked in the front for power.' This

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is true in the main, although there were times when their sun was threatened with an eclipse; and their mode of winning their way to the supreme authority fully justifies the commendation of Voltaire, 'that no family ever obtained power by so just a title.' It was the soft collar of social esteem, not the iron collar of compelled obedience, that was so complacently worn by the Florentines, who submitted to it the more readily because they thought that the moment it became galling it could be thrown off.

The Medici were pre-eminently merchant princes, perhaps the only family who can be so described in the strict and literal acceptance of the term, the only family who combined the attributes of sovereignty with the regular pursuits of trade. Whilst receiving ambassadors and corresponding with monarchs on affairs of state, they were bankers and money-lenders. They had sixteen branch establishments in different parts of Europe, including Lyons, Bourges, Venice, Genoa, Naples, and Rome. They farmed the revenue: they were largely engaged in mining and agriculture; and so fortunate were their speculations that their colossal fortune went on accumulating, in despite of the munificence with which they lavished it. It appears from their Account Book (*Libro di Ragione*) that Cosmo spent more than 400,000 golden florins on monuments, churches, convents, and ecclesiastical or charitable foundations;* and this at a time when the public income of Florence did not average more than 300,000. The rate of interest was exorbitant, and they derived enormous profits from loans. A timely advance to Edward IV. enabled him, as he subsequently acknowledged, to recover his throne, but he no doubt paid for it in proportion to the risk.† When the Venetians joined Alfonso of Arragon against Florence, Cosmo, by his commercial operations, so drained Naples and Venice of money, that they were glad to make peace upon any terms.

The grasp, the varied capacity, the enterprising spirit of the Medici, may be collected from the specimens of their correspondence preserved in the archives of Florence. They are equally at home in the most contrasted topics and departments: in war, diplomacy, domestic administration, foreign

* 'Along with charities and taxes he (Cosmo) expended of his own as much as would be equal, grain for grain, to about 387,727*l.* of English gold, and probably between 800,000*l.* or 900,000*l.* of our present money.' (Capt. Napier, 'Florentine History,' vol. iii. p. 342.) Mr. Roscoe computes the golden florin at 2*s.* 6*d.*; Burckhardt at eleven or twelve francs. It contained rather less gold than a half-sovereign.

† Giovanni Villani mentions a loan of two Florentine houses to Edward IV. in 1338, by which (he says) they lost 1,365,000 golden florins.

policy,

policy, literature, and the fine arts; and, whilst really exercising the supreme direction of affairs, they so managed matters as to make the citizens believe that they were simply complying with the wishes and promoting the true interests of the community. Historians are not quite agreed on these points. Admitting the fine political insight and business talents of Cosmo, Guicciardini accuses him of meanness and parsimony in ordinary life, and says that, when it became expedient, he did not hesitate to remove a troublesome adversary by violence; as when, at his instigation during a sudden tumult, Baldaccio d'Anghiari was thrown out of a window of the Signoria Palace. Machiavel attributes the death of this man to the Gonfalonier, and inclines generally to the favourable view of the growth and gradual establishment of the Medicean rule, which is certainly most easily reconcileable with the facts. If they had played the vulgar game of intrigue and conspiracy, they would have shared the common fate of the many who, like them, had been aiming at supremacy. They obtained their end by the choice and adaptation of means peculiar to the family, and their success was in no small degree owing to the grandeur of conception, liberality, and nobility of mind, that seemed natural to them.

The spirit and position of Cosmo may be illustrated by an incident. Balthasar Cossa, elected Pope under the title of John XXIII. by the Council of Constance, was dethroned by a counter Council, and took refuge in Florence, where he was domesticated with Cosmo, an old and attached friend, who on his death caused a monument to be erected to his memory by Donatello and Michelozzo Michelozzi. The words *quondam Papa* (onewhile Pope) in the inscription moved the ire of the reigning Pope, who wrote to the Government of Florence to demand them to be erased. The reply, which Cosmo was deputed or volunteered to make, was brief: '*Quod scripsi, scripsi*' (what I have written, I have written).

He had four country houses in the neighbourhood of Florence, where he was wont to entertain the artists and men of learning. From one of them, Carezzi, which still exists, he wrote to Marsilio Ficino:—

'I arrived here yesterday as much to improve my lands as to improve myself. Come and join me, come as soon as you can, and do not fail to bring with you the Treatise of the divine Plato: "Of the Sovereign Good." If you had followed my advice, you would already have translated it into Latin: there is no pursuit to which I devote myself more readily than the pursuit of truth. Come then and bring with you the lyre of Orpheus.'

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It was this Marsilio Ficino who kept a lamp constantly burning before the bust of Plato, as before the image of a saint. The cultivation of Greek became so much the fashion that when Francis Philépe, a famous Grecian, appeared in the streets of Florence, ladies of rank pressed to kiss the hem of his robe; and a Spanish doctor, who had come all the way from Spain to see Leonardo Bruni, approached him at the first interview kneeling. The same enthusiasm was kindled by native and original genius. An admirer of Dante ventured to take the candles which were burning before the crucifix in the *Bigallo*, and place them before the bust of the poet, crying out, 'Accept this homage: thou art still more worthy of it than Christ.' The sacrilege was forgotten in the tribute to the popular idol. When Cimabue was painting his 'Madonna and Child with Angels' he was visited in his studio by Charles of Anjou, and when the picture was finished, it was carried in solemn procession to the chapel of S. Maria Novella, in which it was to serve as an altarpiece, the largest, it is said, then known. So many persons flocked to see it while it was still in progress, that the painter's quarter presented the appearance of a fair, and the Borgo San-Pietro (its original name) underwent so complete a change of aspect as to be called Borgo Allegri.*

The enthusiasm extended to all classes, rich and poor, educated and uneducated. This was towards the end of the thirteenth century, and indicates a predisposition, an intuitive instinctive taste in the population, which goes far to confirm the conclusion of Dr. Burckhardt, that 'it was not the revival of antiquity alone, but its union with the genius of the Italian people, which, under the name of the Renaissance, achieved the conquest of the Western world.'† Dante, although he chose Virgil for his guide and hailed him as a master, drew his inspiration from within: he was intensely national and Italian where he was not intensely subjective; and the works to which Boccaccio and Petrarch are indebted for their immortality are those which they composed in their native tongue in a style peculiarly their own. Petrarch knew little Greek. 'Thy

* The writer of the article 'Cimabue,' in the last edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' states that the Borgo Allegri was already known by that name. In other respects, he confirms the traditional account of the effect produced by the picture.

† 'The Civilisation of the Period of the Renaissance in Italy,' by Jacob Burckhardt; authorized translation, by S. G. C. Middlemore. In two volumes. London, 1878. In vol. i. p. 239, he justly remarks, in reference to the conflicting theories and confident explanations of the Renaissance, that 'it would not have been the process of worldwide stignification which it is, if its elements could be so easily separated from one another.'

Homer,' he writes to Sygéros, 'lies mute at my side; I am deaf for him; but I, notwithstanding, delight in the sight of him, and often embrace him.' Boccaccio not only knew Greek enough to enjoy Homer, but with the aid of a Calabrian Greek he translated the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey;' but this was subsequently to the production of the 'Decameron,' and his commentary on Dante shows that the development of native Italian genius interested him more than the masterpieces of antiquity. It was a later generation that, under the Medici, carried the passion for Greek to the verge of extravagance. Instances abound of private persons of limited means who, like the father of George Eliot's Romola, spent their entire fortunes and incurred heavy debts in the collection of manuscripts. Niccolò Niccoli was one who had come to the end of his resources, when Cosmo gave him an unlimited credit to continue his pursuits and purchases. He accumulated 800 manuscripts, including that of Cicero *De Oratore*, which was discovered by him. These, on his death, were bought by Cosmo for 8000 florins, and presented to the convent of Saint Mark.

Referring to this period, Sismondi states that the revenues of many Florentine citizens surpassed those of the greatest monarchical princes. 'Their palaces, which are to this day the objects of our admiration, already displayed all the prodigies of art; at the same time that they presented, with the crowd of servants who filled them, the aspect of fortresses within which public justice dared not penetrate.' Conspicuous amongst them was Lucas Pitti, who built the Pitti Palace, and during a brief interval seemed in a fair way to supersede the Medici, inadequately represented as they were on the death of Cosmo by his son Pietro, a martyr to gout, who could neither ride nor walk, and had given no proof of ability or strength of character to counterbalance his physical defects. By way of setting his affairs in order, he began by calling in the loans—many never intended to be repaid—of which Cosmo had been so liberal that (Machiavel states) there was hardly a citizen of note who had not some time or other been his debtor. Many of his advances had been made to merchants, and their withdrawal occasioned a serious shock to commerce.

In the midst of the resulting outcry a plot was formed for his overthrow, followed by a conspiracy against his life; but he unexpectedly displayed qualities which contrasted favourably with the vanity and presumption of Pitti, already a ruined man, whose talents were found to bear no proportion to his ambition, and on the first appeal to the popular assembly the habitual authority of the Medici was confirmed. A fresh proscription ensued,

ensued, and Italy was again overflowed with Florentine outcasts, amongst whom, says Sismondi, were to be found almost all the historical names of Florence. This had been the normal state of things for many generations, dating from the exile of Dante. Yet the city flourished under it; commerce prospered; manufactures were carried on with great activity; high wages supported in comfort all who lived by their labour, and the Medici kept up a sort of perpetual carnival, amidst which the people soon lost all thought of liberty. Pietro was formally recognized as chief of the house during the remaining seven years of his life; but its steadily growing lustre was owing to his son Lorenzo, under whom, as is implied in his title of 'The Magnificent,' it attained the culminating point of splendour. Although only twenty when his father died (1472), he had already filled the highest employments, been engaged on important embassies, corresponded with sovereign states and princes, and drawn round him the master spirits of the time. He was a poet as well as a patron of poets, and possessed a practical knowledge of architecture and sculpture, that enabled him to assume the personal direction of the monuments and buildings with which he adorned Florence, as well as the formation of the libraries and galleries which he endowed. The very shows and festivals which he instituted are a sign of his refined taste, and of the advanced cultivation of the people who were caught by them. They were mostly triumphs and processions in illustration of classical events, planned and executed by artists of the highest eminence, who did not disdain to model the cars, to arrange the groups, and compose the mottoes.

Considering how many powerful families had been suppressed, broken up, or scattered in exile, to found the greatness of the Medici, it was not to be expected that they would be left to the uninterrupted enjoyment of their supremacy. The very advantage of their position, the fact that they were secure against open enemies, against popular and what may be called constitutional opposition, exposed them to a different kind of danger. 'Whilst,' remarks Machiavel, 'they contended with their equals in authority and reputation, those who envied their power were able to oppose them openly without danger of being suppressed at the first demonstration of hostility; for the magistrates being free, neither party had occasion to fear, till one or other of them was overcome. But after the victory of 1466, the Government became so entirely centred in the Medici, and they acquired so much authority, that discontented spirits were obliged either to suffer in silence, or, if desirous to destroy them, to attempt it in secrecy, and by clandestine means.'

Lorenzo was the object of three conspiracies, each aiming at his life; and one of them, the conspiracy of the Pazzi, is a remarkable illustration of the utter absence of all moral sense in the Italian princes and rulers, spiritual and temporal, of that and (we fancy) a long subsequent period. The assassination of Lorenzo and his brother Julian was deliberately planned by the members of a distinguished house, in concert with the King of Naples and Pope Sixtus IV.: two of the most active accomplices were a cardinal and an archbishop, and the chosen place for the perpetration of the deed was a church. 'So far (says Sismondi) from experiencing the repugnance we now feel to assassination as the means of delivering our country, men of the fifteenth century perceived honour in a murder, virtue in the sacrifice of life, and historic grandeur in conspiracy.' But this particular conspiracy was certainly not one in which the most perverted mind could perceive honour or virtue; and Sismondi has no warrant for attributing it wholly or partially to elevated motives.

The Pope had quarrelled with Lorenzo for aiding the revolted barons of the Romagna: the Pazzi had (as they thought) private wrongs to revenge. The transfer of Florentine power might have been a consideration, but the restoration of Florentine liberty (which had never existed at any time) most assuredly was not. The principal management of the plot was entrusted to Francesco de' Pazzi and the Archbishop of Pisa. It was originally intended to come off at a villa near Florence, where Lorenzo and Giuliano were invited to meet the Cardinal Riario, a near relative of the Pope, and a willing instrument. It was deemed essential to kill both the brothers at the same time, lest the survivor should make a successful appeal to the people. So on Giuliano's sending an excuse, the execution was postponed, as it was a second time for the same reason; and it was finally fixed for the 26th April, 1478; the scene being the Cathedral Church of Santa Maria, where the Cardinal was to celebrate mass and both of the brothers had promised to attend. The office of despatching Lorenzo was pressed upon Giovan Batista, a papal officer of rank, who, strange to say, had scruples about killing an old acquaintance (which Lorenzo chanced to be) in a church. So the office devolved upon two priests. Francesco de' Pazzi and Bernardo Bandini took charge of Giuliano, and, as he had not appeared when divine service commenced, they went to his house, and by earnest entreaties induced him to accompany them. It is recorded that on the way Francesco pressed him in his arms, under the show of endearment, to ascertain whether he wore concealed armour.

The partaking of the Sacrament by the Cardinal was the concerted signal; and immediately on its being given, Pazzi and Bandini threw themselves on Giuliano, flung him upon the ground and kept stabbing him till he was dead. The two priests simultaneously assailed Lorenzo, but so irresolutely or unskillfully that, after receiving only a slight wound in the throat, he drew his sword and stood upon his defence till his friends came up. He then took refuge in the sacristy, where he had not to remain long, for the people rose in his favour and he was escorted in triumph to his house. It had been arranged that, whilst the deed was doing, the Archbishop with a chosen band should take possession of the palace of the Signory. Thither he accordingly repaired, and sought a communication with the gonfalonier under pretence of a message from the Pope, but his incoherent and hesitating manner roused suspicion: the gonfalonier gave the alarm: armed men responded to his call; and after a short struggle the conspirators were at his mercy. He showed none. The whole of them were immediately put to the sword or flung out of the windows; to the framework of which he hung the Archbishop head downwards. The two priests who had assailed Lorenzo were pursued and cut to pieces. More than 70 citizens were massacred by the mob; and three of the Pazzi were hanged at the windows of the palace alongside of the Archbishop. It would seem that they were hanged by the feet, for they are so represented in a painting commemorating the event by Andrea del Castagno; and this was no uncommon mode of execution at a time when dead or dying malefactors might frequently be seen hanging by one leg between the columns of St. Mark at Venice. The ferocity and vindictiveness exhibited by the victorious party on this occasion do not confirm the venerable adage touching the tendency of the fine arts to soften manners. Portions of dead bodies were borne on spears through the streets; the roads were scattered with bones and fragments of flesh; and more than 200 persons died by the hand of the executioner.

If we are to believe Sismondi, Lorenzo's head was completely turned by the failure of this conspiracy: he began to think himself the actual prince of the city, and even to accept the title pressed upon him by the flattery of friends. But his situation was so precarious, and his dependence on the general goodwill so obvious, that we can hardly conceive him indulging in any idle vanity or departing from the settled policy of his house, of governing without seeming to govern. If his domestic enemies were crushed, his foreign enemies were more active than ever. What they had failed to compass by treachery, they resolved to effect by force. Sismondi says that he was menaced by all Italy

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at once. A hostile league was formed between the Pope, the King of Naples, and the Republic of Siena; their avowed object being the destruction of Lorenzo, whom the Pope had excommunicated for hanging an archbishop. They announced that they had no quarrel with the Florentines as a people; against whom, however, his Holiness, by a slight inconsistency, also fulminated a bull. The spiritual arm had lost much of its force from the frequency and recklessness with which it was employed. It was the secular arm, wielded by the League, which alarmed Lorenzo, who took the bold step of assembling the signory and nobles of Florence and calling on them to make his cause their own. A set speech is placed in his mouth by Machiavel, who, after the manner of the ancient historians, frequently adopts this method of stating a case or developing a policy:

‘Most excellent Signors and you magnificent citizens,’ Lorenzo is made to say, ‘Whoever enquires into the truth of these matters, will find that our family has always been exalted by you, and from this sole cause, that we have endeavoured by kindness, liberality, and beneficence, to do good to all; and if we have honoured strangers, when did we ever injure our relatives? . . . Certainly usurped power deserves to be detested; but not distinctions conceded for acts of kindness, generosity, and magnificence. And you all know that our family never attained any rank to which this palace and your united consent did not raise it. Cosmo, my grandfather, did not return from exile with arms and violence, but by your unanimous desire and approbation. It was not my father, old and infirm, who defended the Government against so many enemies, but yourselves by your authority and benevolence defended him; neither could I, after his death, being then a boy, have maintained the position of my house except by your favour and advice. Nor should we ever be able to conduct the affairs of this republic, if you did not contribute to our support.’

Deeply moved by this speech, and fully recognizing his title to support, the Florentines immediately voted the requisite measures for opposing force by force. They raised money, collected troops, and, instead of submitting to the interdict, compelled the priests to perform divine service as usual and appealed to a general council against the Pope. ‘You say,’ was their reply to his Holiness, ‘that our liberty is dear to you, that Lorenzo is a tyrant, and you command us to expel him; but how are we free if thus compelled to obey your commands? You call him tyrant: the majority of Florentines call him their defender; nor has he a superior amongst us in religion and true piety.’ In the ensuing hostilities they were often hard pressed; but Lorenzo, although unskilled in war, was

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an adroit negociator, and no combination of Italian States and princes, treacherous and self-seeking as they were, could hold together long. It was vitally important to detach the King, and Lorenzo took the bold step of repairing in person to Naples. His letter to the Florentine signory communicating his intended mission, after dwelling on the spirit of self-sacrifice which had suggested it, concludes :

‘In this disposition I leave you, and without any other consideration than the good of the city. May God give me grace to perform that which is the duty of every citizen for the benefit of his country, I humbly recommend myself to your Highnesses. From San Miniato, the 7th of December, 1479. Your Highnesses’ good and obedient son and servant.

‘LORENZO DE’ MEDICI.’

By dint of fawning and flattery he succeeded in coming to an arrangement with the King of Naples; and a Turkish invasion under Mahomed II. brought about a reconciliation of the Florentines with the Pope, who exchanged the curse for a benediction upon their humbly asking pardon and agreeing to contribute fifteen galleys towards the defence of Christendom.

So long as menacing clouds hung over the city, Lorenzo was bitterly assailed, but as soon as the prospect brightened, the state of opinion was reversed. ‘The citizens praised him extravagantly, declaring that by his prudence he had recovered in peace what unfavourable circumstances had taken from them in war, and that by his discretion and judgment he had done more than the enemy with all the force of their arms.’ They showed their gratitude, not only by confirming him in his former influence and authority, but by aiding him with large advances, his fortune having become dilapidated by his prodigality as well as by the mismanagement or peculation of his agents, many of whom founded historic families upon his spoils. Sismondi makes this a grave charge against him, and says that he used his recovered popularity to enslave his fellow citizens and tax them for the payment of his debts. ‘He was a bad citizen of Florence, as well as a bad Italian; he degraded the character of the Florentines, destroyed their energy, ravished from them their liberty, and soon exposed them to the loss of their independence.’ Still the broad fact remains that, whatever they did at his bidding, they did of their own free will; and he no more enslaved them by inducing them to adopt a form of government which he controlled, than M. Gambetta would have enslaved the French through the instrumentality of the *scrutin de liste* if he had carried it. Machiavel, whose History of Florence closes with the death of Lorenzo, says that there was never in Florence,

or even in Italy, one so celebrated for wisdom or for whose loss such universal regret was felt.

He died in April 1492, in the forty-fourth year of his age, of a painful internal complaint which, affecting the nerves, prostrated and wore him out. It is related that when his case was known to be hopeless, Savonarola requested an interview which was readily granted, and that Lorenzo, humble and collected, requested absolution for three passages of his life, which were to him the deepest sources of remorse: 1. The sack of Volterra, the scene of a terrible amount of cruelty and licentiousness, which he had permitted after promising to spare the besieged; 2. The abstraction of the funds of an institution for supplying marriage portions to the daughters of the poorer citizens; 3. The vindictiveness with which he had pursued the persons implicated in the Pazzi conspiracy. Savonarola assented after exacting full repentance and ample reparation so far as possible, but, before giving the benediction, he turned to the dying man and told him that there was still something yet more important to be done to merit the divine favour; it was to restore liberty to Florence and re-establish the popular form of government. Burlamacchi (as quoted by M. Yriarte) goes on to state that, at this point, Lorenzo turned sharply round upon his bed, thus averting his face and putting an abrupt end to the colloquy.

Roscoe discredits this story, which Sismondi adopts, saying 'that Lorenzo would not consent to such a reparation; he accordingly did not obtain the absolution on which he set a high price, and died still possessing the sovereignty he had usurped.' But it seems highly improbable that Savonarola should have imposed a condition with which the dying man was obviously unable to comply; for the government of Florence was then vested in a council or senate of seventy named by the assembly, and the influence of the Medici was not a tangible sovereignty, or a thing that could be resigned like a crown. Politian, who was present at the dying scene, has left what reads like a more truthful and probable account. According to him, Lorenzo desired the attendance of a priest, who administered the last sacrament, which he rose from his bed to receive. After this preparation for death, a celebrated physician, named Lazaro, undertook to effect a cure if sundry precious stones were supplied to be pounded in a mortar and mixed with the drugs. This was done, and the medicine so compounded was administered by Politian himself. He was recognized by the dying man, and was requested to send for Pico della Mirandola, whom Lorenzo affectionately embraced, saying:

saying: 'I could have wished at least that death had permitted me to complete our library.' Then arrived Savonarola, calm, gentle, full of piety, and giving no thought to political reform. He bestowed his benediction at parting. A kneeling weeping crowd had now collected in the bedroom and the antechamber. Lorenzo alone remained unmoved. On being asked whether the taste of the medicine was agreeable, he replied, 'as agreeable as it can be to a dying man.' He died with his eyes fixed on the crucifix.

It is a matter as to which contemporary accounts differ, whether he died on the 5th, 7th, 8th or 9th, of April, 1492. The required age for the Gonfalonier was forty-five, and as Lorenzo was only forty-four when he died, it is a fact that this ruler of his country was never duly qualified for the highest office of the State. Just one month before his death he had the satisfaction of completing an affair which brought a large and lasting accession of grandeur to the family. Giovanni de' Medici had received a cardinal's hat before he was fourteen, on condition that it was not to be worn for three years. At the expiration of this period, the Pope, Innocent VIII., gave the required sanction, and the ceremony of assuming the dignity was pompously performed on the 10th of March, 1492. The boy-cardinal became Pope Leo X.

Lorenzo was succeeded by his eldest son, Pietro, aged twenty-one, a man of showy accomplishments and dissolute habits, who left the conduct of affairs to subordinates, and issued orders in his own name, instead of acting through the legal authorities according to the politic custom of his house. The result was that he soon lost his hold on the people, and an emergency trying to every cisalpine government and ruler was at hand. Charles VIII. of France entered Italy with a large army in August 1494, and their mode of carrying on war struck terror into the Italians who (as we have seen) contrived to fight battles amongst themselves without loss of life except by accident. But the French fought in right earnest, doing their best to kill, and the men-at-arms, whom they unhorsed, unless of consequence enough to be kept for ransom, were stripped, plundered, and put to death upon the field. Pietro, sharing the consternation inspired by their advance, bethought him of Lorenzo's happy stroke of policy in the expedition to Naples, and resolved to imitate it. He started to meet Charles, traversing on his road a place where 300 Florentines, vainly asking for quarter, had been cut to pieces by the French. His nerves were so shaken, that on the first summons he gave up the fortresses which formed the defence of Tuscany, and then hastened

hastened back to Florence, where the news of his weakness or treachery had preceded him, and on presenting himself at the palace of the Signory he was insultingly turned back. With the view of enforcing admittance, he headed a band of armed followers, and, backed by his brother, Cardinal Giovanni, traversed the streets shouting the family war cry, *Palle, Palle*, which, instead of being caught up by the populace, was met and overcome by the counter-cry of *Popolo, Popolo: Libertà, Libertà*. He lost heart and fled to Bologna, where he was received by Giovanni Bentivoglio with an expression of surprise and the sarcastic remark: 'If you should ever by chance hear that I have been driven from this city, believe it not. Believe rather that I have been cut to pieces.' He was eventually driven out, and manifested no more eagerness to court death as the more honourable alternative than his guest.

Charles entered Florence as a conqueror, with *Missus a Deo* ('sent by God') upon his colours; but the Florentines were by no means disposed to accept him in that capacity, and on his intimating an intention to govern them by deputy, with Pietro de' Medici as his viceregent, they rose in arms. Pierre Capponi and three other citizens were deputed to treat with the French king, and after much discussion articles of convention were drawn up, when, a dispute having arisen touching the amount of contribution, he suddenly started to his feet, exclaiming that he would sound his trumpets and not abate a jot. 'Then,' replied Capponi, 'sound your trumpets, and our bells shall answer them.' He tore the paper to pieces before the King's face and left the room. He was immediately recalled, and the King addressed him with a smile: *Ah Chapon, Chapon, vous êtes un mauvais Chapon*. The articles were signed as originally drawn, and the contribution fixed at 120,000 florins. The deputy's triumph and the royal pun have been commemorated in verse:

'Lo strepito dell' armi e do' cavalli
Non pote' far si che non fosse udita
La voce d' un Cappon fra tanti Galli.'

('The clash of arms and horses could not prevent the voice of one capon from being heard amongst so many cocks.')

Left free once more to choose a constitution, the general assembly of Florence resolved on vesting the sovereign authority in a council composed of all qualified citizens, i.e. of all who could furnish proof that they or their progenitors had held office or belonged to the magistracy. Sismondi computes them at 1800, others at 3000. This measure was adopted

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at the suggestion of Savonarola, who was now the most influential personage in the State; and his wish and hope were to establish a republic on the solid foundation of equal rights. Unhappily, he was too good for his age, perhaps for any age; for he preached the true doctrines of Christianity, and expected men to qualify for freedom by becoming self-denying, self-sacrificing, and incorrupt. Up to a certain point he succeeded, so far as his line of argument fell in with the popular humour or forwarded an interested combination which he thought an honest one; but to kindle enthusiasm is easier than to sustain or guide it. He flashed across the political horizon like a meteor leaving no durable traces of its flight; and he incurred the common fate of reformers who rely exclusively on justice, reason, and truth.

Girolamo Savonarola, born in September 1452, became a monk of the order of St. Dominic, in pursuance of a vision, at the age of twenty-two. His first essay as a preacher at Florence was not successful; but, in 1489, under the auspices of Lorenzo, to whom he had been recommended by Pico della Mirandola, he began in the Church of St. Mark a series of expositions of the Apocalypse, in which he discovered warnings and prophecies of the deepest moment to his audience. 'Gladus Domini super terram, cito et velociter,' was the text on which he expatiated as peculiarly applicable to Florence. The divine vengeance impending over her could only (he declared) be averted, if indeed it could be averted, by condign repentance to be manifested by deeds, by a new life on the part of both rich and poor; and his denunciations, apart from their eloquence, acquired strength from the actual occurrence of some of the evils he foretold. Comines, who knew him personally, says that he always spoke confidently of the coming of Charles VIII., 'affirming that Charles was sent by God for the punishment of Italian tyrants, that no force could oppose him, no power defend itself from him: that he would enter Pisa, and on that day the State of Florence would fall, as it afterwards happened, for Pietro de' Medici was expelled the same hour.'

Comines goes on to say that Savonarola predicted many other things before they occurred, such as the death of Lorenzo, and adds emphatically: 'As to me, I believe him to be a good man.' It would be difficult to believe otherwise; for the purity of his life was beyond reproach, and he may be pardoned for supposing that he had a divine mission and was speaking as one inspired, when he witnessed the electrical effects which he produced. The Church of St. Mark proving too small for his daily-increasing congregation, the Cathedral

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was assigned to him: during eight years the whole city flocked to hear him, and he was invariably mobbed on his way between the pulpit and his cell. He preached extempore, and what has been preserved of his sermons does not convey the impression that he was pre-eminent in imagination or elevated thought—(in this respect he falls far short of Bossuet):—their force obviously lay in their appositeness to existing circumstances, in their passionate fervour, vitality and truth:—

‘Man has no majesty like earnestness.’

He was a genuine patriot, and no respecter of persons. When he became prior of St. Mark, he refused to conform to the prevalent usage of doing homage to the chief of the Medici as the chief of the republic, and preached against him as the usurper of its liberties. Lorenzo commissioned five of the principal citizens to wait upon him and beg him to cease from agitating a people already too liable to be led astray. He replied by another sermon, in which he foretold the speedy death of the Magnifico. He certainly succeeded in inspiring the public with much of his own longing for free institutions; and it would have been well for himself if his conflicts had been confined to the political arena: if he had been content to do good service as a social and political reformer, instead of meddling with the abuses of the Church. At the same time it was impossible for him to pass unnoticed the relaxation of morals amongst the clergy, and the notorious profligacy of the Papal family and Court under Alexander VI.—the Borgia, whose very name is synonymous with vice and crime. On being summoned to Rome to justify his doctrines, Savonarola pleaded physical infirmity which prevented him from travelling, and he resigned his pulpit during a brief interval, at the end of which he recommenced his diatribes and addressed letters to all the European princes, calling on them to summon a council for the deposition of the Pope. His Holiness then fulminated the Bull of excommunication: but the Nuncio charged with it was so alarmed by the popular manifestations which he encountered on the way, that he stopped short at Siena; and Savonarola retorted by his ‘Triumph of the Cross.’

One of his charges against the Medici was the sensual Pagan character of their school of literature and art. Savonarola himself at first made some exception or allowance for works of genius which were not imbued or chastened by the spirit of Christianity, but the monk, Domenico, who represented him in the pulpit of St. Mark in 1496, instituted a regular crusade against profane works and objects of luxury: books, statues, paintings, jewels,

jewels, ornaments, musical instruments, perfumes. An explosion of fanaticism, recalling the worst frenzy of the Iconoclasts, ensued. Everything which could excite wicked thoughts or offend modesty, or be suspected of so doing, was condemned to the flames; and many priceless works, including Greek and Latin manuscripts, were defaced or destroyed. During the entire carnival, a company of children drilled by Domenico, and clothed in white to symbolize purity, went from house to house to collect the condemned articles. The whole of these were piled upon an immense pyramid in the principal square and solemnly burnt, after a religious procession, in the presence of the municipal authorities and amidst the clamorous plaudits of the crowd:—

‘Thus, along with innumerable objects hardly meriting such a fate, there perished (says M. Yriarte) the exquisite portraits of contemporary beauties, the drawings of masters, the rare models of the unrivalled sculptors and goldsmiths of this incomparable age of incomparable Florence. It was a hecatomb of incomparable images in wax or metal, of manuscripts of Boccaccio and Petrarch, of light novels by lively story-tellers, of books of magic and popular superstition patiently enriched with miniatures by the anonyms of genius in which this century was so rich.’

The same ceremony was repeated in 1498, and this time it was Savonarola himself who, crucifix in hand, led the procession of neophytes:—

‘On arriving at the Piazza, they found the second pile richer and more ornamented than the preceding one. On it were seen the busts of the most beautiful women of antiquity executed by the most renowned sculptors, a Petrarch set in gold, and miniatures of price. Guards were posted to prevent anything from being taken away. A *Te Deum* was sung and holy water thrown upon the pile, which was then kindled by the chief magistrates of the quarters, to the sound of trumpets and ringing of bells.’

Within three months of this triumph, Savonarola stood chained to the stake, the central figure of another burning pile, in this same Piazza. His ecclesiastical combined with his political adversaries had proved too strong for him. The imprudence of his principal supporter and occasional substitute accelerated his fate. Fra Domenico announced from the pulpit that he and Savonarola were impervious to fire, and declared himself ready to walk through the flames with any Papal adherent who felt equal to the ordeal. The challenge was accepted by the leader of the opposite party, a Franciscan, who, however, objected to undergo the trial except with Savonarola. Others were not so particular: many priests, women,

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and children, volunteered to burn, or run the risk of burning, in so hallowed a cause, and they were officially praised and thanked by his Holiness in a missive to the monks of St. Francis:—

‘To humble and confound the pertinacity of Fra Girolamo, there have not been wanting those among you who have proposed to throw themselves into the flames. It is our duty highly to commend this your devotion and promptness in a work so pious, *so useful*, and so praiseworthy, that it never can be obliterated from the memory of mortals, and which to this Holy See and to us is so grateful and acceptable, that nothing can give greater satisfaction.’

Savonarola’s followers were equally enthusiastic, and, when he preached in disapproval of the trial as a rash tempting of God, he was met by cries of *Ecce ego, Ecce ego transibo per ignem* (‘Here am I, here am I who will pass through the fire’). The question was discussed in council by the Signory, who decided that the trial should be confined to Domenico di Pascia and Andrea Rondinelli, a lay monk of St. Francis. An alternative proposal was that they should both be immersed in a bath of boiling water, and that the one that came out dry or unscalded should be deemed the true man. This was rejected, and it was settled that the two martyrs should walk on a narrow path eighty feet long, between two walls or rows of burning wood. Savonarola, attired in full canonicals and holding the sacred Host in his hand, arrived at the head of a procession with Fra Domenico, similarly attired and bearing a crucifix, at his side. The Franciscans objected that the priestly robes gave an unfair advantage, and they were laid aside. It was also decided that Fra Domenico should not be permitted to carry the Host into the flames. These and other preliminary points wasted time and excited the impatience of the populace, whose indignation and disappointment became irrepressible, when the fire was suddenly quenched by a deluge of rain.

Savonarola was hooted on his return to his convent, which shortly afterwards was forcibly entered by a disorderly crowd, from whom he was rescued by the Signory and taken prisoner to the palace. Here he was examined by a committee of his bitterest enemies, and put to the torture, which his sensitive and debilitated frame was ill-fitted to endure with fortitude. He confessed he knew not what: anything that was put into his mouth or written down for him; and under the threat of renewed torture he signed the confession thus composed. Protesting all along that he could not answer for words extorted by physical suffering, he was tortured again, and with a similar result, before the Papal Commissaries sent from Rome to pre-
side

side at his conviction. But the charges against him, whether admitted or not, were preposterous, except so far as they related to his imputed heresy, and it was as the arch-foe of the Church, represented by a monster in human shape, that he was condemned to be hanged and burnt, along with two of his most zealous disciples, Domenico di Pescia being one.

The versatility of the Florentines was never more forcibly illustrated than by the state of feeling and opinion which led to the execution of Savonarola and followed on his death. The social and political reaction was complete. The laxity of morals exceeded what had been witnessed at any period of their annals. They seemed to take a pride in the vices he had reproved: they speedily got tired of the liberal constitution he had framed for them, and they treated with marked contumely whoever and whatever was associated with his name. Faint and transitory, however, as was his influence on society and government, it was strongly marked in art. After naming Fra Bartolomeo and several others, who forswore painting or sculpture at the bidding of Savonarola or at his death, M. Yriarte goes on to say:—

‘Dating from this moment, only religious subjects are painted or sculptured. Be it in the south, the north, or the centre, it is always the Virgin, Christ, saints, angels, prophets, scenes from Scripture; and it requires all the free spirit of a Titian or a Giorgione to throw off these conventions and make excursions into the pagan world, into the Greek mythology and the domain of pure fancy. This influence of Savonarola has been nowhere more profound than in the plastic arts, because it was the artists who were his most fervent admirers.’

This may be true as regards the choice of subjects, but hardly as regards the mode of treatment. The classic influence is seen throughout in the exchange of the stiff, ascetic, angular figures of the Byzantine school, for the full flowing, graceful forms of the Greek, and an accomplished connoisseur maintains that the artists of the Revival drew their inspiration equally from antiquity and Christianity, with the exception of Michel Angelo, who (it is contended) owed nothing to either, although his sublimest works are based upon the Old Testament.*

In 1502, four years after the death of Savonarola, the Grand Council created a gonfalonier for life, and appointed Pietro Soderini to fill the office, who discharged it respectably till another and more sweeping change was effected by foreign interference: a curse from which, dating from the ill-omened invasion of

* Julian Klaczko, ‘*Causeries Florentines.*’ Paris, 1880.

Charles VIII., Italy was destined to be never totally free for centuries. In August, 1512, Raymond de Cordova crossed the Apennines at the head of a Spanish army, and sent a message to the Florentines, requiring them to recal the Medici, displace Soderini, and pay 40,000 florins. Taking advantage of the terror caused by his approach, the Medicean faction rose, took possession of the public palace, frightened Soderini into flight, and sent to tell the Spaniard that they were ready to accept his terms. Pietro de' Medici was dead. The representatives of the family were the brothers Giuliano, Cardinal Giovanni, and their nephew Lorenzo. An assembly was called, and a *balia* composed of their nominees or creatures, was formally invested with the sovereignty. This was henceforth really exercised by the Cardinal, who on the 11th of the following March became Pope.

Machiavel, who had held high office under Soderini, was involved in his fall. He was deprived of his employments and banished for a year. Prior to its expiration he was implicated in a conspiracy against the Medici, arrested, and put to the torture. He endured six shocks of the cord without uttering a word compromising to himself or others; and from the dungeon into which he was thrown, loaded with chains and lacerated by the rack, he addressed a sonnet to Giuliano de' Medici, breathing the noblest spirit of independence. Touched by this appeal, or convinced that they had nothing to fear from him, the Medici granted his release, this being one of the acts of grace by which they celebrated the elevation of their chief to the papacy. The Florentines gave extravagant expression to their joy at this event; the city was illuminated; all the bells were set ringing; the prisons were thrown open; tables for feasting were spread in the public places and the streets. 'It is worthy of note,' says an annalist quoted by Captain Napier, 'that after the creation of Leo, as well from the joy of having a Florentine pope as for the return of Giuliano and Lorenzo, his nephew, to govern Florence as if they were sceptred princes, every shop displayed the arms of the pope; then all members of the colleges and magistrates nominated by him had escutcheons emblazoned with the arms attached to the front of their houses.' This example was imitated by all who were or feigned to be adherents, and the writer computes that no less than 40,000 golden florins were spent on armorial bearings, which on Saints' days were conspicuous in churches above the crucifix!—so that it seemed to be a kind of idolatry which exalted them above the Cross of God!

After

After the death of Giuliano (in 1516) the representation of the family at Florence devolved on Lorenzo, the nephew, whose head was so completely turned by his marriage with a distant connection of the royal family of France, that, on his journey homeward from Paris, he sent forward his secretary to propose that the citizens should assemble at his private palace and depute an ambassador to receive him with sovereign honours on the road. This proposal was set aside; but one of the two councillors, men of the highest eminence, who originated the opposition, was deprived of all his employments, and the other lost no time in leaving Florence with his family. Lorenzo, after making a fruitless journey to Rome to gain his uncle's consent to his assuming the title of Lord of Florence, fell ill and died, May 5, 1519. By his death Leo X. was left the last of the elder branch of the Medici. There remained three illegitimate descendants of Cosmo the elder, and the bar sinister was then hardly regarded as a blot. One of these, Cardinal Giulio, a natural son of the Giuliano killed in the Pazzi conspiracy, was appointed to succeed Lorenzo, and he governed Florence until he became Pope, under the title of Clement VII., in November 1523, when he named the Cardinal di Cortona as his substitute. The state of subservience into which Florence had sunk is shown by what befel one of her most distinguished citizens, Pietro Orlandini, who had made a wager that Giulio never would be Pope. On its being claimed, he replied: 'You shall have it, but, softly—let us first ascertain whether he can be canonically chosen,' natural children being ineligible, and Giulio having also been notoriously guilty of simony. As soon as these words reached the ears of the chief magistrates, they caused Orlandini to be thrown into prison, put to the torture, and beheaded. This was done offhand, without waiting for the sanction of Clement, who affected to be displeased, but took no steps for punishing or superseding the over-officious vindicators of his purity.

'To so abject a condition,' exclaims Captain Napier, 'were the once proud and independent Florentines fallen! But their spirit was not quite gone, and, as we shall see, a few courageous citizens still remained to vindicate the rights of man. Yet these are the times, and these the people, to whom Machiavel is accused of giving lessons in tyranny!' It would have been difficult for Machiavel to teach anything new in tyranny to the practical politicians of his time, who habitually acted on his cardinal doctrine that the end justifies the means; but where he really effected a great and (so far as it went) a beneficial change, was in persuading the Florentines to

institute a national militia, and serve in person instead of relying upon mercenaries. He wrote essays on the Art of War, and his authority on military matters stood high, although it would appear from a current anecdote that his tactical skill was occasionally at fault.* In 1526, the year before his death, he was charged with the inspection of the fortifications of Florence, and we find him in frequent communication with Guicciardini, the historian, who was then governor of Bologna for the Church. At the news of the taking of Rome and the imprisonment of the Pope in 1527, the Florentines once again declared for independence, ordered the papal governor to quit the city, and restored the constitution of 1512, except that the office of chief magistrate was made annual. Niccolò Capponi was the first under the restored system: Carducci, the second: Raffaele Girolamo, the third and last, with whom ended the bare semblance of a republic.

Within less than two years after the sack of Rome, the Pope and the Emperor (Charles V.) had come to an understanding, so far at least as the Florentines were concerned. They were to be punished for their contumacy in pretending to be free, and compelled to take back the now hated Medici. Clement had vowed that he would not be buried in consecrated ground unless this, the dearest wish of his heart, could be brought to pass; and in June 1529 he signed a treaty, by which it was stipulated that the imperial army should be employed against the so-called rebel city, which was to be erected into an appanage for a bastard Medici (Alexander), the destined husband of a bastard daughter of Charles V. The army was commanded by Philibert, Prince of Orange, the successor of Bourbon at the sack of Rome, 'And to this same man (says Nardi), who in Clement's own person, as it were, imprisoned Christ and scattered the holy relics of his saints, did that Pope, after a formal pardon, commit the task of robbing this fair city, his dear country, of her liberty.' Francis I. became party to another treaty, by which he gave up all his Italian allies, including the Florentines. Their state of isolation was completed by the treachery of Alfonso of Ferrara, whose son, Hercules, had engaged to take the command of their troops. They sent him 3500 ducats, a month's pay of the prince's body-guard, with an earnest request for his arrival. The father

* When he was with the army of Giovanni de' Medici, the celebrated Captain of the Black Bands, he offered to give a practical illustration of a military manœuvre which he had described, and he kept three thousand men out in the sun for more than two hours without being able to effect the desired movement, when Giovanni lost patience, took the direction of the troops, and put them through the manœuvre without a check. The story is told by Matteo Bandello, who was present, in the poem to one of his *Novelle*.

pocketed the money, and not only retained the promised general and the troops, but withdrew his ambassador from Florence and lent 2000 soldiers and a park of artillery to the Pope.

Treachery was so much the order of the day, that any one who kept faith longer than suited his interest would have been regarded as a simpleton. It was in reliance on this peculiarity of his contemporaries that Ferrucci, a commander who had served his apprenticeship in the Black Bands, 'proposed to the Signory to seduce all the adventurers and brigands from the imperial army by promising them another pillage of the pontifical court, and, succeeding in that, to march with them on Rome, frighten Clement, and force him to grant peace.*' This plan being rejected, Ferrucci put himself at the head of a small flying army without the walls, with which he attacked the imperialists, whom at first he threw into confusion. Overwhelmed by numbers, he continued fighting furiously till he fell exhausted by loss of blood, and was dragged into the presence of an imperialist commander, his personal enemy, who had him stripped of his arms, stabbed him repeatedly, and ordered the soldiers to finish the work. 'Thou wouldst kill a dead man,' were the dying words of Ferrucci; and the incident may be taken as an example of the spirit and ferocity with which the conflict was carried on.

The defence of the city was one of the most gallant commemorated in history. All classes took part in it, for the recent fate of Rome was before their eyes, and it was the boast of the brigands of whom the besieging army was composed, that Florentine silks would soon be measured by the spear instead of the ell. 'By the glorious sack of Florence,' was their common oath. The whole population was in arms. In the first night assault, Varchi saw an old man hurrying to the ramparts with his son, a mere boy. 'What do you mean by coming here with that child?' asked Varchi. 'Why I mean that he shall either help to save his country or die for her with me.' 'Mothers and sisters,' says a contemporary, 'whom I have seen remove arms from the children's apartment in alarm lest they should by some accident be hurt, I there saw placing swords in their hands and encouraging them to manly exploits.' The slightest symptom of disaffection was summarily suppressed. Ficino (grandson of Marsilio), described as 'truly divine as well in his life as in his learning,' happening to assert that Florence was better under the Palle (i.e. the Medici) than under the people, was instantly seized and beheaded. Michel Angelo, who was charged with the superintendence of the fortifications, fell into suspicion, and

* Sismondi.

secretly left the city, under circumstances which his admirers have found it no easy matter to explain. His own account was that, when a timely warning he had given to the Signory was not only neglected but made the occasion of a rebuke, he was induced to sew up 12,000 florins in a doublet and depart in company with a pupil. It was a hasty and hardly justifiable proceeding, as indeed was proved by the eagerness of the Signory to have him back, and the high value attached to his services. They sent a special messenger to him at Venice, with a safe conduct and ample offers, and when he returned, 'he was received (says Varchi) with acclamations and, not a little envied by many individuals, was immediately set to work.' M. Yriarte merely speaks of him at this period as transformed into an engineer to fortify the heights of San Miniato.

Strange to say, the sentiment of art was still as vivid in this gifted people as when it sent them in crowds to pay homage to the genius of Cimabue. It had been decreed that every building, sacred or profane, within a mile of the walls, should be demolished. A party of citizens and soldiers were demolishing the church and convent of San Salvi, when a large fresco painting of the 'Last Supper' suddenly burst upon their view. 'In an instant they stopped, gazed, and were silent; a new-born sentiment of admiration took possession of their minds, and, turning away, they refused to continue the work of desolation. This noble picture therefore remains to the present day, a splendid though now sadly impaired specimen of Andrea del Sarto's genius.'* This story has escaped the notice of M. Yriarte, who states that a celebrated picture by the same artist, 'The Dispute of the Holy Trinity,' painted for the Augustinian monks of San Gallo, was removed from their chapel, a doomed building, and afterwards found its way in a damaged state to the Pitti Palace.

So long as Ferrucci lived, the communications with the open country were kept open sufficiently to allow of a partial supply of provisions, but, after his disheartening defeat and death, the city was reduced to extremity, and at one time it was in contemplation for all who were able to bear arms to make a desperate sally and, in case it failed, to kill all the women and children, set fire to the houses, and then sell their lives as dearly as they could: 'to the end that, the city being destroyed, there should remain only the memory of her citizens' greatness of mind, and that it might be an immortal example to those who should thereafter be born free and wished to preserve their liberty.' These are the words of the Venetian ambassador in

* Captain Napier, quoting Vacchi, Carlo Capello, &c.

an official report. The garrison was prepared for the effort, and the armed population was clamouring to be led against the foe, but the leaders held back, and the commandant, Malatesta, had already come to a secret understanding with Gonzaga, the imperialist general, when the gonfalonier and the signory reluctantly made up their minds to surrender upon terms. By these it was stipulated that, 'still preserving public liberty,' the Emperor was to regulate the form of government within four months; that 80,000 florins should be paid down; that all exiles were to be recalled, all prisoners liberated, all fortresses restored, all injuries forgiven and forgotten, especially by the Pope, who promised to show clemency and affection for his countrymen, 'as he always had done.'

The Emperor's word was also pledged for the strict observance of these terms, which were contemptuously disregarded. A popular Assembly or Parliament was called immediately, from which all but the Medicean faction were excluded. Not more than three hundred citizens attended, who were asked whether they were willing to depute their power to a Balìa of twelve. They assented: the Balìa was formed; the republican magistracy was superseded; and a reign of proscription, persecution, confiscation, and cruelty, began. Clement, using the Balìa as his instrument, proceeded to fine, imprison, banish, torture, or put to death, all the principal citizens who had taken part against him; in other words, all the most eminent patriots. More than a thousand are computed to have suffered from his vindictiveness within the year. Instances abounded, in which members of wealthy families were sentenced to exile or imprisonment, without regard to guilt or innocence, in order that they might be bought off by their friends. The city was abandoned to the tender mercies of his Holiness, till the arrival of Alexander de' Medici, which was delayed on some pretence or another till July 1531. He then came, accompanied by an imperial delegate, who announced to the Florentines that they were to receive him as their hereditary prince. The authorities went through the necessary forms, and even sent ambassadors to the Emperor to thank him for superseding popular institutions that had invariably proved baneful to the State. In the course of the following year, Alexander was declared Doge or Duke, with succession to his heirs male, and remainder to the descendants of Cosmo and Lorenzo.

This was done at the suggestion of Clement, after consulting the wisest of his counsellors: amongst others, Guicciardini, who, tedious as he has been thought, appears to more advantage in writing than in making history. It was by
his

his advice that the severest measures were taken against his fellow-citizens; and the rules he laid down for governing them were such as Machiavel would have approved; e.g. 'never to bestow the Government favour on any but a partisan, excepting those only who might be necessary for a particular use.' When Nardi, on behalf of the Florentines, presented an appeal to the Emperor, setting forth the manifold breaches of the capitulation, and the depravity and tyranny of the Duke, Guicciardini was commissioned to answer it, which he did in so servile a fashion as to obtain the nickname of 'Messer Correttieri,' a minion of infamous memory of the Duke of Athens. The assassination of Alexander by his relative, Lorenzino de' Medici, called in mockery the Florentine Brutus, gave an opening for the restoration of the republic, of which the patriotic party were eager to avail themselves; but here again their best efforts were counteracted by Guicciardini, who took the lead in causing the succession to devolve on Cosmo, a lad of seventeen, and is reported to have exclaimed, 'Let them murder princes, and in a moment their place shall be supplied by others.' Two years after his accession as Lord of Florence, Cosmo was created Duke by the Pope; and Guicciardini, who had contributed towards this new elevation, now expected to guide the counsels of the prince. But Cosmo had contracted a strong prejudice against all who had aided in his rise: their very presence was annoying and humiliating to him; and Guicciardini, flung aside like a worn-out or useless tool, retired to his villa, disgraced and mortified, in 1539, and died there, May 1540, some say from poison.

It was from no overweening, unfounded confidence in his own capacity that Cosmo got rid of his counsellors so soon as his position was confirmed. He was a man of extraordinary resources, who made himself master of every department, civil and military, in succession; and affairs were never better managed so far as administration was concerned. He encouraged agriculture and commerce: he regulated currency and finance; and he rivalled the most distinguished of his predecessors in the patronage of artists and men of letters. At the end of the Sieneſe war of 1560, Vasari was commissioned to paint the walls of the great council chamber with the principal events, and he had represented Cosmo in the midst of his counsellors in the attitude of listening to their suggestions for a campaign. Upon hearing this, he wrote to the artist: 'The presence of those counsellors with whom you design to surround Us in the deliberations on the war is not necessary, because We alone were there; but you may paint Silence, and any other

other of the Virtues ; they will do as well as or better than the counsellors.'

The Florentines had now bidden a final adieu to liberty and independence, but whilst the Medicean dynasty lasted, they had one consolation :

' At least thy masters then,
Italia, were thy countrymen.'*

Even this was taken from them in 1737, when, by a European arrangement in which they had no voice, Tuscany was made over in perpetuity to the Duke of Lorraine, by way of compensation for his duchy, annexed to France.

'The grand period of Florence is ended : it might have been sooner terminated, for, to say the truth, when Michel Angelo dies, the sun sets ; but it was important to follow, even to its decline, this great house of Medici. In the eighteenth century we are almost in contemporary history : there are fine days to come under the house of Lorraine, but it is a relative prosperity ; there is no more a monument to add to the list : they will confine themselves to practical embellishments, to sanitary improvements : they will be preoccupied with material well-being : the heart has ceased to throb, the soul to soar ; the halcyon days of enthusiasm and the sacred fire have passed away.'†

They have not passed away for the visitor of taste and refinement, who comes charged with recollections of the grand period ; and many will still be tempted to exclaim, with the author of 'The Pleasures of Memory' :

'Of all the fairest cities of the earth,
None is so fair as Florence. 'Tis a gem
Of purest ray ; and what a light broke forth
When it emerged from darkness ! Search within,
Without : all is enchantment ! 'Tis the Past
Contending with the Present ; and in turn
Each has the mastery.'‡

Lord Byron was not insensible to the attraction, although his tribute is in a soberer strain :

'But Arno wins us to the fair white walls,
Where the Etrurian Athens claims and keeps
A softer feeling for her fairy halls.
Girt by her theatre of hills, she reaps

* 'The Revolutionary Epick. By Disraeli the younger (the Earl of Beaconsfield).' The thought was anticipated by Lord Byron in the 'Isles of Greece' :

'A tyrant—but our masters then
Were still at least our countrymen.'

† M. Yriarte.

‡ Rogers's 'Italy.'

Her corn, and wine, and oil, and Plenty leaps
 To laughing life, with her redundant horn.
 Along the banks where smiling Arno sweeps
 Was modern Luxury of Commerce born,
 And buried Learning rose, redeem'd to a new morn.'

We cannot say 'Stop! for thy tread is on an empire's dust'; but walks in Florence are more suggestive, more replete with glorious memories and hallowed associations than in any European city except Rome.* There is hardly a church, a public building, or a monument, which, independently of what strikes the eye, has not some anecdote or tradition curiously illustrative of a bygone age attached to it. If you pause to admire the gates of the Baptistery (by Lorenzo Ghiberti), you will be reminded of Michel Angelo's saying that they were worthy to be the gates of Paradise. The church is the *Mia bel Giovanni* of Dante, and in it was his favourite seat. The chapel of the Holy Virgin in the Church of the Carmelites witnessed some remarkable scenes. It is adorned with the paintings of Maracci, and all the famous artists came to study there.

'Look round!

And know that where we stand, stood oft and long,
 Oft till the day was gone, Raphael himself,
 He, and his haughty rival.'

It was there that the haughty rival, Michel Angelo, received the blow in the face. The name of Brunelleschi is recalled by the bare sight of the Cathedral with his masterpiece the cupola or dome. The model which he first submitted in 1417 was not approved, and he left Florence in a pet. Three years afterwards (1420) he attended the great meeting of architects and artists, and again suggested a method by which the difficulties of the construction might be overcome. It was at this meeting that he employed the familiar illustration attributed to Columbus. Producing an egg he challenged any one present to make it stand on end. On their objecting the impossibility, he made it stand on end by breaking it; and when they exclaimed that any one could have done the same, he replied that any one would be equally able to construct the dome if he were to show them how. The employers and paymasters of both Ghiberti and Brunelleschi were the Guild of Wool-merchants. M. Rio ('Art Chrétien') states that the cupola cost a hundred millions of francs.

When Michel Angelo was engaged on his design for the

* 'See 'Walks in Florence.' By Susan and Joanna Horner. With Illustrations. London, 1873.

cupola of St. Peter, he was reminded that he had now an opportunity of surpassing the dome of Florence, and (according to a biographer, Mr. Halford) he replied: 'I will make the sister grander indeed, but not more beautiful.'

'Io farò la sorella
Più grande già, ma non più bella.'

According to M. Yriarte, he was heard murmuring half aloud as he stood gazing on the dome he was about to emulate or surpass: 'I will take thee and I will launch thee into the skies.'

After enumerating the qualities essential to architectural excellence, Mr. Ruskin goes on to say that 'they occur more or less in different buildings, some in one, some in another, but all together and all in their highest possible relative degrees, they exist, as far as I know, only in one building in the world, the Campanile of Giotto at Florence.'* Whilst it was incomplete, a citizen of Verona was so struck by the richness of the material and the high finish of the workmanship, as to exclaim that the resources of two monarchies could hardly suffice to construct such a monument. For this remark he was cast into prison, where he was kept for several weeks; 'nor was he allowed to leave Florence before he had been shown the public treasury to convince him that, were the Florentines so inclined, they could build their whole city of marble.†

'Tis morning. Let us wander through the fields
Where Cimabue found a shepherd boy
Tracing his idle fancies on the ground,
And let us from the top of Fiesole,
Whence Galileo's glass by night observed
The phases of the moon, look round below
On Arno's vale.'

The shepherd boy was Giotto, whom Cimabue discovered in this manner, and took to live with him as a pupil. As we look round on Arno's vale, we may see the place of meeting between Milton and Galileo, or fancy the spot on the river-bank where Petrarch was stranded in his cradle, like Moses among the bulrushes. We may then make a pilgrimage to the Val de Pesa, where Machiavel passed the closing years of his life; or track the brilliant company which Boccaccio has depicted in the 'Decameron' to their suburban retreat. 'Once, on a bright November morning,' says Rogers, 'I set out and traced them, as I conceived, step by step, beginning and ending in the Church

* 'Seven Lamps of Architecture.'

† 'Walks in Florence,' vol. i. p. 66.

of Santa Maria-Novella. It was a walk delightful in itself and in its associations.'

After expatiating on the art-treasures of the galleries, M. Yriarte cautions us that it is not in these that the elementary study of Florentine painting must be pursued. 'There will be found glorious masters, admirably represented, unique and incontestable masterpieces, but the grand Florentine art, its bright expression, is the fresco. In this respect Florence is privileged; there is not perhaps a single one of its churches, a single one of its public monuments of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in which some great artist has not left a mark of his talent, and some rich citizen a proof of his generosity and at the same time of his piety.'

The chapter headed 'The Illustrious Florentines' is a valuable addition to literary biography. But the chapter most calculated to stimulate reflection and provoke criticism is the one devoted to the Renaissance, touching which, learnedly and eagerly discussed as it has been, there is still a good deal worth saying to be said. This chapter begins:—

'Why had Florence, amongst all the cities of Italy, the privilege of restoring Europe to the cultivation of thought, of inspiring her with the taste for the beautiful, of giving the signal for movement in all the branches of human knowledge, and of preserving the supremacy over all the cities of the Peninsula so long? In a word, what are the origin and the causes of the Renaissance?'

The questions are not identical, nor is the solution of the one involved in that of the other. Dr. Burckhardt thinks that the Italians might have been roused from their long slumber without the aid of classical antiquity, and Mr. Symonds goes far towards negating the concurrent influence of Christianity.* We may be able to show why Florence took the lead in the movement without engaging in controversy with either of these able writers, without any such analysis or comparison of causes as would be required to show the soundness or unsoundness of their views. After remarking on the alleged incompatibility between the constant political agitation and the 'germination of ideas' in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, M. Yriarte asks again:

'How was it that the flower of the Revival was able to grow in the midst of the ardent and incessant revolutions of the community? Why was not its stalk broken, trodden under foot, cut off at the roots? In blood-stained Pisa, in Siena, in Perugia, why do we see thinkers and artists, in the middle of these continual dissensions, those per-

* See the 'Quarterly Review' for January, 1878: vol. 145.

manent wars, succeed in abstracting themselves in the meditation necessary for the conception and execution of masterpieces? Not only at Florence, but in all Italy: at Venice with the Senate and the Grand Council, at Milan with the Sforzas, at Mantua with Gonzaga, at Ferrara with Este, at Urbino with Montefeltre, at Rimini with Malatesta, at Naples with Roberto, then with Alphonso, and at the Vatican with the great pontiffs, how or why does the tyranny of savage masters—of those that were called the tyrants, that were seen occupied in aggrandizing their States and plundering their neighbours, exchanging blows night and day—how or why does it simultaneously shelter under the walls of these rude fortresses all the champions of the idea, laureates and pensionnaires, poets who sing, artists who create, men of science and philosophers who meditate? These same tyrants lead the chorus, and we see them all clad in iron descend into the arena to contend for the green laurels.'

This is an over-coloured picture. The tyrants afforded an occasional refuge to an exiled poet or artist, and some of them affected a taste for letters, but they crushed more genius than they stimulated; and as for Venice, under the Grand Council which reduced all to one dead level, she contributed next to nothing to the revival. The fact is, no despotic government was ever favourable to intellectual progress in the long run. We might almost say, no settled government. Take any one of the far-famed 'Ages,' and trace the cause of its productiveness. It will be found that the seeds were sown during discord and dissension, although the fruit may have ripened and been gathered under order and peace. The Augustan Age was the close of a series of stormy struggles. The Elizabethan Age was preceded by the Reformation: the Age of Louis Quatorze, by the Fronde: the Age of Queen Anne, by the Revolution of 1688. The French Revolution gave impulse and activity to thought all over the civilized world, but its vivifying force was wellnigh spent or paralysed under the imperial régime in France; when we find Napoleon writing to Cambacérès, 'People complain that we have no literature: this is the fault of the Minister of the Interior.'

The incompatibility of which M. Yriarte speaks, between constant political agitation and the germination of ideas, is altogether fanciful. The precise contrary is nearer the truth; and he himself has indicated as much in an immediately preceding paragraph, in which he dwells upon the individuality and vitality, mental and physical, which were, so to speak, forced upon the Florentines by the fluctuating character of their institutions. In Florence, as in Athens in its best days, every citizen had an ever-present sense of duty and responsibility: his position, his fortune, his personal safety and that of his family, were constantly at stake: he could not remain neutral in the war of factions if he would. 'Democratic power, along
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with its evident dangers, has the quality of fortifying, insomuch that it does not impose a common yoke on all, and fixes no further limit to the ambition of each than what is imposed by his activity and his faculties.'

Machiavel, speculating on the manner in which States pass from order to disorder and then back to order again, remarks, 'Hence wise men have observed that the age of literary excellence is subsequent to that of distinction in arms, and that, in cities and provinces, great warriors are produced before philosophers.' When this is so, it is not so much because these phenomena, the warrior and the philosopher, are connected as cause and effect, as because they are the product of the same popular convulsions or explosions by which the minds of men have been violently up-stirred. The waters are troubled, and the healing influence comes down. Viewed in this light, wars, civil dissensions, insurrections, and revolutions have their use.

'If plagues or earthquakes break not heaven's design,
Why then a Borgia or a Catiline?'

To borrow the beautiful simile of Erskine, 'They act like the winds, lashing before them the lazy elements which, without the tempest, would stagnate into pestilence.' The intellectual ascendancy of Florence was not confined to literature and art. At a Consistory in which Boniface the Eighth had assembled ambassadors from all parts of Europe and Asia, it was found that the whole of them, twelve in number, were Florentines by birth. This extraordinary development, we agree with M. Yriarte, must have been aided by natural gifts.

'All is not the result of study, of application; there is intuition, good fortune, a felicitous something that defies analysis. The softness of the sky, the charm of the atmosphere, the native grace with which everything is imprinted, an inexpressible air of elegance and sympathy, which is the undeniable mark of men and things at Florence, cannot be foreign to so admirable an efflorescence.'

After ages of exhaustion, lassitude, apathy, or compelled inactivity, she is still pre-eminently intellectual and æsthetic. It was when enjoying the delicious climate and gazing on the beautiful bay, that the Neapolitan exclaimed, 'See Naples and then die.' It is reverting to an illustrious past, or pointing to the associate monuments, that the Florentine may say, 'See Florence and then live:' not to bask in her sunshine, or recline on the shady banks of her Arno, or contemplate her olive-crowned hills, but to cultivate your taste, to lay up a stock of improving, refining, elevating impressions, to seize and follow out the rich trains of fancy, feeling, and reflection, inspired by the genius of the place.

ART.

ART. VII.—*Ilios: the City and Country of the Trojans: the Results of Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Troy and throughout the Troad in the Years 1871-72-73-78-79. Including an Autobiography of the Author.* By Dr. Henry Schliemann, F.S.A., F.R.I. British Architects, Author of 'Troy and its Remains,' 'Mycenæ,' &c. With a Preface, Appendices, and Notes, by Professors Rudolf Virchow, Max Müller, A. H. Sayce, J. P. Mahaffy, H. Brugsch-Bey, P. Ascherson, M. A. Postolaccas, M. E. Burnouf, Mr. F. Calvert, and Mr. A. J. Duffield. With Maps, Plans, and about 1800 Illustrations. London, 1880.

THE comprehensive title of Dr. Schliemann's new work indicates the pains he has taken to set forth the fruits of his ten years' siege of the 'fortress hill,' which occupies the only site that can reasonably be assigned to Troy, and in which alone therefore any existing ruins of the famous city could be found, for the final judgment of scholars and antiquaries, as well as for the pleasure and instruction of a public still happily moved by enthusiasm for the noblest literature of the world. His former work, on 'Troy and its Remains,' which we introduced to English readers seven years ago,* had and will always retain the charm of an original account of the discoveries, written in letters from the spot, as each new ruin or object came forth to reward research and stimulate curiosity; but for that very reason it presented no orderly and comprehensive view of the whole results won for scholarship and science. Nor was this to be regretted, for a premature attempt at such systematizing could only have prejudiced and impeded sound and fair discussion, and have embittered the animosity which, by some mysterious working of human nature, the discoveries so strangely provoked in certain quarters. But now, the interval of seven years has not only given time for calm critical discussion, aided by comparison with the equally wonderful revelations made by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ, but it has also enabled the indefatigable discoverer to overcome the hindrances which left his work imperfect, and to lay bare more systematically the whole extent of the ruins which form the heart and kernel of the hill of Hissarlik—that 'Burnt City' which seems—though only in a modified sense, to be explained presently—to have the best title to the name of 'Sacred Ilios.'

* 'Quarterly Review,' April, 1874, vol. 136, pp. 526, foll. It is convenient to explain that that review of the original German work was published before the English translation was undertaken.

The results of Dr. Schliemann's whole series of researches in the Plain of Troy, and of the discussions on his earlier work, are now reduced to order in the splendid volume before us, in the light of classical antiquity on the one hand, and, on the other, of comparative illustrations from the whole field of research into the prehistoric antiquities of the world. To some extent, indeed, Dr. Schliemann appears in a new character; displaying the same energy and perseverance in exploring the fields of subsidiary learning, as in carrying his trenches through the hill of Hissarlik. As Professor Virchow has truly said, in his eloquent Preface: 'The treasure-digger has become a scholar, who, with long and earnest study, has compared the facts of his experience, as well as the statements of historians and geographers, with the legendary traditions of poets and mythologers.' That he has been able to collect this vast mass of illustrative learning in the short period since the close of his excavations in 1879, is not the least remarkable of his achievements.

As the fruit of these studies, added to his own researches, Dr. Schliemann's present work bears a twofold aspect, Homeric and antiquarian; each side so complete in itself as to have an interest independent of that connection which it is the author's highest object to establish between them. The book appeals, not only conjointly, but severally, to the scholar and to the archæologist. All that classical antiquity and modern science can tell us of the topography, ethnography, and history of the Plain of Troy, as the scene of the greatest of epic poems, is here collected for the Homeric scholar, even though he should make light of the objects that have been unearthed; while these objects form a vast treasure of facts for the student of primeval art and civilization, and all that is included in the comprehensive science of anthropology, though he may have a scientific contempt for Homer. Professor Virchow, with a just and even enthusiastic regard for both aspects of the discoveries, assures us that 'the excavations at Hissarlik would have had an imperishable value, even if the *Iliad* had never been sung.' But, as he adds with equal emphasis, in that case these excavations would never have been made: 'The Burnt City would have still lain to this day hidden in the earth, had not imagination guided the spade.' This is a much fairer view than that which complains of the wide range of matter, by which Dr. Schliemann has laboured to supply all that may have a bearing on the subject. It seems dealing hardly with him to find fault with his seeing Homer in everything, and then to forbid him to touch anything that does not bear on Homer.

It is impossible to separate Dr. Schliemann's work from
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the personality of the worker. Whatever of human weakness there may be in the man is eagerly seized by his detractors to disparage his services; but a fair judgment will pronounce that, as in all men of true power, some weaker points even contribute to the strength, stimulating it to successful effort. In reviewing 'Troy and its Remains,' we thought it would be good service to our readers to show them the personality of the author, as revealed in the fragment of Autobiography prefixed to his earlier work on 'Ithaca, Peloponnesus, and Troy;' and we saw how for the motive power of all his discoveries we must go back to the little village shop, where his soul was first stirred by the rhythmic roll of Homer's verse recited by an unfortunate student. Dr. Schliemann's present work is introduced by a fuller and more interesting Autobiography, which carries us back to a much earlier period, and shows the boy of seven years old inspired by his father's tales of the Homeric heroes, and by a picture of Troy in flames in a 'Universal History,' not only with the resolve some day to dig up Troy, but, still more remarkably, with the true principle of research which scholars and antiquaries have been so slow to learn. To the old assumption, reiterated from Lucan down to the very time when his excavations were going on—*Etiam periêre ruinæ*—the child replied, 'Father, if such walls once existed, they cannot possibly have been completely destroyed: vast ruins of them must still remain, but *they are hidden away beneath the dust of ages.*' And the boy was right: perished cities are not swept from the surface of the earth, but buried in their own *débris* or under succeeding habitations. This is now an accepted truism in archæological research; but its practical recognition may almost be said to have begun with the great explorer to whom Dr. Schliemann dedicates his present work, as 'the pioneer in recovering the lost History of the Ancient Cities of Western Asia by means of the pickaxe and the spade;' and we are now only beginning to reap the rich harvest, of which the firstfruits were so lately brought in by Layard and his followers. How Schliemann himself kept his first faith, pursuing the one object of his life through self-denial which earned both the intellectual and the material means for its accomplishment, is a story which will bear to be read again in his present Autobiography.

It must not be forgotten that the enthusiasm for Homer and Troy, which formed the motive spring of all Dr. Schliemann's work, was regulated by two great qualifications,—a thorough knowledge of the poet, acquired by that self-education which directed his attention especially to the *subject-matter* of the classic

classic authors, and remarkable practical ability, trained in a life of business; both being guided by great natural sagacity. The first taught him *where*, the second *how*, to dig. To use Max Müller's happy phrase,—Dr. Schliemann has no architectural divining rod; but he knew what he was looking for, and he found that and more. His first visit to the Plain of Troy, with the *Iliad* in his head, not only in his hand, gave him an almost intuitive perception of the claims of Hissarlik, rather than of Bounarbashi, to be the site of that 'Ilios' which must of necessity have been in Homer's mind; and his practical ability at once suggested that method of *testing*, which he regards as the great secret of his success,—taking *samples* (if we may so express it) of a supposed site by sinking shafts, in order to decide, from what he found in them, whether to *break bulk* by systematic excavations. All this seems 'so easy' now the work is done; but if any one would form a fair idea of the difficulties and even dangers, the unforeseen obstacles and demands for new and ingenious expedients, which beset the excavator at every step, we would refer him especially (among many other incidents of the work) to the account, in the last chapter, of the labours undergone in excavating the great tumulus of Ujek Tepeh.

Now that Dr. Schliemann's work at the site of Troy is done, it is worth while to trace in a few words the course of his labours, which he has related in the Introduction to 'Ilios.'

It was in 1868, at the age of forty-six, that he began to realize the dream of his life by visiting Ithaca, the Peloponnesus, and the Plain of Troy, where he tested the ground at Bounarbashi (the recently *invented*, though then generally accepted, site of Homer's Troy), and fixed his attention on the hill of HISSARLIK, the known site of the later Greek ILIUM, as best satisfying the topographical indications of the *Iliad*.

In 1870 a preliminary excavation at the north-west corner of the hill laid bare a wall of the Greek city, the *débris* of which extend in that part to an unusual depth.

The real work began in 1871, so late in the autumn that it could only be carried on for six weeks; but enough was found to justify the effort and to give good promise of success. There is a deep interest in imagining the feelings of the enthusiastic investigator and his like-minded wife, when they dug their first trench, thirty-three feet deep, into the face of the hill, looking at every step for the signs of Troy, as eagerly and in as firm faith as Franklin watched for the first spark from the kite sent up to meet heaven's lightning. The flash of success assured in a single instant could not, from the nature of the case,

case, be theirs; but below great Greek ruins and inscriptions—which would have been an ample reward, only *they* were digging for TROY—they found more than one stratum of walls, some of stone and some of brick, large masses of the latter calcined by a mighty conflagration, with pottery, hand-mills, and other implements of stone.

Returning to the spot in March 1872, with better implements, a numerous force of workmen, and an able engineer to make plans, and working till the middle of August, they carried the excavations down to the native rock, at the depth of 53 feet below the surface of the hill; that depth measuring the addition, made by the ruins accumulating for ages, to its natural height of 60 feet above the Plain and 110 feet above the sea.*

The discoveries of this second year—far too many to be specified in this sketch—were completely eclipsed in 1873, when the work began as early as February 1, amidst great sufferings from 'the blasts of Boreas' on 'windy Ilium,' and was ended on June 17. Its greatest results were the laying bare of the Double Gate, with its paved road leading down to the Plain; large walls of defence; houses, one of which was named in the explorer's first enthusiasm the 'Palace of Priam;' and, to crown all, the famous 'Treasure,' so promptly saved from the claims of the Turkish Government and the cupidity of the workmen, from whom two other treasures were afterwards rescued, only after a part of the golden ornaments had been melted down and re-manufactured by a local goldsmith; but the theft was betrayed by the vanity of the wife of one of the two workmen in displaying her share of the plunder at church. The stratum in which these Treasures were found yielded other vessels of the precious metals, which seemed to prove the wealth of its inhabitants; while the indisputable marks of a mighty conflagration, together with the discovery of two skeletons of warriors, with their helmets and lances, in a room of a house, indicated a city sacked by enemies and burnt with fire. From these and other signs of a wealth, civilization, and armed force, superior to the remains of the other strata of prehistoric cities which succeeded one another upon the hill, this 'Burnt City,' the Third † above the native rock, seemed best to represent the

* The Diagram of the Strata, which we drew to illustrate our former article, is prefixed in an improved form to Dr. Schliemann's new work.

† Dr. Schliemann *then* regarded it as the second; but, to avoid confusion, we denote it according to his later view. The critics who have censured the author's use of 'cities' instead of *settlements*, should remember what Thucydides says of the insignificance of primitive 'cities.' The word is used quite properly by Dr. Schliemann in its primary sense.

TROY of epic fame, or rather, as the discoverer at first supposed, its 'lofty citadel,' the famous Pergamus of Priam.

The city itself, with its 'wide streets' and walls and towers, was still to be sought for. The elevated *plateau*, strewn with fragments of marble, Greek pottery, and even coins, with the hill of Hissarlik rising at its north-west corner and occupying only 1-25th of the whole area,* showed beyond a shadow of doubt the site of the historic Ilium and its Acropolis, which the Greek colonists, *who never questioned the identity of their city with the Ilios of Homer*, called by the sacred name of Pergamus. Naturally, therefore, with all previous believers in the site, Dr. Schliemann had assumed the hill of Hissarlik to be only the Pergamus of the Homeric city likewise. It was not till this third year of his work that he found time to investigate the extent of the buried remains beyond the hill by the sure test of sinking twenty shafts on the plateau; and the experiment gave a very unexpected result. The virgin soil was struck at the depth of a few feet; and all the objects brought to light were distinctly of the same Hellenic age which was represented on the hill of Hissarlik by the uppermost stratum of about 6 feet in depth. The whole series of strata, nearly 50 feet thick, piled up from the top of the natural hill to the foundations of the Greek citadel, had nothing to represent them beneath the scanty *débris* of the Greek city on the plateau. Dr. Schliemann, with that readiness to learn which is a character of the true enquirer, at once accepted with whatever disappointment the inevitable conclusion—that the hill which he had taken only for the Pergamus of Priam defined the whole extent of the world-renowned Troy, if it ever stood here; and thus the actual city, the fame of which gave birth to Homer's imagination of 'spacious streets' and well-built palaces, was reduced to about the area of Trafalgar Square! How this was to be reconciled with the poetic representation, may be best considered when we have laid the remaining facts before our readers. Meanwhile, it seems but reasonable to assume that, as in the Assyrian mounds, the ruins in the hill are those of the fortified chief quarter of the city, beyond which there may have been less permanent habitations on the plateau.

When, at the beginning of 1874, Dr. Schliemann made known the results of his discoveries in his book entitled '*Trojan Antiquities*' (*Troianische Alterthümer*; translated into English as '*Troy and its Remains*'), he announced that

* This is well seen on Dr. Schliemann's Plan of the '*Hellenic Ilium*,' drawn by M. Burnouf, which also shows the positions and sections of all the shafts sunk in the area of the Greek city.

his work at Hissarlik was done, and turned his attention to Mycenæ and the traditional tombs of Agamemnon and his murdered comrades, in the hope of throwing new light on the heroic age, and the connection between Troy and her Achæan conquerors. His excavations there were suspended by a dispute with the Turkish Government about the 'Treasure,' which ended in his obtaining a new permission to dig at Troy: but, for reasons explained in his 'Introduction,' the work was not resumed till that at Mycenæ was completed, at the end of 1876, and its wonderful results given to the world in the splendid volume which we reviewed three years ago.* But we must not pass by the connection between these discoveries and our present subject. As the legend of Troy is made up of two inseparable parts, all that illustrates the story of the Achæan assailants has a relation to the war round Ilium itself; and we may therefore apply to Troy the conclusion which so keen a critic as Max Müller has drawn from the discoveries at Mycenæ, that 'they relegate the myth of the fates of the rulers to that class of traditions which have wound themselves like ivy round the mouldering stem of *real historic facts*,' and that both cities seem 'to have been the theatre of real tragedies, however much these may have been overgrown with fables of gods and heroes.'†

New difficulties at Constantinople, which were overcome by the zealous aid of Sir Austen Layard, delayed the necessary firman till the autumn of 1878; and the indefatigable explorer used the interval for a thorough examination of Ithaca and its sites referred to in the Odyssey,—the Island of Asteris, the Grotto of the Nymphs, the 'raven rock' of Korax, the fountain of Arethusa, and the cyclopean walls which may have given Homer the idea of the house and station of Eumæus.‡ The chief results were, the disproof of the traditional claim of the valley called Polis to be the site of the ancient capital of Ithaca, and the discovery of that capital in the cyclopean walls on the summit of Mt. Aëtos.

The two months left of the autumn of 1878, the fourth year of excavations at Hissarlik, were employed in a further clearing

* 'Quarterly Review,' January, 1878, vol. 145, p. 62.

† On 'Ancient Men and Ancient Times,' in 'Macmillan's Magazine,' April 1878, vol. xxxvii. pp. 513-4.

‡ Acting on the counsel, which we commend to Dr. Schliemann, to treat contemptuous attacks as contemptible, with 'the scorn of scorn'—*οὐτως γὰρ ὑβρίσας ὑβρίσκειν χρεόν*—the perversion of this suggestion into a claim to have discovered the identical pigsties of Eumæus may be left, with the description of the chief house at Troy as 'Priam's pigsties,' to the application of a certain famous precept.

of that most interesting spot, the road leading through the double gate into the city, with the house standing beside and partly across it; a work that also cleared up points which had been made the ground of bitter attacks on Dr. Schliemann. The engraving of what he now calls the house of the town-chief or king, from a drawing by the late lamented Dr. Edward Moss, who perished in the 'Atalanta,' will enable readers to judge for themselves how far it deserves the contempt poured on it. The difficulties raised by the appearance of house-walls, which seemed to bar the road through the gate forming the only entrance to the city, were set in a new light by the discovery, that the gateway had been built by the second settlers on the hill and retained in use by their successors, and that, even after the road and gates had been buried under the *débris* of two cities, the later inhabitants kept to the same line of exit to the plain.

A more serious accusation than the charge of inaccurate topography would have been too contemptible to mention, save for the complete refutation which it now received from facts. Apart from the absence of any ground for questioning Dr. Schliemann's graphic account of the discovery of the famous 'Treasure'—which was so long open to inspection in the South Kensington Museum*—no candid or competent judge ever doubted its genuine and high antiquity, which is now further placed beyond dispute by the singularly interesting details as to the manufacture of these and the other works in the precious metals, supplied by the famous goldsmith Mr. Giuliano, who even finds some processes in this primitive metal-work inexplicable by the technic skill of the present day. Yet it pleased a certain Greek to accuse Schliemann of having had all these wonderful articles—the unique two-handled cup and bottle of pure gold, and vases of gold, silver, and electrum; the two diadems, composed of nearly 20,000 minute rings and leaves of gold; the bracelets, ear-rings, fillets, and 8750 golden jewels, many of forms hitherto unknown,—all manufactured for him, with shameless indifference to certain detection, by an Athenian goldsmith! In 1878, the excavations were watched with much interest by visitors from our fleet in Besika Bay, and seven officers of H.M.S. 'Monarch' were present, on the 21st of October, at the digging up of another treasure of gold jewels, one of *three* found in that year's excavations. In the following year two more witnesses to similar discoveries were added,

* The collection exhibited at South Kensington has been presented by Dr. Schliemann to the Berlin Museum; but a still greater number of the objects dug up at Troy remain at his disposal. Could they find a fitter home than the British Museum?

in the persons of Professor Virchow and M. Burnouf; and it will suffice to have put this evidence on record once for all, as a fair test of that title to confidence which no public man, and least of all a public benefactor, is exempted from making good. First and last, no less than *ten* of these 'treasures' were discovered, *all of them in the stratum of the 'Burnt City,'* which may thus well claim the title conferred on it by Virchow, of a 'City of Gold.'

The complete systematic laying bare of the stratum of this city, the Third from the virgin soil, formed the first work of the fifth and last year of the excavations (February to June, 1879), during which Dr. Schliemann had the company of Professor Virchow and M. Émile Burnouf. With their invaluable aid, the excavations were extended to the *Tepehs*, as the Turks call the mounds marked by tradition as the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus, Ajax and other heroes, both Greek and Trojan. These tumuli, and the results of the excavations in them, are fully described in the last chapter of the book. The work of this year was crowned by a complete exploration of the Trojan plain, its rivers, and its mountains to the summit of Ida; among the results of which, Professor Virchow's discussion of the courses of the Scamander and Simois, and of the alluvial deposits on the shore of the Hellespont, form rich contributions to the question of the Homeric Troy. M. Burnouf has supplied measurements of the heights, a revised Map of the Plain of Troy, plans of the Hellenic Ilium and of the whole excavations, and most valuable sections and analytic descriptions of the layers of *débris* and the remains of walls. These last are of the utmost importance for distinguishing the *dividing strata* between the several series of habitations on the hill.

A Lecture by Professor Virchow at Berlin, when he returned with the impressions of this last year's work fresh on his mind, gives an admirable account of the final state of the excavations, the *kernel* of which is thus described:—'Standing on the circuit-walls, one looks down into a sort of large cauldron, at the bottom of which lies the "burnt city," with its walls and foundations visible as on a plan.' We must refer to the book itself for the full description, as well as for Virchow's vindication of Schliemann's method of procedure, in which much was of necessity destroyed in order to lay open the Burnt City. On no other plan would the work ever have been done at all.

Dr. Schliemann has evidently resolved that the results of the work, thus thoroughly performed at the unaided cost of the explorer, should be laid before the public with the greatest possible completeness and scientific order, and without any stint
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of expense. The superiority of 'Ilios' to 'Troy and its Remains' in this respect is conspicuous in the very abundant illustrations, as well as in the systematic arrangement of the whole. The first quarter of the book is occupied with a complete body of information and discussion about Troy and the Troad, which would remain an invaluable contribution to classical history and geography and to Homeric literature, even if the mound of Hissarlik were still unopened. The Country of the Trojans is described, with its mountains, plains, and rivers, its panoramic aspect as seen from Hissarlik, its climate, zoology, and flora, of which a complete botanical account is given in an Appendix. The Ethnography of the ancient Trojans and their kindred races in Asia Minor is fully discussed, establishing their connection with the tribes of South-eastern Europe, and making good—as to the wide relations of affinity—the seeming paradox of Dionysius the Halicarnassian, that 'the Trojans were Greeks;' a result which throws a flood of light on the whole story of the Trojan War. The Plain of Troy is clearly shown to be, not an isolated corner of Western Asia, but a spot made equally memorable and significant in primeval history by the passage of nations to and fro across the *ferries* (rather than *sundering straits*) of the Bosphorus and Hellespont, and the *stepping-stones* of the Ægean archipelago. The very name of *Hissarlik* ('fortress'), which the Turks have given to the hill that stands in the middle of the plain, marks its natural adaptation to be the one stronghold of the district.

A most valuable contribution, both to the ethnography of Asia Minor and to the Homeric conception of the forces marshalled on the Trojan side, is supplied by the section on the 'Several Dominions of the Troad;' where that of Priam leads up to a minute description of the strictly Homeric topography of Troy and the immediately surrounding scenery of the Trojan War. Among other criticisms, which remove difficulties and throw a clearer light on Homer, is the interpretation of the *θρῆσκονος πεδίοιο*, where the Trojans encamped at a small distance from the Greek ships, not as 'a hill in the plain,' but as the 'upper plain' on the right bank of the Scamander, where (in another passage) Hector held an Agora of the Trojans. We have also a full and clear description of the arrangement of the Greek ships and camp along the shore of the Hellespont, between the promontories of Rhœteum on the East and Sigæum on the West. That the ground thus occupied was very nearly along the *present line of coast*, which has not advanced during the known ages of human history, and also that the Scamander flowed in its ancient course along the bed of the *Kalifatli Asmah*,
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past the western side of Hissarlik and, in the Homeric age at least, through the bed of the *In Tepeh Asmak* and past the eastern end of the Greek camp into the Hellespont below Cape Rhæteum,—these facts, of the most vital consequence in the discussion on the site of Troy, have now been proved to demonstration by Virchow's researches on the old and new beds of the Scamander and the alluvium of the Trojan Plain, putting the copestone to a whole fabric of other evidence.

The chapter tracing the History of Troy from the earliest myths, through the epic cycle of the *Τρωϊκά*, to the last historic times of the Ilium of the Æolic settlers, adds to a diligent collection of the ancient testimonies some criticisms of much value. The main argument deduced from the facts is, the *continuous habitation* of the site of the original Troy of Homer by successive settlers, with whatever interruptions, down to the final fall of the Greek city under the Roman Empire; involving of necessity the conclusion, that the site thus continuously inhabited was none other than the well-known site of the Greek Ilium on Hissarlik. The earlier links of the chain of proof being of course traditional, derive their chief strength from the confirmation furnished by the strata of successive habitations, from an unknown antiquity, now discovered in that mound, and *nowhere else in the Plain of Troy*;* for it cannot be too strongly insisted on, that the *negative* results of Schliemann's exhaustive researches combine with his positive discoveries to drive us back on Hissarlik by an almost mathematical process of elimination. If this use of Hissarlik to supplement the independent evidence of tradition should be called an *argumentum in circulo*, be it remembered that that form of argument is a complete one, when all its parts cohere like the *voussoirs* in a perfect ring of masonry.

The whole story begins from the tradition that Dardanus, the head of the royal line of Troy, and son-in-law of king Teucer, the eponym of the native Teucrian stock, founded Dardania while he and his people still dwelt on the slope of Ida, 'for sacred Ilium had not yet been founded *in the Plain*.'† No clearer remembrance

* That is, at no other place of sufficient importance to be identified with Troy. For example, the three strata of the mound of *Hanat Tepeh*, of which a very interesting description is given by Mr. Frank Calvert in the Fourth Appendix, represent Thymbra, with its temple of the Thymbrean Apollo, one of the many dependent towns or villages, like Chrysa, Cilla, and others, in the neighbourhood of Troy. But even of such existing remains, Thymbra is the only known example.

† Hom. *Il.* xx. 215-218. Plato (*Leg.* iii. p. 682, b), after quoting this passage, says: 'We affirm, then, that the site of Ilium was brought down from the uplands to a great and fair plain, and placed on a hill of no great height, watered by several

brance could be desired of that primitive age when rude tribes held their strongholds in the highlands, before the attractions of maritime commerce and adventure led them to build cities on plains near the sea, around a low hill which served them for a citadel. The latter position, exemplified by many a primitive Greek city—Mycenæ, Tiryns, Athens, as well as by Rome—is also that of the ‘fortress hill’ of Hissarlik, where the westernmost spur of Kara Your (the Black Mountain) falls suddenly down to the plain on the bank of the old Scamander. Such a site is certainly not that of Bounarbashi, in a narrow valley among the foot-hills of Mount Ida, which *might* indeed correspond with Dardania, but there is no evidence for the identification. The petty cyclopean ruins on the Bali Dagħ, above Bounarbashi, in which Lechevalier’s imagination saw Priam’s Pergamus, still want a name, for Mr. Calvert’s identification with Gergis appears uncertain; but in addition to the *negative* results of Schliemann’s search for any depth of *débris*, either here or at Bounarbashi itself, the few remnants of pottery and coins found within the walls on the Bali Dagħ belong to a comparatively late Greek and Macedonian time; and Virchow’s keen insight has now detected a new test of age in the working of the stones by iron pick-hammers, just like the stones in the Macedonian walls of Assos. ‘Whoever’—says Virchow—‘compares this place with what presents itself at Hissarlik, cannot doubt that it belongs to a much later period, and that, at the highest date, it approaches the time of Alexander.’ We may observe, in passing, how completely Dr. Schliemann exposes the fallacy, that the mode of building called ‘cyclopean’ is any certain test of age. Besides all this, Ida, so conspicuous from Homer’s Troy, is invisible from Bounarbashi and the Bali Dagħ.

In the three generations following Dardanus—Ilus, Tros, and another Ilus—we have the eponyms of the city of ILIOS* or TROY,

several rivers flowing from above out of Ida.’ This passage, so important as showing Plato’s view of the site of Homer’s Ilium, has been pointed out by Professor Paley, who also cites the verse of Æschylus (*Agam.* 1127), in which Cassandra apostrophizes the Scamander, beside which she played as a child (*British Quarterly Review*, April 1881).

* Though Homer sometimes calls the city by the name of the land, Τροίη, his regular name for it is Ἴλιος, and only in one passage Ἰλίου, the form which was adopted for the later Greek city. Hence the propriety of Dr. Schliemann’s title *Ilios*, and the *impropriety* of the form *Ilium*, which is a fair example of the endless inconsistencies fallen into by the scholars who have embarked in the impracticable attempt to spell Greek names in their pure form with English letters. We congratulate Dr. Schliemann on his adherence to the old custom of English scholarship, which stands on the solid basis of historic and literary tradition through long ages. Apart from all other arguments, the absurdity of using two different forms of the same name, Greek and Latin, in classical studies,

TROY, and of the Trojan people and land. Guided by the cow of many colours to the hill of the Phrygian goddess Até, in the plain, the younger Ilus built the city called by his name, and received a sign from Jove in the image of Pallas (*Palladium*), which fell from heaven in front of his tent. The Phrygian Até is now recognized, in the light of Oriental research, as the Hellenic form of a genuine Asiatic goddess, Atargatis or Derceto; and she was ultimately transformed into, or blended with, the Ilian Athena. We consider that Dr. Schliemann is right in regarding the innumerable flat rude images of stone, marble, and terra-cotta, scratched with the semblance of features (whether of the owl or not), hair, necklaces, and girdles, as idols or amulets copied from the Palladium, there being a sacred adherence to the primitive type by people whom he shows to have been capable of moulding better forms. He has now thrown a new light on the matter by the discovery in the Burnt City of a most remarkable female image of lead, with goat's horns (engraved on page 337), in which Lenormant and Professor Sayce recognize the Zarpanit or Artemis Nana of the Chaldeans of Babylonia.

After all that has been written both learnedly and scornfully on this matter, it is time to recognize the very minor importance of the question, whether the faces on these idols and on the terra-cotta vases are meant to be owl-like or human, and how far Dr. Schliemann's owl-theory has run away with him. No one who has carefully examined the objects or even the engravings can fail to see, in at least many of them, that clear indication of a face and form, with female characteristics, which appears beyond all doubt in the leaden idol just mentioned. Professor Paley points out their likeness to the portable Italian 'Penates,' and to the little 'Teraphim' found at Khorsabad.*

The cow of many colours which guided Ilus—as many a legendary founder has been guided by many an animal—is a symbol of Até or Athena in the character of the goddess of Night or the Moon; and new light is thrown on the wide prevalence of this symbolism, and on the link it supplies between Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece, in the Appendix on 'Hera-Boöpis,' contributed by Brugsch-Bey. We only refer once more to the kindred

is decisive of the question. Is the same person to be, in reading Virgil, *Ulysses*, and in reading Homer, *Odusseus* or *Odysseus*?—for the innovators are not agreed on which of the two; and we might add endless examples of their inconsistencies, as *Achilleus* and *Akhilles*, *Achaeans*, *Achaïans*, *Akhaeans*, and even *Akhaïans*! When we see such forms, we are tempted to exclaim, '*Achilles* I know, and *Ulysses* I know, but who are ye?' Mr. Caxton was quite right in withholding from *Peisistratos* the cake made for his son *Pisistratus*. Observe, by the bye, the confusion which the new *os* makes between *os* and *ws*.

* Engraved in Bonomi's 'Nineveh,' p. 179.

question of 'Athena Glaucôpis,' to show how old-fashioned English scholarship, guided by true poetic genius, has long since hit the mark round which modern criticism has sent so many random shafts, in a passage which Dr. Schliemann quotes from Pope's 'Preface to the Iliad' respecting Homer's use of *fixed epithets* for his gods and heroes; those of the gods, especially, being 'a sort of attributes with which it was a matter of religion to salute them on all occasions, and which it was an irreverence to omit.' This is the answer to the question, whether Homer himself regarded Athena and Hera as having the head of the owl or cow.

The destruction of Troy by Hercules, in revenge for the treachery of Laomedon, marks the first of those catastrophes in its legendary history, which suggest (not to venture to say more) a curious correspondence with the successive strata revealed by the excavations; while the continuity of the city is preserved by its restoration to greater splendour under Priam, the son of Laomedon. In the legend of the war itself, we need refer only to the new light thrown on the story related to Herodotus by the Egyptian priests, bringing Paris, Helen, and Menelaus to Egypt under a king named Proteus, whom Brugsch-Bey identifies with Ramses III. The great Egyptologist's Appendix on 'Troy and Egypt' furnishes another proof that the comparison of primeval traditions, in the growing light of true criticism instead of indiscriminate scepticism, may evolve the germs of truth lying dormant in legends that seemed the most improbable. It must never be forgotten that the Egyptian priests possessed *real records* of the remotest antiquity, however much their story may have been transformed in its adaptation by Herodotus to the Greek legend. The chief reason why the fashion of sceptical criticism has suffered such marked rebukes from historical discovery, lies in its having confused the *mythical* with the *traditional*, even using the terms indifferently. But a myth is essentially poetic and imaginative; it may be pure invention, or the voice which the poet gives to nature, or the ornamental form in which he sets the real facts, of which tradition preserves the memory, but which may be separated from the setting when they appear in the light of other evidence.

According to the opinion prevalent in antiquity, and almost universally accepted since, the history of heroic Troy had its final term in the utter destruction of the city by the Greeks. But the Greek colonists of Ilium affirmed, as Strabo expressly says, 'that the city was not entirely demolished when it was taken by the Achæans, nor at any time deserted.'* This view

* Strabo, xiii. p. 600.

is adopted by Dr. Schliemann, partly on the ground of the correspondence of his discoveries with a tradition, traceable through the classical authors from Homer down to Strabo and still later, that the Dardanian line of Æneas succeeded the Trojan dynasty of Priam, like the house of Orleans rising on the fall of the Bourbons; a comparison the less fanciful in the light of a certain ill-will of Æneas towards Priam and Paris, which is traceable even in the *Iliad* as well as in later legends.* The story which the genius of Virgil has caused to swallow up its forgotten competitors had many an ancient rival, making Æneas a colonist almost ubiquitous; but, in point of authority, as representing the oldest tradition, that of Homer claims the first place. When Æneas is at the point of perishing in his encounter with Achilles, Poseidon calls on the gods to save him, and even Hera assents, because it is his destiny to survive, that the line of Dardanus may not be blotted out:

‘For Priam now, and Priam’s faithless kind,
At length are odious to the all-seeing mind;
On great Æneas shall devolve the reign,
And sons succeeding sons the lasting line sustain.’ †

Turning to the parallel between these legendary traditions and the strata of remains in the hill of Hissarlik, we find the following statement:—

* This legend has apparently been also confirmed by the criticism of my pickaxe and spade, for—as visitors can easily convince themselves with their own eyes—the south-eastern corner of the Third, the brick city, has not been destroyed by the conflagration. I must further say that this legend is also confirmed by the relics I have discovered, for—as the reader will see in the succeeding pages—we find among the successors of the burnt city the very same singular idols; the very same primitive bronze battle-axes; the very same terra-cotta vases, with or without tripod feet; the very same double-handled goblets (δέπα ἀμφικύπελλα); the very same battle-axes of jade, porphyry, and diorite; the same rude stone hammers and saddle-querens of trachyte; the same immense mass of whorls or balls of terra-cotta with symbolical signs. The only difference is that, in general, the pottery of this fourth city is coarser and of a ruder fabric; and that we find here an infinitely larger quantity of rude

* Mr. Grote observes that ‘Æneas and Antenor stand distinguished from the other Trojans by a dissatisfaction with Priam, and a sympathy with the Greeks, which is by Sophocles and others construed as a treacherous collusion—a suspicion indirectly glanced at, though emphatically repelled, in the *Æneis* of Virgil.’

† ‘*Iliad*,’ xx. 300–308. The literal phrase is, ‘Now shall the might of Æneas reign over the Trojans,’ &c., perhaps (as Mr. Gladstone suggests) at his own city of Dardania; but the rebuilding of Troy would be a natural consequence of his rule over the Troad.

wheel-made terra-cottas and many new forms of vases and goblets. Besides, the quantity of rude stone hammers and polished stone-axes is here fully thrice as large as in the third city; also the masses of shells and cockles accumulated in the *débris* of the houses are so stupendous, that they baffle all description. Visitors can best see them in the great block of *débris* which I have left standing close to the "great tower." A people which left all their kitchen-refuse on the floors of their rooms must have lived in a very low social condition.*

We have quoted the whole description, to enable our readers to form a better judgment on the parallel suggested by Dr. Schliemann—which we do not understand as implying a positive opinion, that the Third and Fourth Cities represent those of Priam and Æneas. What it seems at all events to establish is a certain continuity of habitation, passing on from the third stratum to the fourth, whatever may be the stages that they represent in the unknown history of the place. On the other hand, the many evidences of a lower state of civilization—the absence of great city walls, the changed manner of house-building, the coarser pottery, and, above all, the enormous number of implements of stone*—all seem to prove the presence of a people very different from, and inferior to, those of the Burnt City.

How far the unknown state represented by 'Æneas and his sons and sons' sons hereafter to be born,' who pass before us in Poseidon's prophecy like the mirrored progeny of Banquo, may bridge over the interval between the Trojan War and the first appearance of Ilium in recorded history, would of course be a vain enquiry. But here the hill of Hissarlik speaks out of its open trenches in 'facts stronger than words;' for above the fourth stratum, which betrays no evidence of destruction by a catastrophe, there is another, in which the houses of wood and clay show a completely different and less permanent form of domestic architecture; the existence of city walls is doubtful; the pottery displays a decided inferiority and some marked differences of style; but, on the other hand, the stone implements are very rare, and the bronze instruments and weapons resemble those of the Third City, while the shells and other refuse—(the people of all the strata were great eaters of shell-fish)—were thrown over the hill, instead of being left on the floors of the houses. As a hint towards the interpretation,

* This prevalence of stone implements, but not unmingled with instruments of bronze, in a stratum above that in which those of bronze prevail and those of stone are rare—an 'age of stone' (and bronze) above an 'age of bronze' (and rich works in the precious metals)—is a hard problem for certain archaeological theorists.

we can only point to the known invasion of Asia Minor by Thracian and Cimmerian tribes in the seventh century before Christ. Were it safe to build on a single piece of evidence, we might point to the remarkable coincidence between the discovery in this stratum of a pair of hollow cones of terra-cotta, inscribed with the Cypriote character *mo* (probably meaning 'measure'), and a precisely similar cone found by Mr. George Smith in the palace of Assurbanipal at Nineveh (in the mound of Kouyunjik). Had this latter been of Assyrian make, the writing on it would have been in the cuneiform character: it must have come from Asia Minor (or the adjacent islands), where alone the syllabary called Cypriote held its ground between the Assyrian and the Phœnician characters. Now the annals of Assurbanipal inform us that Gyges, king of Lydia, sent an embassy and tribute to Nineveh; and Gyges is the very king under whom the Cimmerian invasion is placed, and who is said to have ruled over Asia Minor and to have settled colonists in cities of the Troad.

There is still more direct evidence to connect the city with the time of the Lydian supremacy. The first express testimony we possess concerning the historic Ilium, which stood, free from all controversy, on the hill and plateau of Hissarlik, is the passage of Strabo (xiii. p. 601), who followed the native historians and men of learning: 'The present settlement and the temple (of Athena) were built in the time of the Lydian kings.'* The value of this testimony is not to be measured by the *personal opinion* of the writer, who, having adopted the wilful theory of Demetrius, held this to be an entirely new foundation. But it is worth while, in passing, to observe the weakness of the ground on which Strabo *assumes* the utter desolation and desertion of the site of Homer's Ilios during all the ages from the Trojan War to the building of this new city: '*It is conjectured* that those who afterwards proposed to rebuild it avoided the spot as inauspicious, either on account of the calamities of which it had been the scene, or because Agamemnon, according to an ancient custom, had devoted it to destruction with a curse.' Against this *imaginary* curse, of which there is not a trace in the Epic Cycle, we may set the Homeric prophecy, that the race of Dardanus was still to rule over the land; and, turning to the lessons of history, the cases of Jerusalem and Carthage show how the strongest terms implying utter destruction are to be qualified, and how little the most

* 'In the time of Croesus,' according to Kramer's emendation (from two MSS.) of the common reading *κατὰ χρόνον* in Strabo, p. 593. But a date so near the end of the Lydian supremacy is altogether improbable.

solemn imprecation avails against the attractions of an advantageous and historic site. Strabo himself felt this in some degree; for he holds the continuity of the city, with only the change to a neighbouring site: 'They therefore abandoned that spot, and built a city elsewhere'—namely at the 'Village of the Ilians,' where Dr. Schliemann's researches have proved that no considerable settlement ever stood, for the site yielded no *débris* at all, and only a very few potsherds.

The testimony of Strabo, reduced to its real worth, has received a curious confirmation from Dr. Schliemann's excavations. Immediately below the unmistakeable remains of the Greek Acropolis on Hissarlik he detected a stratum, the sixth in upward order, which, though only a few inches thick, yielded objects altogether unlike those found in any of the five strata below it, and equally distinct from the remains of the Greek Ilium. But this is not all. The ruins show abundant evidence that the Greek colonists carefully levelled the surface of the hill for the building of their Acropolis; and accordingly the objects characteristic of this sixth stratum, which is so thin in its proper place, are found in abundance on the slopes of the hill.* The phenomena are just what would be expected from this levelling process; all walls, whether of defence or of the houses, have been cleared away, and utensils and ornaments lie imbedded in the thin stratum of levelled ground, and in the larger *débris* thrown off from it. Some of these objects, such as the idols and the whorls, are sufficiently like those of the five lower strata to add another link to the evidence for continuous habitation (though even these show characteristic differences); but the different character of others is evident on the most cursory inspection of Dr. Schliemann's illustrations: witness the ivory pin with a head in the shape of a bird (No. 1406); the ivory intaglio of a scorpion between two quadrupeds (No. 1407); the discs pierced with two holes for suspension as an amulet or votive offering, a rude prototype of those abundant in the Greek Ilium, but unknown in the five lower strata; the bronze fragments of horses' bridles; the finely-shaped bronze goblet on a tall stem (No. 1429); the double-edged axe of bronze (No. 1430), unlike any from the lower strata, but exactly like some found at Mycenæ, and—what is most significant—of the exact form used in Asia Minor, and called in the Carian language *labranda*, from which the Carian Jove had his name of Zeus Labrandeus. To this stratum Dr. Schliemann assigns

* The remarks of Dr. Schliemann and Professor Virchow on the *débris* thrown down by the successive settlers, and the consequent enlargement of the area of the hill, are worthy of particular attention.

an iron knife with a ring in the handle, the only object of iron (except bullets of native ore) found in any of the prehistoric cities on Hissarlik or at Mycenæ, and of a shape exactly like the bronze knives found in the Etruscan sepulchres. There remains an object of peculiar significance; one of those which Virchow compares to the organic forms by which palæontologists have learnt to recognize geological strata—the '*Leitmuscheln*' of archæology. In the threefold comparison of Homer, Hissarlik, and Mycenæ, a perfectly fair stress has been laid on the fact, that all the 'Trojan' lance-heads found by Dr. Schliemann have been fastened to the shaft by pins (in some cases still remaining in the holes), whereas all those dug up at Mycenæ have been forged with a socket (*αῦλός*) for the insertion of the shaft, like modern lances; and the latter is clearly the form described by Homer, as when he says: 'And the brain ran out from the wound along the tube' (Il. xvii. 297). When, therefore, we find in this sixth stratum a lance-head of this very form, we seem to have a *Leitmuschel* characteristic of the age of the Homeric poems themselves. But, above all, it is the pottery of this stratum which not only distinguishes it from all the others, but supplies a new connecting link by its resemblance to the archaic types found in the most ancient Etruscan sepulchres. We cannot stay to discuss the well-known tradition of the Lydian colonization of Etruria, which is fully related by Dr. Schliemann, but without concealing the objections of ancient writers and modern scholars; nor have we any further data for determining the character of this supposed Lydian settlement on the site of Troy. As the date assigned to it is after that of the Æolian colonization of the Troad, it may perhaps represent that early period, at which the Greek inhabitants were influenced by the superior civilization of their Asiatic neighbours, and were subjects of the Lydian empire.

It is somewhat curious that we have no further notice of the original foundation of the Greek city; and this unmarked rise may be taken as another sign of its continuous habitation. Strabo's description of it as a 'village, with a small and plain temple of Athena,' down to the time of Alexander, may be coloured by the theory he had adopted, and is the more suspicious from his calling it a kind of village-city when the Romans marched into Asia against Antiochus the Great, though he had told us just before of the great buildings with which Lysimachus had strengthened and adorned it. Below these Macedonian buildings, such as the city-walls, temples, and Senate-house, Dr. Schliemann has discovered Greek remains of an older date, particularly the archaic temple of Athena, and the walls and foundations

foundations of a tower, which prove it to have been a fortified place. But it was evidently too inconsiderable a town to have had any share worth mention in the early history of the Greek cities of Asia, or during the great contests of the Greek republics with the Persian empire and with each other.

Now the more fully the comparative insignificance of the Greek city upon Hissarlik may be acknowledged, the more remarkable is the high importance with which it first appears on the page of history, as already invested with all the sanctity and glory due to the *undisputed* successor of Homer's Troy; *the only place*, as Dr. Schliemann most truly says, *which ever bore that sacred name*. The Homeric names of ILIOS and TROY are preserved in ILIUM and TROJA, *without any distinguishing epithet*, except in the *purely theoretical qualification* used by one Greek writer. This statement may stagger some, even among scholars; for, since the acceptance given to Lechevalier's hypothesis, we have become so used to the distinction between TROJA VETUS and ILIUM NOVUM, in maps and geographies, histories and dictionaries, that *Ilium Novum* is very generally assumed to be a real name used by the classical Latin writers and translated from the Greek; and hence is inferred an admitted *distinction of site*, like that between Old Sarum and Salisbury. But the real state of the case is simply this: Strabo—following Demetrius of Scepsis, a grammarian as late as B.C. 200, but yet the *earliest* writer (except his immediate predecessor, Hestia, a learned lady of Alexandria-Troas)* who ever raised a question about the site—spoke of the Greek city and its people as 'the present (*ἡ νῦν*) Ilium, city, and Ilions,' 'the Ilium, or city, of *to-day*;' and he is the *only* writer (so far as we are aware) who uses even these distinctive phrases. ILIUM NOVUM (or Novum Ilium) is a modern invention, whether merely as a translation of Strabo's 'now,' or arising out of Lechevalier's theory; and the two uses are so easily confused, that we regret Dr. Schliemann's adoption of the name 'Novum Ilium,' even with his strong expression of reluctance. The Greek *Ilion* and Latin *Ilium*, used alone, have one and but one definite meaning in classical writers, as distinctly as *Rome* in every age.

This usage is the more conspicuous, even from the very

* Demetrius supported his opinion by the *negative* arguments of Hestia, whose writings on Homer were famous in antiquity, against the correspondence of the site of Ilium with the events of the Trojan War (Strabo, xiii. p. 599). Like Demetrius, she may have been influenced by the jealousy between her native city and Ilium, and it does not appear clearly whether his *positive* conclusion in favour of the village of the Ilions had been maintained by her.

absence of an express mention of the name of the city, in the first historic notice of the place. Herodotus (vii. 43) relates how Xerxes marched into the *Ilian territory*, and, when he reached the Scamander, 'he ascended the *Pergamus of Priam*, having a longing to behold it: and, having been informed of the particulars of those things (the heroic traditions of the place), he sacrificed a thousand oxen to the Ilian Athena, and the Magi poured libations to the heroes.' The knowledge, which Herodotus assumes in his readers, of the place meant by the Pergamus of Priam and the sacred seat of the Ilian Athena, is even more significant than if he had expressly said that Xerxes visited Ilium. At the same time the passage suggests that the place was then of little consequence, save for its temple and traditions. The identity affirmed by Hellanicus, the contemporary of Herodotus, between Homer's Troy and the Greek Ilium, is a testimony made more emphatic by Strabo's gratuitous assertion, that the motive of Hellanicus was to gratify the Ilians.

Among the testimonies collected by Dr. Schliemann between the visits of Xerxes and Alexander, the stratagem of the mercenary captain Charidemus, in the time of Philip the Great, which gave rise to the jest that Ilium was thrice captured by means of a horse, proves that the city was then fortified (B.C. 359). The honours paid to Ilium by Alexander, as the undoubted scene of the events sung by the poet he admired, and of the exploits of his great ancestor Achilles, are too well known to require mention, save for the acute remark of Major Rennell, which Grote adopts,—that the Homeric knowledge and military judgment of Alexander must have been satisfied with the correspondence of the ground about the Greek city with the requirements of the *Iliad*. The opinion held by Alexander, as he looked from the hill of Hissarlik, may well outweigh the topographical difficulties raised by scholars in their studies, and may even counterbalance Moltke's decision for Bounarbashi from 'military instinct.' Notwithstanding such an authority, we agree with Rennell that, 'had Alexander been shown the site of Bounarbashi for that of Troy, he would probably have questioned the fidelity either of the historical part of the poem or of his guides.'

The importance of Ilium as a strong city dates from the favours of Alexander, and still more of Lysimachus, the successor in this part of his Empire after the battle of Ipsus (B.C. 301). It was Lysimachus who increased its population from the neighbouring decayed cities, surrounded it with a new wall, and adorned it with buildings; and we have the testimony of Polybius that it was fortified and defensible at the end of the third century B.C. It is therefore some-

what marvellous to be told by Strabo, that only a few years later, at the beginning of the next century, when the Romans marched into Asia against Antiochus the Great, Demetrius of Scepsis, being then a youth, saw the city sunk in such decay, that there were not even roofs to the houses. It is much easier to distrust the grammarian, whose jealousy for his native city against Ilium led him to invent (in the twofold sense of the word) another site for Troy, than to reconcile his testimony with the honours paid to Ilium by Antiochus the Great (as proved by inscriptions discovered by Dr. Schliemann), and with the joy exchanged, as after the long separation of parents and children, between the Ilions and the Roman invaders, who greeted the city in the words of Ennius:—

‘O patria, o divom domus Ilium, et incluta bello
Pergama.’

But Strabo requires us to believe in a decay much nearer to the time of Lysimachus, on the authority of Hegesianax, a native of another rival city, Alexandria-Troas, who relates ‘that the Galatians, who crossed over from Europe, being in want of some stronghold, went up to the city, but *immediately left it*, when they saw that it was not fortified with a wall; afterwards it underwent great reparation and improvement.’ Whatever token of some temporary decline may be hidden under this mere fragment, if worth anything, it testifies to the merest passing visit of the Galatians; against which we have the chain of evidence to the Greek occupation of Ilium as a fortified city from the time of Lysimachus and onward to the imperial age of Rome. What then shall we say of the critic who, assuming the *Celtic* character of the objects dug up at Hissarlik, finds the origin of the whole heap of successive *débris* in ‘one set of “shanties” constructed over the burned ruins of a previous set’ during ‘the Galatian incursions into the Troad, culminating during the reign of Attalus I.,’ and who pronounces the patronizing judgment:—‘As a picture of successive Galatian settlements, Hissarlik is profoundly interesting; and on that account Dr. Schliemann has rendered a real service to archæology, though, as often happens, the discoverer himself is the last to be convinced of the true importance of his discovery?’ When we meet, not the last, but a *second* scholar or archæologist thus ‘convinced,’ we shall be content to ask, ‘O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?’ To infer this conclusion from ‘such incidents as a prolonged siege of Ilium Novum, from which these barbarians were at last compelled to desist,’ is an absurdity precisely the converse of Victor Hugo’s ‘city that the Germans could not take’! On the site of a city

so powerful that they could not take it, the Galatians built the succession of 'shanties,' which contain the walls and houses, utensils and weapons, ornaments and treasures, hidden in the *débris* of ages piled up more than fifty feet in height, with *archaic Greek remains* near the top!

The 'great reparation,' of which Strabo goes on to speak, may be ascribed to the pious interest of the Romans in the city of Æneas, after they had driven Antiochus the Great beyond the Taurus (B.C. 190), and liberated Ilium, with the other Greek cities, from his yoke. The pride of the Julian house in their mythic ancestor Iulus put the climax to the favour with which the Romans treated their supposed mother city; and the idea cherished for a time by Augustus of making it his new capital was revived by Constantine before his choice settled on Byzantium. Dr. Schliemann gives us some valuable Greek inscriptions of the times of the Cæsars as well as of the Seleucidæ. The continued importance of Ilium under the Empire is attested by the long series of imperial coins, besides the autonomous, of which an admirable description is contributed by M. Achilles Postolaccas, of Athens. By their prevailing subjects, Dardanus, Ilius, and Ganymed, Priam, Anchises, and Æneas, and above all 'Hector of the Ilians,' these coins give another proof of the faith of the Greek settlers in their inheritance of the Trojan traditions,—a faith as benighted, forsooth, as that of Englishmen in their concern with the early history of Britain; but both resting on the firm foundation of a local bond of patriotism, which is not easily severed. The sacred city was the resort of tourists and pilgrims from all parts of the Empire. Few passages in Dr. Schliemann's book are more interesting than the letter of the Emperor Julian—lately discovered by Dr. Carl Henning among the Harleian MSS.—describing the reverence which he saw paid to the temple of Athena, with all its statues uninjured, the sanctuaries and statues of Hector and Achilles, and the altars still burning to their honour.* This last historic record of Ilium shows us the city yet

* The MS., first published in the 'Hermes' (ix.) is ascribed to the fourteenth century, but there appears no reason to doubt the genuineness of the letter, of which (as of all the important passages he cites) Dr. Schliemann gives the Greek text as well as a translation. It possesses a still wider interest as a declaration of Julian's policy in encouraging converts to heathenism, especially such as had been false Christians. Evidently in reply to some remonstrance against the favour he had shown to a certain Pegasius, who had been a bishop (doubtless of Ilium), the Emperor writes: 'We should never easily have had anything to do with Pegasius, had we not been convinced that formerly, whilst he appeared to be a bishop of the Galileans, he knew how to respect and honour the gods;' a case perhaps not uncommon under Constantine and his sons. The letter also refers to the Christian usages of making the sign of the cross and hissing against the demons on entering a heathen temple.

flourishing, even after the latest indications furnished by coins found on the spot, those of Constantius II. Dr. Schliemann supposes that 'it decayed with the prevalence of Christianity, the destruction of its temples and the consequent cessation of the pilgrimages to their shrines.' A bishopric of Ilium is indeed enumerated among the sees of the Troad by Constantine Porphyrogennetus in the tenth century; but the actual see may have been at another place. At all events, the site has been deserted for unknown ages, and the stagnation of the country under a wretched government has helped to preserve it as virgin soil for the investigator.

The history thus sketched goes far to prove a continuous habitation of the site of Hissarlik, and clearly shows the unbroken tradition held by the Greeks of Ilium, and admitted by the common consent of antiquity. 'The proofs produced by the Ilians for the identity of their city with the ancient one were,' as Mr. Grote remarks, 'testimonies which few persons in those ages were inclined to question, when combined with the identity of name and general locality.' The only rival theory ever started in antiquity was, as we have said, the mere invention of the grammarian Demetrius, jealous of the superiority of Ilium over his native city of Scepsis, and it was adopted without question by Strabo, who never visited the Troad. Their arguments are completely answered by Dr. Schliemann, whose spade had already disproved the existence of any real foundation for the theory, by the negative results obtained at the site of the 'Village of the Ilians' on Mr. Calvert's farm of Akshi Kioi or Thymbra. Modern critics, who think they have discovered a *reductio ad absurdum* in the zeal with which the Ilians showed the very altar of Jove at which Priam was slain and the other local details which lay buried deep beneath their feet, fall themselves into the converse absurdity of confounding the modern details in which a tradition is dressed up with its real substance. The sacristan who showed the 'very sword that Balaam wished for' did not thereby disprove the history of the false prophet.

But it has been repeatedly urged that the claim of the Ilians was at variance with the universal belief, held by the Greeks and adopted by the Romans, that Troy had been utterly destroyed by the Achæans, and its site had remained a perpetual desolation. This view is strongly urged in the very interesting and able article on 'Ilios,' in our respected contemporary the 'Edinburgh Review' (April, 1881), where the writer goes so far as to affirm that 'the identification of Homer's Troy with the Greek Ilium was, in the old Greek view, a paradox, which had

no vitality except at Ilium itself. The inhabitants of that place were very naturally anxious to keep up so glorious and lucrative a belief.' How marvellous then that this mere local claim of sordid vanity should have been endorsed by the sympathetic acceptance of the civilized world for 900 years, from Xerxes down to Julian; recognized by kings, generals, and emperors—barbarian, Greek, and Roman; by conquerors and benefactors and pilgrims, who honoured and flocked to the sacred spot; by writers, whose general voice bears witness to the identity! Does not all this show a 'vitality' vibrating from the sacred city over the civilized world?

Against this all but universal testimony of actions as well as words, what weight can be given to the hyperbolical phrases of poets and rhetoricians, uttering the righteous doom of the offending city, and for the most part capable of the simple explanation that they refer to the fate of *Priam's Troy* alone, leaving out of sight its later restoration? We are not called on to reconcile such high-flown language with the one great fact of the belief of the Ilians, confirmed by the discoveries which have now proved that *here alone* in the Troad was a seat of primeval habitation, continued into the historic times of the city. For any remaining contradiction the responsibility must be left with the orators and poets themselves, as when—for instance—Lucan makes Cæsar visit Ilium as the Homeric city,

'Circuit exustæ nomen memorabile Trojæ

'Magnaue Phœbei quærit vestigia muri,'

and immediately adds the famous description of the desolate site, ending '*etiam periêre ruinæ.*'* Against this sentence on *Priam's city*, we may set the contemporary Pliny's eulogy of *its acknowledged successor* as the foundation of all celebrity.† At all events, in the light we now have, the only alternative to the faith of the Ilians is the belief that Troy had no existence except in the imagination of the epic poets.

There is, then, a strong *prescription* in favour of the Hisarlik site. The question is not a *res integra*, as if criticism had to determine the unknown position of a vanished city. It is fairly urged against the only modern hypothesis deserving of notice, that

'The theory of Lechevalier is a mere *hypothesis*, born from the

* *Pharsal.* x. 964.—Any one who may feel called on to make the rhetorical poet consistent with himself may suppose Lucan to imagine the site of the Homeric Troy close by Ilium, like Verulam to St Albans.

† Plin. *H. N.* v. 33: 'Ac mille quingentis passibus remotum a portu Ilium Æmune, unde omnis rerum claritas'—a brief but pregnant testimony to the honour in which the place was held.

fancy of a modern traveller, *without the slightest historical or traditional foundation*. The whole *onus probandi* lies upon its advocates, and nothing but an overwhelming body of evidence for this new invention can prevail against that historical and traditional *right of possession* by *Novum Ilium*, which is even sounder in archæology than it is proverbially in law. Every new discovery in modern scholarship is daily tending to restore the authority of historical tradition, in opposition to sceptical enquirers.'

Having practically disproved the claims of Bounarbashi by his examination of the spot, and revealed Hissarlik as the only site in the Troad where the remains of great prehistoric settlements exist, Dr. Schliemann devotes a chapter on 'The true site of Homer's Ilium' to a full discussion of the abundant indications of the Iliad, convincingly showing their inconsistency with Bounarbashi and their agreement with Hissarlik. The Troy of Homer was *in the plain*, as contrasted with the older settlement among the foot-hills of Ida, where Bounarbashi lies. Bounarbashi is eight or nine miles from the Hellespont, and Hissarlik barely three; and the short distance between Troy and the Greek naval camp is proved by such superabundant evidence, that the only possible answer is an imaginary alteration of the coast by marine or alluvial deposits, which is now completely disproved by the researches of Virchow and other evidence. The accounts of all the battles in the Iliad are as suitable to the plain between Hissarlik and the Hellespont as they would be unintelligible if extended to Bounarbashi; and the movements of the armies and despatch of messengers to and fro, within the space of single days, become absurd for the larger distance. The flight of Hector pursued by Achilles round the walls of Troy is intelligible at Hissarlik, but impossible at Bounarbashi and the Bali Dagħ; besides other such details, which Dr. Schliemann has been careful not to overlook. Perhaps the most striking fact proclaimed by Lechevalier was his discovery at Bounarbashi of the hot and cold springs, which Homer makes the twofold source of the Scamander near the walls of Troy; but the *two* springs at Bounarbashi turn out to be *nearly forty* (called by the Turks the 'Forty Eyes'), with a temperature almost uniform: the very name of Bounarbashi, 'head of the springs,' attests their number. There are springs also in the plain near Hissarlik; but the sources of the Scamander are far above both places, high up in Mount Ida itself. Homer's hot and cold springs can only refer, if we are to explain them at all, to the sources of a streamlet which fell into the Scamander, not to the river itself, which he describes as mighty in the neighbourhood of Troy.

But

But all these details are eclipsed by one convincing argument, which is set forth with the combined scientific and imaginative power characteristic of Professor Virchow, both in his Preface and his Appendix on 'Troy and Hissarlik.' We ask the reader first to stand with Dr. Schliemann upon Hissarlik, and follow his sketch of the panoramic view over the Trojan plain, bounded by Ida and its spurs on the South and East, and looking on the North and West over the Hellespont and the *Ægean* to the Thracian Chersonese, Tenedos, the sacred Samothrace, and even the remote Athos; and then to observe that *the horizon of this view is the horizon of the Iliad itself*; and that in a twofold sense and force. For, to use the eloquent language of Virchow,

'Whether we call the poet Homer, or substitute in his place a host of nameless bards,—when the poetic tale originated, the tradition must still have been preserved upon the spot, that the royal fortress had stood exactly on this mountain spur. It is in vain to dispute with the poet his knowledge of the place by his own eyesight. Whoever the "divine bard" was, he must have stood upon this hill of Hissarlik—that is, the Castle- or Fortress-Hill—and have looked out thence over land and sea. In no other case could he possibly have combined so much truth to nature in his poem, and I believe I may call any one to bear witness, whether it is possible that a poet living at a distance could have evolved out of his own imagination so faithful a picture of the land and people as is embodied in the *Iliad*.

'To this is to be added another consideration. The *Iliad* is not merely an Epic which sings of human affairs: in the conflict of men the great circle of the Olympic gods takes part, acting and suffering. Hence it happened that the *Iliad* became the special religious book, the Bible of the Greeks and partly of the Romans. This must not be overlooked. Therefore I have especially called attention to the fact, that the theatre for the action of the gods has been drawn much larger than for the men. The range of these poems extends far beyond the Plain of Troy. Its limit is there, where the eye finds its boundary, on the lofty summits of Ida and the peak of Samothrace, where the clouds have birth and the storms make their home. Who could have lighted upon such a story of the gods with this fineness of localizing, except one who had himself beheld the mighty phenomena of nature which are here displayed? Who, that had not gazed on them in their alternate course for days and weeks together?'

* We might add that this twofold horizon of the scenery for men and gods supplies an answer to the favourite argument, that the natural and supernatural in the poem must stand or fall together. And, moreover, Homer moves back the gods in *time*, as well as place, in the divine genealogies of his heroes. To reject the historic basis of the tradition *simply* because of its supernatural glorification, would be like denying the story of Alfred in the Isle of Athelney because of the visit of St. Cuthbert in the guise of the pilgrim with whom he divided his last loaf.

'The

'The question of the Iliad is not simply the old question—*Ubi Ilium fuit*? No, it embraces the whole. We must not sever the story of the gods from the story of the men. The poet who sang of Ilium painted also the picture of the whole Trojan country. Ida and Samothrace, Tenedos and the Hellespont, Callicolone and the Rampart of Herakles, the Scamander and the memorial tumuli of the heroes—all this appeared before the view of the enraptured hearer. All this is inseparable. And therefore it is not left to our choice, where we should place Ilium. Therefore we must have a place, which answers to all the requirements of the poetry. Therefore we are compelled to say:—*Here*, upon the fortress-hill of Hissarlik,—*here*, upon the site of the ruins of the Burnt City of Gold,—*here was Ilium*.'

But what was the city itself, which Homer saw upon the Hill, or was it already a bare mound of ruins, when, meditating his poetic utterance of its 'tale divine,' he called forth its temples, palaces, and streets, like those of Thebes rising to Amphion's lyre? If a city then stood there, as seems probable from what has been said before, it was certainly earlier than the Greek Ilium as known in history, and later than any of the buried prehistoric cities, except perhaps that which Schliemann has denoted by the name of Lydian, and which—as we have said—may have been the Æolian colony under Lydian supremacy. But whatever it was, we may be quite sure that Homer transferred no slavish copy of it to his poem; he gave it the form which pleased his fancy, drawing its broad outlines, like every other stroke of manners and daily life and the arts of war and peace, from those of his own age. The date of Troy and the date of Homer are questions perfectly distinct. The critics who, with exulting irony, propound the dilemma, that the Burnt City was the Ilium of Homer, which Homer never saw, are somewhat unfairly urging a charge of inconsistency against Dr. Schliemann. This dilemma has been pressed with triumphant scorn, as a *reductio ad absurdum*, from the alleged resemblance between objects found by Schliemann and those described by Homer. How, it is asked, can the gold frontlets, the two-handled goblets, silver blades and ivory ornaments, and so forth, buried—as all now agree—ages before Homer's time, have any connection with his *πλεκτὴ ἀναδέσμη* and *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον*, his 'talents' and ivory horse-trappings, and the rest? How can they link the city buried long before Homer with Homer's Troy? The objection is a plausible but transparent fallacy. If the resemblance exists, it is no use to say 'so much the worse for the facts.' It is a remarkable coincidence for the antiquary and scholar to explain; and an explanation, sustained

sustained by a host of similar cases, is found in the persistent 'survival' of local usage. If, as Virchow has shown, the present houses of the Troad are built on the exact model of those in the burnt city; if, as we learn from Mr. Davis, the Phrygian peasants of to-day use wooden water-buckets of the exact form of the Trojan terra-cotta vases with crown-shaped handles; we need not be surprised at finding many Homeric forms of vessels and arms and ornaments unearthed from the depths of primeval Troy. The *differences*, and the inevitable conclusion, are fully admitted by Dr. Schliemann; the *resemblances* cannot, at all events, be arguments against the identity—not of the city—but of the site.

It must be confessed that Dr. Schliemann has left some opening for these attacks; we could hardly expect him to be more invulnerable than Achilles; and the point where he has not quite shaken off the hold of preconceived ideas has been the mark of shafts which seem to us needlessly numerous and keen. What if, having been urged to his great work by the enthusiastic hope of unearthing the veritable Troy that Homer saw and sang, he sometimes slips back into language which seems to imply a survival of that feeling? He has made it abundantly clear that this is not now his meaning, and that he holds with Virchow:—
'In any case the Ilium of fiction must be a fiction itself.'
But this does not mean that 'there was no Troy, and Homer was its poet.' His fiction is the poetic garb of a tradition which, as in the case of nearly every great epic poem, had its foundation in real facts; facts now and perhaps then already lost to history, but preserved in that traditional form which Homer himself has described with an accuracy that modern critics might envy:—

Ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν, οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν.

('We know them not ourselves, but hear their fame.')

From these facts, if we accept any, we can least of all discard the central one, that *here* stood the city whose fate gave origin to the legend. Where then is it now? 'Troja fuit' and 'etiam periëre ruinae' are answers now exploded by all our knowledge of the ruins of great cities; and all that Schliemann says is this: among the ruins now unearthed must be, not indeed the very Troy of Homer, but those of the city whose fate formed the first germ of the grand Trojan Epic.

'In this unique hill (says Virchow) there is a Stratum, and that one of the deepest—according to Schliemann's present reckoning, the Third from the bottom,—which especially arrests our attention.

Here

Here was a great devouring fire, in which the clay walls of the building were molten and made fluid, like wax, so that congealed drops of glass bear witness at the present day to the mighty conflagration. Only at a few places are cinders left, whose structure enables us still to discover what was burnt,—whether wood or straw, wheat or pease. A very small part of this city has upon the whole escaped the fire; and only here and there in the burnt parts have portions of the houses remained uninjured beneath the rubbish of the foundering walls. Almost the whole is burnt to ashes. How enormous must have been the fire that devoured all this splendour! We seem to hear the crackling of the wood, the crash of the tumbling buildings! And, in spite of this, what riches have been brought to light out of the ashes! Treasures of gold, one after another, presented themselves to the astonished eye. In that remote time, when man was so little advanced in the knowledge of the earth and of his own power; in that time when, as the poet tells us, the king's sons were shepherds; the possession of such treasures of the precious metals, and that in the finest and most costly workmanship, must have become famous far and wide. The splendour of this chieftain must have awakened envy and covetousness; and the ruin of his high fortress can signify nothing else than his own downfall and the destruction of his race.

‘Was this chieftain PRIAM? Was this city SACRED ILIOS? No one will ever fathom the question, whether these were the names which men used when the celebrated king still looked out from his elevated fortress over the Trojan Plain to the Hellespont. Perhaps these names are only the poet's inventions. Who can know? Perhaps the legend had handed down no more than the story of the victorious enterprise of war undertaken from the West, to overthrow the kingdom and the city. But who will doubt that on this spot a terrible conquest was really won in fight against a garrison, who not only defended themselves, their families, and their houses, with weapons of stone and bronze, but who also had great wealth in gold and silver, ornaments and furniture, to protect? It is in itself of little consequence to quarrel about the names of these men or of their city. And yet the first question that rises to every one's lips, to-day as in the time of Homer, is this:—Who and whence among mankind were they? Though the severe enquirer may refuse them names, though the whole race may glide past before the judgment-seat of science like the ghosts of Hades,—yet for us, who love the colours of daylight, the dress of life, the glitter of personality, for us PRIAM and ILIUM will remain the designations upon which our thoughts fasten, so often as they concern themselves with the events of that period.’

The full significance of these discoveries from the point of view of archæology and anthropology is a part of the subject which we now leave almost untouched. Both branches are too much for a single article, and we have chosen the one

more

more interesting from the scholar's point of view, and about which the decision of a long controversy seems now possible ; and, just in proportion to the intrinsic importance of the very novel discoveries, is the need for leaving them to the patient investigation and discussion of competent archæologists, instead of being in haste to form premature conclusions. This is the course which Dr. Schliemann himself has pursued, ransacking all the Museums and published collections of prehistoric antiquities for parallel examples, which may aid in determining the comparative age and state of civilization represented by the objects he has discovered. Among the few conclusions thus far established, we may affirm, that no 'Stone Age,' in the proper sense of the term, is to be traced at Hissarlik, for the implements of polished stone found here, as elsewhere in Asia Minor, are mingled with those of copper and bronze ; besides which, gold and silver are found even in the lowest stratum. In this stratum Dr. Schliemann has now established the existence, left doubtful in 'Troy and its Remains,' of implements of *pure copper*, some of them much harder than our commercial copper. Professor Roberts of the Royal Mint—one of the many experts whose aid Dr. Schliemann has diligently sought in every department of his work—suggests that this hardness may be due to accidental impurities. But a new and striking light is thrown on the whole question of hardened copper by the remarkable discovery of Mr. A. J. Duffield, communicated in an Appendix, that the copper knives and weapons of the Peruvian Incas, as well as those of the Hurons found deep under the bed of Lake Superior, owe their hardness to a natural alloy of rhodium and other metals of the platinum group. Professor Roberts has produced a similar hard rhodium-copper by synthesis ; but whether rhodium (or any metal of the same group) exists in the copper from Hissarlik, awaits investigation. The remarkable absence of iron in all the strata is now fully confirmed ; and the fact that, among all the bronze lance-heads, battle-axes, and daggers, not a single sword has been found, even in the Burnt City, forms a signal mark of contrast to the weapons of the Homeric heroes and the discoveries at Mycenæ. The mode of building is also entirely different ; but the critics, who triumph over Schliemann because no 'cyclopean' walls are found here, overshoot their mark ; for the architecture of the Iliad is as remote from the 'cyclopean' as from the rude stone and crude brick walls at Hissarlik. The resemblance traced by Virchow between the houses of the ancient and modern Trojans is highly interesting.

The few skulls preserved, of which Professor Virchow gives
careful

careful drawings and technical descriptions, 'have,' he assures us, 'this in common—that, without exception, they present the character of a more civilized people; all savage peculiarities, in the stricter sense, are entirely wanting in them.' The remains of grain and pulse (much of it found *carbonized*), the shells, bones, and horns, bear witness to a life of husbandry, fishing, and hunting, and a diet chiefly vegetable, only sparingly of animal food, with an enormous consumption of shell-fish. Bones and horns were used for implements and ornaments, and the former for flutes, while fragments of lyres are among the many objects of *ivory* which attest a foreign commerce, confirmed by many other signs; and among these are some remarkable coincidences with objects described among the tribute and spoils of war gathered by the great Egyptian Kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty from Western Asia. The axes or celts of *jade*, discussed at great length by Professors Max Müller and Story-Maskelyne, open a vast question about intercourse with the furthest East. From all this evidence Virchow draws the conclusion—

'That the discoveries at Hissarlik will not be explained by those made in the North or the West, but, inversely, that we must test our collections by Oriental models. For Hissarlik also, the probable sources of connection lie East and South; but their determination requires new and far more thorough studies in the fields of the Oriental world, hitherto so scantily reaped. It was not the *Iliad* itself that first brought the Phœnicians and the Ethiopians into the Trojan legendary cycle; the discoveries at Hissarlik themselves, in placing before our eyes ivory, enamel, figures of the hippopotamus, and fine works in gold, point distinctly to Egypt and Assyria. It is there that the chronological relations of Hissarlik must find their solution.'

This last consideration is of the highest importance in the discussion of the still open question of the inscriptions, or supposed inscriptions, on several of the whorls and other objects found at Hissarlik. After all the discoveries opened up by the interpretation of hieroglyph and cuneiform, Hittite and Cypriote characters, it is too late to oppose to these discoveries at Troy a dogmatic disbelief, founded on the age of written literature in Greece. Equally idle is it to ask why there should be any meaning on these 'mere scratchings' on such things as spindle-whorls and clay-balls, when—in accordance with the universal fondness for decorating objects of common use—there are before our eyes the manifest forms of symmetrical patterns, figures of plants, animals, men, and celestial objects, and why not writing among the rest, just as verses of the Koran are mingled with arabesque

besque designs? We must patiently examine the evidence itself. Professor Sayce's careful discussion of all the inscriptions (real or supposed) puts it beyond a doubt that these prehistoric peoples possessed the art of writing, and further, that their writing belonged to the syllabary commonly called Cypriote, but more accurately, *Asiatic*, for its use in Cyprus was one of the last 'survivals' of its prevalence in Asia Minor. There is good reason to believe that this syllabary was one of the elements of art and civilization primarily of Babylonian origin, but introduced into Asia Minor by that great nation who play so large a part in the Egyptian records under the name of Kheta, the Hittites (or rather Khethites) of the Bible, whom Mr. Gladstone's penetration has identified with the Keteioi of Homer. The supremacy of this people in Western Asia before the Assyrian Empire, well defined as to its *comparative* chronology (though we cannot yet say, as to its actual date) by the Egyptian and Biblical records, may yet aid in bringing these new discoveries nearer to the domain of history; but the systematic study of the Hittite remains is only beginning, chiefly through the labours of Professor Sayce. Meanwhile the Trojan inscriptions remain simply in this state:—several *characters* appear to be determined, but not a sentence or word has yet been read in any intelligible language. This stage of progress, in an enquiry but of yesterday, with materials as yet so scanty, enables true scholars to wait and hope, while shallow critics poke their fun at Haug and Gomperz, Sayce and Schliemann. In a word, the mass of unsolved problems raised by Dr. Schliemann's discoveries, and the treasure of materials he has freely presented to the world for their solution, are a measure of the lasting value of his disinterested labours.

Both in justice to the subject, and from respect to our contemporary, we can hardly conclude without some notice of the objections urged by the 'Edinburgh Review' to Dr. Schliemann's system of dividing the ruins on the hill of Hissarlik into distinct *strata*. A full discussion of the whole question would almost need another article; and we must be content to express the conviction, which we could sustain by several examples, that, if Dr. Schliemann has magnified the tests of distinction, the Reviewer has unduly minimized them. The differences marked by the large stones of the First city, the smaller ones of the Second, the very distinctive brick of the Third, the stones again of the Fourth, and the clay and wood of the Fifth;—the dividing layers of rubbish so carefully analysed by Burnouf;—are but a few of the tests. The marks of a mighty conflagration in the Third City—and in none of the others
—give

—give the answer to the assertion, repeated by several critics, that such is the common fate attested by the mounds of perished nations: and another special characteristic of that stratum is the wealth of golden vessels and jewels, wrought with a very high degree of skill. We have already called attention to the objects which are strikingly distinctive of the 'Lydian' stratum, which seems to go far to mark a *known historic epoch*. But what demands especial notice is the theory, that the remains of the Greek Ilium *must* have reached much lower than the six feet assigned to them by Schliemann, and *may* extend to an indefinite depth among the strata. To us the reply seems simple and decisive,—that the depth of the Greek stratum is most definitely limited by the presence of the Greek remains, the architectural and sculptured fragments of the Macedonian and earlier age; and below these we are forbidden to go by the entire absence of any Greek remains, of any Greek inscriptions, and especially of the coins which are found so abundantly in the topmost stratum and on the adjacent plateau. It seems, therefore, impossible to mark the beginning of the historical Greek Ilium below the limit marked, not only by the cessation of Hellenic remains, but by the presence of those bearing the very distinct character which Schliemann designates as 'Lydian,' and by the marks of evening the surface to form the foundation of the Greek citadel. It is all that lies below, presenting a wide field for future research amidst the varieties of opinion that are necessarily put forward, there are certain conclusions in which we rejoice to find a unanimous consent. Dr. Schliemann has proved, by his excavations, the continuous habitation of the mound of Hissarlik from a period earlier than known history; and, as this is the one locality that can be assigned to the Troy of the Homeric poems, he has gone far to give that universal legend of antiquity a local habitation and a root in real facts. Here, on the one hand, we have the evidence of long habitation; on the other, the traditional scene of the great war *on the same site*, and a connection is established between them, though its exact nature is yet to be discovered. While critics labour to dissociate the Homeric details from Hissarlik, the discoveries tend to associate them as far as the site is concerned. Even Professor Dörpfeld admits that the one 'point gained by these discoveries is the enormous degree of probability that the *Ilium*, traditions of which were the theme of the great epic of antiquity, was *not a mere imaginary, but a real city*.' To use the words of Max Müller, 'At a period which we as yet know by tradition only, we for the first time see real men on real soil.' At Troy, as well as at Mycenæ, Dr. Schliemann has done the same kind of

of work (not to enter on the question of *degree*) that has been done by the other great discoverers of our age in Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Phœnicia, and Cyprus:—though not yet with such definite results, he has helped to move back the history of Western Asia beyond the bound of what was formerly legendary, and therefore was falsely assumed to be fabulous. His work will survive its own defects, as well as the envy which pursues merit and prompts unfair criticism:—

‘Critics I saw, that other names deface,
And grave their own, with labour, in their place:
Their own, like others, soon their place resigned,
Or disappeared, and left the first behind.’

The published results of his disinterested devotion will take a high place among permanent contributions to classical learning, primeval history, and the science of man, their value being enhanced by sympathy with his enthusiastic love of Homer.

ART. VIII.—1. *A History of England from the Conclusion of the great War in 1815.* By Spencer Walpole. London, 1878–80. 3 vols.

2. *Memoir of the Public Life of the Right Honourable John Charles Herries.* By his Son, Edward Herries, C.B. London, 1880. 2 vols.

3. *A Letter to the Editor of ‘The Edinburgh Review.’* By Edward Herries, C.B. 1881.

WE do not expect to find absolute impartiality in an historian. A narrative of public events, composed without any bias in favour of principles or persons, would be chargeable with a worse fault even than unfairness:—it would be dull. Thucydides himself could hardly have judged the policy of Cleon with a perfectly open mind; we know that an allowance for colouring must be made in determining the value of Tacitus’s portraits of the Cæsars; and we do not look in Hume for a very sympathetic estimate of the fathers of modern Liberalism. What we do require from men who write history is, in the first place, an accurate statement of facts, and, in the next place, a sense of dignity and proportion, sufficiently strong to prevent their own preferences from becoming indecently apparent.

The historian, whose work we are about to examine, advances claims, which make it doubly necessary to exact from him the fulfilment of these two conditions. His history possesses at least one imposing quality: it is very long. It is perhaps assigning

assigning too much importance to the 'History of England since the Great War of 1815,' to treat it, as Mr. Walpole does, on the same scale as Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;' but at least he can fortify himself with the example of Sir Archibald Alison. Again, his history is philosophical. While writing in the Radical interest, he professedly bases his Radicalism on the abstract principles of Adam Smith:—

'The impression,' says he, 'which the "Wealth of Nations" made upon younger minds may be understood, even now, by any young politician who, nursed amid Conservative traditions, and trained amidst the Conservative surroundings of a great public school, ventures, upon the threshold of his career, before his convictions are confirmed, to open the "Wealth of Nations." The great truths, which will then dawn upon him for the first time, may possibly lead to no immediate change in his habits or in his professed opinions; but they will slowly and surely induce a change of thought, which will gradually undermine the faith of his boyhood, and replace it with a broader and more generous creed.'—Vol. i. p. 331.

Here we have, presumably, a touch of autobiography, which indeed is not without some pathos of the Rip van Winkle kind; for we can scarcely imagine a modern Eton schoolboy suddenly converted from the Conservative to the Liberal faith, by a precocious study of the 'Wealth of Nations,' at the very moment when the Liberal leaders and the Liberal journals are beginning to make merry over the old-fashioned doctrine of freedom of contract! However this may be, Mr. Walpole lets it plainly appear that he is still so convinced of the eternal truth of Mr. Cobden's principles, as to feel himself qualified to approach his subject with the gravity of a judge. He is aware that some may think 'the events of which he treats too recent to be dealt with *judicially*;' but this idea he dismisses with calm superiority.

'The same objection,' he says, in his Introduction, 'could have been raised to some of the greatest histories which the world has yet seen. The Author relies for replying to it on the avowed intention of one great authority. Macaulay, when he commenced his immortal history, contemplated as a final halting-place the Reform Bill of 1832. If it were legitimate in 1848 to contemplate writing the history of 1832, it must be legitimate in 1878 to contemplate writing the history of 1862.'

It is amusing to find Macaulay set up as a model of a 'judicial' historian; but let us take things as we find them, and proceed to consider what a disciple of Macaulay regards as a 'just' *résumé* of the course of events since 1815.

'During

'During the first few years which succeeded Waterloo,' writes Mr. Walpole, 'Englishmen enjoyed less real liberty than at any time since the Revolution of 1688. The great majority of the people had no voice in the Legislature. Political power was in the hands of a few fortunate individuals, who were bent on retaining the monopoly which they had secured. The tax-payers were laden with fiscal burdens which were unequal and ill-devised. Death was the punishment which the law awarded to the gravest and most trivial crimes. The pauper was treated as a criminal, and the administration of the Poor Laws made almost every labourer a pauper. Harsh and oppressive as the laws already were, the oligarchy, by which England was governed, was continually demanding harsher and more oppressive legislation. During the five years which succeeded Waterloo, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; the liberty of the press was restricted; the right of public meeting was denied; domiciliary visits in search of arms were allowed. The first volume of this work is an attempt to relate the history of the unhappy period during which these laws were made.

'Soon after the accession of George IV. to the throne, a new period of English history commenced. Mackintosh, following up the labours of Romilly, reformed the Criminal Code; Huskisson, adopting the doctrines of Adam Smith, reformed the Commercial System; Canning, rejecting the principles of Castlereagh, reformed the policy of the Foreign Office; a Tory Government, abandoning the traditions of its party, emancipated the Roman Catholics and the Dissenters; and a Whig Ministry, at length succeeding to power, reformed the Constitution of the House of Commons. These five great revolutions in law, in commerce, in foreign policy, in religion, and internal politics, were the memorable achievements of twelve years of progress. An attempt has been made to relate the history of these twelve years in the second volume of this work. It is proposed in future volumes to deal with the labours and doings of a Reformed Parliament.'

—Preface, pp. v. vi.

Now when they have read thus much of Mr. Walpole's Introduction, we venture to say that those, who are familiar with the history of the period which he undertakes, will be quite prepared to appreciate the character of his work. But the ingenuous reader, who is ready to repose on the authority of his instructor, and who will no doubt have been duly impressed by the author's superiority, requires to be told that he must not be too easy of belief. Let him remember then, that he is in the hands of a 'judicial' historian, and ask himself what are the elementary qualities which he may expect such a writer to possess.

In the first place he may fairly require from him accuracy; accuracy of expression, and accuracy of statement. In one of these respects, at least, Mr. Walpole might with advantage have

studied Macaulay, whose language, even if it is not 'judicial,' is beautifully correct. What would Macaulay have said to such sentences as the following? 'The standard of England floats now over the *most impregnable* fortifications in the world' (vol. i. 112). Impregnability is not a quality that admits of degrees of comparison. 'It would be well for the morality of public men if no *baser* charge could be brought against them' (vol. i. 97). It need not go ill with an accused person because a base charge is brought against him; it may, however, be the worse for his accuser. All that Mr. Walpole meant to say in this sentence was: 'It would be well if no more serious charge could be brought against public men;' but such simplicity of expression would probably have seemed to him common-place. His meaning, however, is plain, but in the following sentence he means just the opposite of what he says: 'The Roman Catholics were *only* able to muster 117 *fewer* votes in 1815 than 1813' (vol. ii. p. 195). Any one would suppose from this that the Roman Catholics were trying to reduce the number of votes in their favour! Mr. Walpole apparently meant to write either: 'The Roman Catholics, who, in 1813, had mustered so many votes, were, in 1815, able to muster only so many;' or 'The Roman Catholics, who in 1813 mustered such and such a number, in 1815 mustered 117 less.' As it is, through a confused way of thinking, he has fallen hopelessly between the two stools. A similar confusion is found in the following sentence: 'It was one thing for *even* a humane politician to regret the existence of an indefensible and *even* horrible trade' (vol. i. p. 117). And again: 'There is *no* reason to suppose that Palmerston did *not* regret the separation of his country from France. He thought it inevitable, and, so thinking, broke from Soult and Thiers *without* regret and without explanation' (vol. iii. p. 653). After this the reader will not be surprised to find that 'the dullest *spirit* feels his *blood* stirred when he sees the spot where Scott was born' (vol. i. p. 105); or that 'on one occasion she (the Princess of Wales) had to *lay* down in a cattle shed' (vol. i. p. 552); or that Scotland, in Mr. Walpole's opinion, is not included in Great Britain: 'The rental of land in Scotland rose from 2,000,000*l.* in 1795 to 5,278,000*l.* in 1815. The rental of land in Great Britain did not probably increase with equal rapidity. But in some cases the increase was very marked. In the county of *Essex* farms could be pointed out,' &c. (vol. i. p. 166). Errors of this kind abound throughout Mr. Walpole's volumes; those which we have selected indicate characteristically the hopeless inaccuracy of his methods of expression.

A still

A still more serious disqualification in a judge is inaccuracy in the statement of facts. It is not often that Mr. Walpole makes references to the history of England before the period with which he is dealing himself, but, whenever he does, the sweeping nature of his remarks is unfortunately suggestive of the extent of his information. Here are a few instances. After giving an account of Brougham's attack on the Civil List in 1820, he proceeds: 'He was met by Canning with arguments which might have been employed by a Tory Minister in the reign of George II.' (vol. ii. p. 11). Can Mr. Walpole name a single *Tory* Premier, or indeed a leading *Tory* Minister of any kind, in George II.'s reign? There was, it is true, a Minister, whose long and jealous monopoly of power under that monarch exposed him to the charge of favouring Absolutism; but he was a Whig, and his name was Walpole. Again we are told: 'Walpole developed the Excise and devised the Warehousing System' (vol. i. p. 41). We thought that 'every schoolboy' knew that one of the most serious defeats, which Sir Robert Walpole ever experienced, was incurred in consequence of the introduction of his Excise Bill in 1733; that he was obliged to withdraw the Bill; and that he never again attempted to revive the scheme. The foundations of the Warehousing System were not laid till 1803. Equally incorrect is the account which Mr. Walpole gives of the Licensing Act of 1737.

'Encouraged,' he says, 'by the success of "Pasquin," Fielding wrote, and offered to the proprietors of the Goodman's Fields Theatre a farce called "The Golden Rump." "The Golden Rump" was too plain-spoken even for the then manager of a theatre. The manager of the Goodman's Fields Theatre gave up the manuscript to Walpole. Walpole showed it privately to members on both sides of the House. They promised to co-operate with him in a Bill to restrain the license of the Stage, and Walpole accordingly introduced the measure which is known in history as the Playhouse Bill.'—Vol. iii. p. 71.

The confident tone in which this story is told might lead the unsuspecting reader to accept it without hesitation; yet the only part of it which is trustworthy is the statement as to the manner in which the Bill was introduced into Parliament. We are informed that the author of the 'Golden Rump' was Fielding; as a matter of fact the name of the author is unknown. We further learn that it was written in consequence of the success of Fielding's 'Pasquin.' Of this there is no evidence. The hypothesis, of course, is probable enough; but, on the other hand, it was suspected by some that the play was written at the instigation of Walpole himself, that his hands might be strengthened in carrying his Bill through the House.

Our historian further assures us that the farce proved too strong even for the manager to whom it was offered, and that he '*gave up the manuscript*' to Walpole. Giffard, the manager in question, certainly brought the farce to Walpole, but Archdeacon Coxe says that it is doubtful whether he wished to ask the Minister's advice or to extort money from him; he says nothing at all about the manuscript being '*given up*' from public motives. Walpole paid Giffard the profits which might have accrued from the representation of the piece, and detained the manuscript, which he used for the purpose described in the above extract.

Perhaps it may be thought that these errors arise from mere lapses of memory, and that, when he is on his own ground, Mr. Walpole's statements of facts may be accepted as accurate. We have now to show that, so far from this being the case, his most prodigious blunders are to be found in his narrative of comparatively recent events. We shall see that, either from perversity, carelessness, or incapacity, he misquotes or misinterprets the very authorities from whom he professes to derive his opinions, and that he is himself far from understanding many of the difficult questions which he undertakes to explain to the reader. So inveterate is his inaccuracy, that he sometimes commits himself to a statement, which is not only entirely contrary to fact, but which is immediately afterwards contradicted by another statement of his own. Thus, speaking of Huskisson, he says:—

'Alone among the Tory Ministry, Huskisson had accepted the truths of Adam Smith's Gospel, and was prepared to act as far as possible on the principles of Free-trade.'—Vol. i. p. 498.

It is almost needless to say that this assertion is entirely incorrect. Huskisson could not have acted apart from the Cabinet to which he belonged, and Lord Liverpool, with Canning, Peel, and Robinson, were, like Huskisson, in favour of removing unnecessary restrictions on trade. Mr. Walpole himself afterwards demonstrates this, for he says:—

'Lord Bexley . . . introduced the Bill [brought in by Huskisson for the repeal of the Spitalfields Acts]. The Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, supported Lord Bexley.'—Vol. ii. p. 106.

Mr. Walpole further says of Huskisson:—

'While the Cabinet had only agreed that something must be done with the Corn Laws, Huskisson had publicly announced his preference for Free-trade.'—Vol. ii. p. 433.

Huskisson was never in favour of Free-trade, in Mr. Cobden's sense of the word. He was one of the authors of the sliding
scale

scale of protective duties on corn, and any one, who will take the trouble to read his numerous speeches on the Corn Laws, will see that he consistently maintained the necessity of protecting English agriculture.

The following is an instance in which Mr. Walpole's carelessness, or (which would be worse) his party spirit, has caused him to misrepresent the conduct of a Tory Ministry :—

‘The British Government declined to evacuate the island (Malta), though they adopted expedients for its retention which it is difficult to read without a sense of shame.’

‘The account of Lord Whitworth's attempt to retain Malta, by bribing Napoleon's family, will be found in Yonge's “Life of Lord Liverpool,” vol. i. pp. 107–116.—Vol. i. p. 112.

We turn to the authority whose revelations have caused Mr. Walpole to blush for his countrymen, and we find that the suggestion of bribery was made to Lord Whitworth, by a person in the confidence of Lucien and Joseph Bonaparte. The British Government did *not* ‘adopt the expedient of bribery for the retention of Malta,’ which Lord Whitworth submitted for their consideration as a means of averting war, and which as statesmen they were certainly bound to consider, but which, as Mr. Yonge observes, could not have been employed without a vote from Parliament. Addington, who was then Prime Minister, was not in favour of the plan, and no serious negotiations upon it took place.

English history, after the battle of Waterloo, both in respect of finance, party arrangement, and foreign policy, is so perplexing, that long and patient study is required to unravel its intricacies, and still more to explain these to the public. Mr. Walpole seems to have thought it sufficient to approach the subject with a strong antipathy to Toryism, a half-acquaintance with the principles of Adam Smith, and a boundless confidence in himself. The consequence is, that he displays a very imperfect appreciation of the motives and position of many of the public men of the period, and altogether misrepresents the character of much of their legislation. He is often betrayed into the oddest confusions and contradictions by his craving for general effect. Thus, in a description of the state of the Tory party under Canning's leadership, he tells us :

‘All the leading members of the Cabinet in the House of Commons, except Peel, supported the policy of Canning. The Tory members of the House of Commons, however, bitterly detested the doctrines of the front bench. They desired to rally round Peel, and to throw over their nominal leader.’—Vol. ii. p. 433.

But

But in the very next page he says:

'In the House of Commons they (the Tories) had literally no representative of weight or ability. Peel indeed agreed with them on the Roman Catholic Question, but he differed from them on every other subject of foreign, commercial, or domestic policy.'—*Ibid.* p. 434.

And in yet further contradiction of himself, he says of the Duke of Wellington's Ministry, of which Peel was a prominent member:

'The Duke of Wellington had at last (1828) placed himself at the head of a purely Tory administration. An unadulterated Cabinet of this description had not existed for twenty years.'—*Vol. ii.* p. 485.

In this 'unadulterated Cabinet' Lord Ellenborough was Lord Privy Seal, and afterwards President of the India Board; and he, so far from being a Tory, had decided Whig leanings, and, as we see from his diary, was constantly trying to bring Lord Grey, Lord Althorp, &c., into the Ministry. Mr. Walpole further speaks of 'Bathurst and Ellenborough as the leaders of the Protestant party in the Ministry' (*vol. ii.* p. 500); but Lord Ellenborough's diary shows him to have been most eager for Catholic Emancipation, and very bitter against those of his colleagues who supported Protestant views.

Lord Palmerston is thus described:—

'Palmerston replaced Aberdeen at the Foreign Office. . . . People refused to believe that the *young Irish peer*, who was the delight of society, could have time or capacity to spare for the routine duties of his department.'—*Vol. iii.* p. 540.

If Mr. Walpole had valued accuracy as much as flash he might have discovered that 'the young Irish peer' had at the time of which he is speaking (1830), reached the mature age of forty-six.

His blunders in describing constitutional procedure or parliamentary legislation are so numerous, that we find some difficulty in selecting the most typical instances.

'Three days,' says he, 'after the news of Navarin reached this country, the Gazette announced that Codrington had received the Grand Cross of the Bath, and that some of his officers had been made Knights Commanders of the Bath for their services in the action. The King and the Duke of Clarence had practically settled the question, on which the Ministry had been anxiously deliberating. It was clearly impossible to recall the Admiral whom the Sovereign had just rewarded.'—*Vol. ii.* p. 554.

Mr. Walpole therefore evidently supposes that the honours in question

question could have been conferred by 'the King and the Duke of Clarence' without the advice of the King's Ministers! An error of this kind is sufficient in itself to indicate the extent of his acquaintance with the English Constitution.

His incurable inaccuracy is still more manifest in his historical disquisitions on the nature of the reforms introduced during the reign of George IV. As a study of the pitfalls that await writers, who compose history in Mr. Walpole's spirit, it is worth while to examine in detail his account of the Navigation Laws.

'The first Navigation Act,' says he, 'was passed in the days of the Commonwealth. The system which it introduced was perfected after the Restoration.'—Vol. ii. p. 82.

The Navigation Act of Charles II. (1660) was in some respects apparently less stringent than the Act of the Commonwealth (1652), but for all practical purposes its effects were the same.

Mr. Walpole goes on to describe this Act as

'A law which imposed heavy duties on goods imported in foreign vessels from any European port, and which would not allow them to be imported at all in Dutch vessels.'

This is incorrect. What the Navigation Act did, in respect of duties, was to declare, not that all European produce should be subject to heavy duties, when imported in foreign vessels; but that certain enumerated goods could only be brought into England, either in ships of which the owners, masters, and three-fourths of the mariners were English subjects, or in ships of the country where those goods were produced, and of which the owners, masters, and three-fourths of the mariners were of that particular country; and in the latter case the goods were subject to the heavier aliens' duty. It is not true that the Act 'would not allow goods to be imported at all in Dutch vessels.' There was nothing in it to prevent *bonâ fide* Dutch produce from being imported from Holland in ships of that country.

As to the changes in these laws in 1822, after a very meagre and imperfect account of the negotiations on the subject between this country and the United States, he says:—

'Wallace . . . succeeded in carrying in 1822 five Bills. . . . The second of them repealed the provisions of the Act [of Charles II.] which forbade the importation of European produce into Britain, except in British bottoms, or in European vessels, not being Dutch, sailing direct from the port of production. The third Bill re-enacted the provisions which had thus been repealed, omitting the exception, which

which the jealousy of Dutch rivalry had inserted in the original Navigation Act.'—Vol. ii. p. 84.

This statement, short as it is, is crowded with errors. The Navigation Laws did not impose any prohibition on the importation of European produce generally, but only on that of certain enumerated goods. And those goods could not be imported in *any* foreign vessels sailing from the port of production, but only in such foreign vessels as belonged to the country of growth, or to the usual port of first shipment. The third Bill did not do anything so ridiculous as simply to re-enact the provisions which had been repealed by the second Bill. Thirty-one provisions of the Navigation Act of Charles II. and subsequent statutes were repealed by the second of the Acts of 1822. These were modified in some important respects by the third Act. As to the omission of 'the exception' which Mr. Walpole supposes to exist in the 'original Navigation Act,' there was, as we have said, no such exception in it. What was omitted in 1822 was a provision introduced, two years after the passing of the Navigation Act of Charles II., into the *Statute of Frauds* in 1662, whereby the importation of various specified articles from the Netherlands or Germany, 'in any sort of ships or vessels whatsoever'—i. e. British as well as foreign—was prohibited. It is sufficiently evident that Mr. Walpole has never read any of the Acts which he attempts to describe.

The following is the account he gives of one of the famous 'Six Acts' of 1819:—

'From time immemorial every one had enjoyed the right to publish his own opinions on his own responsibility. . . . Security for the first time was demanded of every publisher.'—Vol. ii. p. 2-3.

From these expressions the reader is led to infer that the freedom of the press was as old as Magna Charta, but until 1695, when the last licensing Act expired, there was no such right as Mr. Walpole avers. This 'immemorial' right had only existed 124 years before 1819! By the Act in the latter year, to which allusion is made, *publishers of newspapers, or of political pamphlets in less than two sheets and sold for less than sixpence*, were required to enter into recognizances for the payment of any penalty, if convicted of publishing blasphemous or seditious libels. No other publishers were obliged to give security.

'The Ministry,' Mr. Walpole says in another place, 'at the same time insisted that every bookseller before commencing his business should

should enter into recognizances for his good behaviour.'—Vol. i. p. 521.

The Stamp Duties on Publications Act did not apply to *Booksellers*, but only to printers or publishers, with the limitations before mentioned. The only exception was that 'if any person should sell or expose to sale any pamphlet or other paper, not being duly stamped, such person should for every such offence forfeit the sum of Twenty Pounds' (Section 15). And those who came within the scope of the Bill (with the exception of persons *charged with having printed or published* a blasphemous, seditious, or malicious libel) were not required to enter into recognizances for 'good behaviour,' but for payment of possible penalties.

To turn to another point. The financial policy of the Tory Government between Waterloo and the Reform Bill of 1832 must necessarily occupy a considerable space in any history of the period. The subject is difficult enough to render mistakes excusable, but Mr. Walpole invites criticism by the pretentiousness of his style, and the arrogance of his criticisms.

'The financial arrangements of 1827, 1828, 1829,' he says, 'were comparatively unimportant. . . . The reductions [of both revenue and expenditure] in 1829 were due to the termination of Vansittart's scheme for commuting the life annuities for a fixed sum of 2,800,000*l.* a year. The trustees [for military and naval pensions] had disposed of a portion of their annuity to the Bank of England, in return for which the Bank had undertaken to pay the pensions up to 1828.'—Vol. ii. p. 544, note.

We have here a marvellous muddle. An annuity of 585,740*l.* for forty-four years had been sold to the Bank for 13,089,419*l.*, payable by instalments, the last of which was completed in 1828.* But though these receipts from the Bank ceased, the payment of the annuity to the Bank did not cease. All further sales of portions of the annuity vested in trustees were stopped in consequence of a recommendation of the Finance Committee. The Act of 1822, relating to military pensions, &c., was repealed in 1828, and the annual payments into the Exchequer, directed by it to be made by the trustees, therefore ceased; so that the *Revenue* was (in appearance at least) diminished by this amount. But the pensions themselves could not have expired along with the complicated machinery invented for their discharge. When Mr. Walpole speaks of a reduction of *expenditure*, in consequence of the abandonment of the arrangements of 1822, it is clear that he is bewildered by a matter of account. Mr. Goul-

* See Fourth Report of Finance Committee, 1828.

burn, in his Budget speech of 1829, pointed out the loss of *revenue* in consequence of the change in question, but he said nothing about a corresponding diminution of *expenditure*. Mr. Walpole makes another blunder when he says that in return for the annuity sold to it 'the Bank had undertaken to pay the pensions up to 1828.' The Bank did nothing of the kind. It merely agreed to pay in the course of six years instalments of the purchase-money into the Exchequer. 'The agreement [i. e. with the Bank] expired,' says Mr. Walpole, 'in 1828.' On the contrary, it was expressly maintained by the Act of that year which repealed the Pensions Act of 1822. Mr. Walpole supposes that the Bank received nothing but the very short annuity of 585,740*l.*, for six years in return for the aggregate payment of 13,089,419*l.*—a bargain not much to the credit of the business capacity of that great establishment!

Equally erroneous is the account given of Robinson's financial policy in 1823:—

'Robinson,' says Mr. Walpole, 'had converted a chronic deficit into a surplus by the simple process of ignoring the Sinking Fund.'—Vol. ii. p. 79.

Impossible. The Sinking Fund was regulated by Acts of Parliament then in existence, which no Chancellor of the Exchequer would have been at liberty to ignore. Robinson's surplus (as he himself stated in his Budget speech of 21st February, 1823) was to a large extent composed of receipts from the trustees of half-pay and pensions under the so-called 'Dead-weight arrangement' of the previous year (1822). This was in reality a covert mode of borrowing.* Mr. Walpole does not understand this.

'Four years before,' he continues, 'Vansittart had persuaded the House of Commons to resolve that, in order to make a progressive reduction in the debt, there should be a clear surplus of income over expenditure of not less than 5,000,000*l.* . . . Vansittart applied a sum of money which he had not got, and which he had no prospect of getting, except by borrowing. Robinson, on the contrary, proportioned his Sinking Fund to his Surplus, and devoted only the balance of income over expenditure to the reduction of debt: . . . It was no longer possible to complain that money was being borrowed in the open market for the purpose of maintaining a fictitious Sinking Fund.'—Vol. ii. pp. 80, 81.

In proposing his measure for a new Sinking Fund arrangement, Robinson stated distinctly (March 3, 1823) that it was

* See Fourth Report of Finance Committee, 1828.

founded on Vansittart's Resolution of 1819, which is indeed recited in the Preamble of the Act of 1823, prescribing the application of 5,000,000*l.* yearly to the reduction of debt, without any reservation as to the actual surplus. And the Fourth Report of the Finance Committee of 1828 shows that the aggregate amount so applied in the five years 1823-27 exceeded the balance of income over expenditure by no less than 6,871,290*l.*,—an excess which of course could only have been obtained by some method of borrowing. Robinson, as he said in answer to questions on 13th March, 1823, did contemplate the possible necessity of making up the required amount of 5,000,000*l.* by means of Exchequer Bills, or some other temporary expedient. A 'fictitious Sinking Fund' was in fact maintained by means chiefly of the Dead-weight system.

To expose within a short compass Mr. Walpole's extraordinary delusions as to the nature of England's foreign policy would be impossible. Two sentences, however, will indicate to those who have any acquaintance with the subject his qualifications to instruct the public on this point.

'The foreign policy of Britain,' he tells us, 'was based on the principles which Madame Krüdener had suggested and Alexander had adopted. . . . In 1826 and 1827 they (the Reformers) were supporting the generous revolution which Canning gradually introduced into the policy of the Foreign Office.'—Vol. ii. p. 1.

The idea that Great Britain ever adopted the policy of the Holy Alliance is too preposterous to deserve notice. Nor did Canning, as Mr. Walpole suggests, ever introduce any 'revolution' into the policy of the Foreign Office. Every one who has studied either Mr. Stapleton's 'Political Life of Canning' or the Duke of Wellington's Papers, must know that Canning and the 'Continental School' were entirely agreed that it was for the interest of England to preserve, as far as possible, a neutrality between the two extreme principles which divided the nations of the Continent; they differed only as to the extent to which the policy of non-intervention should be carried. Between the principles of Canning and those of the 'Reformers' there was absolutely nothing in common; for the latter were in favour of throwing the whole weight of England on the side of the Revolutionary party, whose aggressive policy Canning had spent his life in combating. Canning and Castlereagh considered above all things the interests of England and the peace of Europe; the leading principle of the Reformers was the triumph of the democratic idea. Nevertheless the writer, who displays this complete ignorance of the very elements of his subject, thinks
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himself entitled to criticize statesmen and diplomatists in the following terms:—

‘The Allies, in conquering France, had fancied that they had destroyed the Idea which had given France her energy. *Ignorant of history*, they were unacquainted with the failures of greater men than themselves in the same field. . . . The Revolution of 1789 had been due to the new Idea.’—Vol. iii. p. 537.

Among these ignoramuses were, Metternich, Hardenberg, Stein, W. von Humboldt, Nesselrode, Gentz, besides Liverpool and Castlereagh! All these, we are coolly assured, were unacquainted with the causes that produced, and the circumstances that accompanied, the French Revolution!

Thus far we have sought to give our readers some idea of Mr. Walpole’s intellectual capacity for forming ‘judicial’ opinions on the historical evidence with which he deals. We have now to consider his moral fitness for his task, and, in estimating this, we must in the first place remember that he is a convert. A descendant of the statesman who chiefly helped to build up the rule of the ‘oligarchy by which England was governed;’ the grandson of a distinguished Tory Minister at the beginning of the century; the son of one of the most respected living members of the Conservative party; he rose superior—so he leads us to infer—to the ‘traditions in which he had been nursed,’ in consequence of the light which he received from the ‘Wealth of Nations.’

‘Thebes did his green unknowing youth engage;
He chooses Athens in his riper age.’

Now converts are not as a rule disposed to regard dispassionately the faith which they have abandoned; and we do not find that Mr. Walpole, fully persuaded as he is of his ‘judicial’ qualities, is an exceptional convert. On the contrary, whenever he has occasion to mention any of those institutions which Conservatives are accustomed to reverence—Monarchy, Church, Aristocracy, Landed Property—he appears to us to think, with Mrs. Malaprop, that it is well ‘to begin with a little aversion.’ Here, for instance, is a pretty sweeping judgment on George III.

‘As a king, he dismissed the great Lord Chatham, and threw off the dominion of the Whig aristocracy; as a king, he selected the unfortunate and incompetent Bute as a minister; as king, he resisted the righteous revolt of America; as king, he refused to concede the just claims of his Roman Catholic subjects. Every act of his kingship proved disastrous to himself, and unfortunate for his country.’—Vol. i. p. 243.

The Church of England does not fare much better. Her motives

motives in founding the National Society are described as follows:—

‘Lancaster’s undoubted success attracted the enthusiastic support of the dissenting community, and the Lancaster schools were established in considerable numbers. Nothing could have been more favourable for the cause of education. *Respectable Churchmen were perfectly willing that the poorer classes should grow up in profound ignorance of the most elementary subjects; but they were not willing that they should be instructed by the emissaries of a rival sect.* The spread of the Lancaster schools led to the establishment of Church Schools organized by Bell, and an immense impulse was given to the cause of popular education.’—Vol. i. p. 215.

The House of Lords is a favourite mark for Mr. Walpole’s scurrility. From many instances of his insolent language about this branch of the Legislature we select one. It is well known that the Municipal Corporations Bill was passed through Parliament only by mutual concessions on the part of the two Houses. When the Commons, in Mr. Walpole’s narrative, give way to the Lords, they display a magnanimous self-restraint; when the Peers yield, their conduct is characterized in the following words:—

‘Every man interested in good government might be ready enough to attack the senators who were recklessly exposing themselves to the wishes of the nation. No man would take the trouble to attack the senators, who had abandoned their trenches, and run away from the contest. The peers had saved themselves from reform, but they had purchased their safety by making themselves contemptible.’—Vol. iii. p. 331.

But even the Lords have reason to be thankful when they compare their treatment at Mr. Walpole’s hands with that which he bestows on those, whom he sometimes calls ‘country gentlemen,’ and at others ‘the Tories.’ So surely as in Homer Hector is ‘high-crested,’ or Achilles ‘swift of foot,’ whenever our historian has occasion to mention the Tory party, he attaches to it some such epithet as ‘hot-headed,’ ‘stupid,’ ‘bigoted,’ or ‘ignorant.’ He exults over the diminution of the political power of the landed aristocracy, as if the passing of the first Reform Bill was only to be regarded as a triumph for the cause of Virtue and Intelligence. His joy betrays him into ridiculous exaggerations. ‘Before a third of the century was over,’ we are told, ‘the landowner’s position was altered; his *power was gone*, his privileges were abolished’ (vol. iii. p. 67). Tories and country gentlemen are always actuated in this History by the meanest motives. They appear to love abuses for their own sake. When Lord Grey in 1831 declared that he should enforce

enforce the law for the collection of tithes (a declaration which surely meant no more than that he was ready to perform the elementary duties of Government), 'the Tories,' Mr. Walpole says, 'were delighted at the announcement.' Passing at once from one extreme to the other, they regarded it as an intimation that the Prime Minister, at any rate, was in favour of maintaining the Irish Church, with all its abuses, in its integrity' (vol. iii. p. 118). If the country gentlemen in 1830 were in favour of an alteration in the Game Laws, they must, it seems, have cherished some sinister design, and Mr. Walpole is quite prepared to tell us what this was. 'Even the most advanced Tories, ready to sacrifice the liberty of the subject for the life of a pheasant, could not be contented with a system which imposed no discouragement on the poacher' (vol. iii. p. 64). No imputation is too gross for members of this unhappy connection, as the following passage will show:—

'Before 1832 the expense of the Ecclesiastical Establishment in Canada was defrayed out of the revenues of the United Kingdom. Even Tory Ministers, however, seem to have faintly realised the injustice of taxing the Irish Roman Catholic and the Scotch Presbyterian for the support of the bishops and clergy of the Church of England, and to have taken steps to conceal a grant which they were determined to maintain. By a misappropriation which, in another class of life, would have been regarded as a fraud, the cost of the Church Establishment in Canada was defrayed out of the vote for army extraordinaries.'—Vol. iii. p. 78.

Lord Grey, as Mr. Walpole tells us, decided to discontinue the grant, and

'The decision provoked the warm remonstrances of staunch Tories like Goulburn. They had seen no harm in misappropriating money for the sake of the Church. They were alarmed at the discontinuance of a grant which had only been obtained by a fraud. The supposed interests of religion have frequently tempted good and upright men to the commission of dishonourable acts. But this truth never received a clearer illustration than in the application of money voted for the army to the purpose of a sectarian Church.'—Vol. iii. p. 79.

Let us examine this very characteristic judgment. In the first place, as usual, it is inaccurate in statement. From the Finance Accounts and Estimates for 1832 and previous years, and from a correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Treasury, which is printed in the volume for the Session 1831-2, it appears that there had been regularly voted for some years, in the Miscellaneous Estimates, a sum of about 16,182*l.* towards the expenses of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Canada,

Canada, other North American Colonies, and the Cape. So far then there can be no imputation upon anybody. But besides this grant, certain 'salaries of the clergy of the Church of England, of the Roman Catholic Church, and of two Presbyterian clergymen in Canada,' amounting altogether to 6600*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*, had 'for a long series of years been defrayed by an advance from the military chest in aid of the expense of the Civil Government of the Province' (Colonial Office to Treasury, January 18, 1832). It is evident, however, that the sum in question could not have 'defrayed the cost of the Church Establishment in Canada;' and it is equally evident that it was not applied to the sole support 'of a sectarian Church.' Why the payment should have been made in this form does not appear, but almost any enquirer but Mr. Walpole would have seen, from two circumstances, that it could not have been so made for the purpose of concealing the appropriation from Parliament. In the first place the grant had been made 'for a long series of years' before 1832, and during that period money had been constantly and openly voted in Parliament for ecclesiastical objects connected with the colonies. In the second place, in the debate to which Mr. Walpole refers, nobody seems to have thought of accusing the Tory Government of fraudulent misappropriation. Yet had there been any grounds for such a charge, it is certain that, in the Radical temper of the first Reformed Parliament, it would have been vehemently urged. It has been left for a 'judicial' historian, writing half a century after the events which he describes, to invent and record a slander which the hottest partisans of the period never even conceived in idea!

The extracts which we have made, almost at random, from this 'History' will show the reader that to find any parallel to Mr. Walpole's 'judicial' style he must go back to the language of the Bench under the later Stuarts. Indeed, in his maledictions on the Tory party we are often reminded of the famous address of Jeffreys to Baxter, preserved for us by Mr. Walpole's favourite historian: 'Richard, Richard, dost thou think that we will let thee poison the Court? Richard, thou art an old knave. Thou hast written books enough to load a cart, and every book as full of sedition as an egg is full of meat. By the grace of God I'll look after thee. By the grace of God Almighty I will crush you all.'

An historian may be carried away by his feelings to form conclusions which are only unintentionally unjust; but the selection and arrangement of the premises, from which his conclusions are drawn, is an act of deliberation in which conscience must be actively alive to its duties. It will be well then to examine
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by what kind of methods Mr. Walpole attempts to establish the propositions which he advances in his Preface. He wishes to prove that 'the five concluding years of the reign of George III. form the most miserable epoch in modern English history' (vol. ii. p. 1); and also that this misery was chiefly the fault of 'the oligarchy by which England was then governed.' Now it is quite possible to agree with him as to the unhappiness of the period, but at the same time to perceive that this may have been produced by other causes than those to which he refers it; indeed no one can read the account, which he himself gives of the state of the nation after the battle of Waterloo, without seeing that many of the ills which England then endured were beyond the power of man to remove.

'The conclusion of the war did not increase the means or the numbers of foreign purchasers; it withdrew from the market of the world the vast demands which the war itself had occasioned. The people, burdened with taxation, found themselves no richer from the termination of the contest. The governments suddenly reduced their expenditure by one-half. Trade had been stimulated by the extravagant outlay of the belligerent nations. The first results of peace and retrenchment were to withdraw the demand by which industry had been sustained. Prices rapidly fell, and the general fall in prices diminished the demand for labour, and reduced the wages of the labouring classes who could still find work. Capital, to put the same thing in another way, failed to obtain the same amount of employment; the capitalists were unable to employ the same amount of labour. Thousands of labourers thrown out of employment were forced upon the rates. The remainder were compelled to accept lower wages.'—Vol. i. p. 402.

Surely such a state of affairs as that here described—the general dislocation of commerce following the rapid transition from war to peace, the fall of prices, the bad seasons, the want of employment, and the dearness of living—is sufficient to account for the widespread distress and discontent which prevailed in 1817, without the explanation that all these evils were produced by the stupidity and wickedness of the Tories. But 'No,' says Mr. Walpole, 'you cannot attribute the national misery simply to the evils inherent in the transition from war to peace.' Why not? 'Because,' says he, 'peace came; and most of the taxation under which the nation had been labouring was continued' (vol. ii. p. 1). Now here we have something different from mere false reasoning. Mr. Walpole must be aware that, in the five years in question, the amount of taxes taken off was 18,869,889*l.*, against 4,122,447*l.* new taxes imposed, making a nett remission of 14,747,442*l.*! Again, we are told that the evils
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of the time were in great part due to the despotism of the ruling classes. 'Harsh and oppressive as the laws already were, the oligarchy by which England was governed was continually demanding harsher and more oppressive legislation.' In support of this statement Mr. Walpole cites the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in 1817.

'From time immemorial every person accused of any offence had been entitled to a trial. The conclusion of the great war was followed by the arbitrary and unnecessary suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.'—Vol. ii. p. 3.

Arbitrary and unnecessary! And again our old friend 'Time immemorial!' Mr. Walpole seems to wish the reader to suppose that the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in 1817, for the first time, and by the *arbitrary* act of the Government. Yet he ought to know, if he does not, that between the Revolution of 1688 and 1745 the Act had been suspended nine times, and from 1794 to 1801 continuously. Again, as to the necessity of the measure, Mr. Walpole, writing more than sixty years afterwards, is inclined to make light of the social dangers, which the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in 1817 was designed to avert. But such was by no means the public feeling at the time. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in that year was recommended by two Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament, and their recommendation was based on the reports of the magistracy in all parts of the kingdom, and at the instance among others of so staunch a Whig as Earl Fitzwilliam. The whole structure of society was threatened by numerous societies advocating the wildest principles of the French Revolution; and these opinions, acting on the starving and disaffected population, had excited a desperate feeling in the lower classes, the strength of which was afterwards indicated by the horrible Cato Street Conspiracy. The character of the situation is thus summarized in the Report of the two Houses:—

'They have found in the papers referred to them such evidence as leaves no doubt in their minds that a traitorous conspiracy has been formed in the metropolis for the purpose of overthrowing, by means of a general insurrection, the established government, laws and constitution of the kingdom, and of effecting a general plunder and division of property.'

Considering that this 'History' is written by a member of that party which, since the passing of the first Reform Bill, has been distinguished for the number and severity of the Coercion Bills it has introduced for the better government of

Ireland, it might have been expected that some weight would have been attached to evidence of this kind. But the judicially-minded Mr. Walpole only notices it to dismiss it as undeserving of consideration.

The hatred, with which Mr. Walpole pursues the aristocracy while in power, becomes even more pronounced when, after the first Reform Bill, he finds them in Opposition. His general *animus* may be inferred from his narrative of the passing through the two Houses of the Irish Tithes Bill and the Municipal Corporations Bill. The Tories resisted these measures as they were first introduced, on the grounds that both of them made violent encroachments on the rights of property, and that the Constitutional alterations proposed in the latter were crude and revolutionary. It will be sufficient to examine Mr. Walpole's account of their reception of this Bill. The Municipal Corporations Bill was based on the report of a Commission composed of strong partisans; the evidence, on which the recommendations of the Commission were grounded, was not produced; many Charities connected with the existing Corporations were interfered with; and the Reform question, which both parties had agreed to regard as settled by the Bill of 1832, was reopened by the disfranchisement of the freemen. Yet in spite of these sweeping changes the Ministry pressed the Bill through the House of Commons, without making the slightest concession to their opponents, and it was therefore left to the House of Lords to revise the results of rash and hasty legislation. The fortunes of the measure are characteristically described by Mr. Walpole. In the first place the moderation of the Conservatives, in not opposing the principle of the Bill, is thus rewarded:—

‘The Tories hated Reform, but they were powerless in the Commons without Peel. They were compelled therefore to conceal their dissatisfaction.’—Vol. iii. p. 322.

When the Bill reached the Upper House,

‘The Lords,’ we are told, ‘still clinging to the obsolete privileges of their order, rallied in the defence of abuses.’—*Ibid.* p. 323.

This statement is supported by the fact, that the Peers decided that counsel should be heard in support of a petition from Coventry against the Bill. The Lords, it is implied, wished to defeat the Bill by delay; but Mr. Walpole says nothing about the manner in which the Commission was composed, nothing of the complaints which came in from all sides of the one-sided way in which the Commission collected the evidence on which
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its report was based, nothing of the fact that the evidence itself was not produced! Had he mentioned these matters, the reader would have seen that the Lords were merely consulting the interests of justice in hearing counsel on the Bill; but this would have spoiled his party argument. Again he is unable to deny that the Lords entirely transformed the Bill.

'On the 13th,' says he, 'the Lords decided by 130 votes to 87 to preserve for ever all the rights of freemen. On the 14th they determined by 120 votes to 39 that the Council should be elected from the ratepayers who paid on the highest rate of assessment. On the 17th, by 126 votes to 34 they introduced aldermen elected for life into every council. The Opposition had by this time shown so much power that the Government ceased to divide against their amendments. In the next few nights the powers of existing justices were preserved for life; the task of dividing boroughs into wards was taken from the King in Council, and entrusted to revising barristers: the licensing powers were taken from the town councils and transferred to the county magistrates; the office of town clerk was made tenable during good behaviour, and the management of the Church property of Corporations was entrusted to those members of the council who happened to belong to the Church of England.'—*Ibid.* p. 325-6.

These alterations, it will be seen, were of the greatest importance; it would have been fairer in Mr. Walpole to have added that many of them had been previously suggested in the Commons, but had been set aside by the uncompromising policy of the Government. He has, however, to make the best of the disagreeable record, that the Peers had considerably tempered the democratic legislation of the Commons. The ingenuity with which he performs this feat is truly remarkable. In the first place he begins by stating that 'the triumph of the Lords was short;' and he supports this statement by enumerating the various amendments of the Lords, which the Commons accepted or rejected, in such a manner as to lead a hasty reader to suppose that those which were rejected were equal in value to those which were accepted. Whereas the fact is that, with the exception of the appointment of aldermen for life, the Commons accepted either wholly or in part all the more important alterations made by the Lords, including the preservation of the political franchise to the freemen, a question which had provoked the most vehement feeling! In the second place Mr. Walpole represents Peel as taking up a position antagonistic to the Lords.

'Peel agreed with Russell in objecting to aldermen for life; he agreed with Russell in abolishing the exclusive trading privileges of freemen. He offered to compromise the question of town councillors in the manner which Russell had suggested; and he only supported

his late Tory colleagues against the Ministry on the comparatively unimportant points of the irremovability of town clerks and the management of ecclesiastical property.'—*Ibid.* p. 328.

Who could infer from this that Peel was showing himself ready to meet the Ministry halfway, when he saw that they were prepared to consider the alterations in the Bill which had been made by the Lords, or that the Ministry themselves were making concessions which they had haughtily refused when the Bill was first passing through the Commons? In the third place, Mr. Walpole depicts the Peers as meditating a stubborn resistance to the re-amended Bill returned from the Lower House. But as a matter of fact there was not the shadow of a conflict. The Lords accepted the alterations of the Commons with two exceptions, and, as Mr. Walpole says, 'their reasons for disagreeing with these were explained at a Conference between the two Houses,' after which the Commons in their turn yielded the point!

We reserve for the crowning example of Mr. Walpole's 'judicial' method the account which he gives of the formation of Lord Goderich's Ministry, and we shall subject this to a more detailed examination, both because the subject is curious and interesting in itself, because the treatment it receives in this 'History' is highly characteristic, and also because, as will be presently seen, the honour and reputation of a statesman, whose children are still alive, are affected by Mr. Walpole's statements.

'Two days before his death, Canning's colleagues had met together to discuss their own procedure. They had determined to stand by one another. Lord Lansdowne was deputed to go to Windsor, and announce the Minister's death to the King. The King sent for Lord Goderich and Sturges Bourne, the most intimate of Canning's friends, and desired Lord Goderich to form a Ministry. The task was easily completed. Lord Lansdowne and the Whigs stood by the new Minister. Wellington was induced to resume the command of the army. Lord Goderich succeeded to Canning's office as First Lord of the Treasury. Huskisson replaced Goderich in the Colonial Office, and was entrusted with the lead of the House of Commons; and Charles Grant, who had been the Vice-President of the Board, was promoted to the Presidency of the Board of Trade in succession to Huskisson. One office alone occasioned the new Minister some embarrassment. Goderich desired to complete the arrangement which Canning had contemplated and secure Palmerston as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Immediately after his own appointment he offered Palmerston the office. But Goderich proved as incapable as Canning of redeeming the pledge which he had thus given. The King, intent on building palaces in London and on making fresh improvements at Windsor was anxious to have "a creature of his own at the Exchequer."

Exchequer." The "fittest man in England for the office," according to the King's estimation, was Herries. Herries had been private secretary years before to Vansittart; he had subsequently acted as private secretary to Perceval. He had been rewarded for his services by the Auditorship of the Civil List, a situation to which the substantial remuneration of 1400*l.* a year was attached; and in 1820 he had been promoted to the Secretaryship of the Treasury. Sitting with Canning for Harwich, enjoying Goderich's confidence in the Treasury, he had gained the friendship of both of these Ministers; but he had acquired no Parliamentary distinction which justified his promotion. He either believed or affected to regard himself unequal to the high office which was thrust upon him. He professed his readiness to accept a subordinate situation in the Ministry, and only yielded at the personal intervention of the King.

The King's preference had apparently secured the Chancellorship of the Exchequer for Herries; but the mere announcement of the King's intention raised a storm of opposition among the Whig members of the Cabinet. The Whigs objected to the appointment of a "Tory clerk" to the Exchequer; they differed from Herries' views; they disliked the circumstances under which the appointment was made; and they insisted on the reconsideration of the arrangement. The annoyance of the Whigs was the greater because they had desired Lord Holland's admission to the Cabinet, and the King refused to avail himself of Lord Holland's services. The Whigs, under these circumstances, became so angry that they threatened to leave the Ministry in a body; and the quarrel was only temporarily arranged by Goderich going down to Windsor, and obtaining a temporary postponement of Herries' appointment. Huskisson, since the conclusion of the Session, had been travelling on the Continent. A special messenger had been sent out to him with the particulars of Canning's death, and with the offer of the Colonial Office; and the distracted Cabinet decided on letting Herries' appointment rest till Huskisson's return. In the meanwhile a paragraph was sent to the newspapers, which had announced Herries' promotion, to explain that the appointment had not been definitely made. For a few days the newspapers joined in a chorus of praise of the Tory clerk, so loud and so unmeasured in its strain as to suggest a doubt of its sincerity. "*Courier*," "*Post*," "*Times*," "*New Times*," "*Sun*," and "*Herald*," inserted their little paragraphs in praise of the Minister designate. The Funds, it was stated, fell on the mere rumour that Herries had declined the office; the City recovered its complacency on a report that he had accepted it. George IV.'s declaration that the Tory clerk was the fittest man in England for the office was almost justified by the language of the Press.

The praise was probably overdone; the reaction was suddenly coming. Towards the end of August a newspaper hinted that Herries was connected with a great capitalist, the arbiter of the European Exchanges. The "*Chronicle*" immediately denounced the connection, and declared that it disqualified Herries for the Exchequer.

chequer. The "Courier" contradicted the "Chronicle;" the "Chronicle" replied to the "Courier;" and for a week people thought of nothing but the acquaintance of Herries with Rothschild. The "Times," which was supposed to favour the Whig section of the Cabinet, threw its weight into the scale against Herries, reserving its article for the very day on which Huskisson reached England. Huskisson required, however, very little encouragement to induce him to oppose the appointment; and his language was so firm that the King was persuaded to reconsider the contemplated arrangement. George IV. suggested that Huskisson should take the Exchequer. But Huskisson preferred the quiet of the Colonial Office. Sturges Bourne and Tierney, to whom the Exchequer was subsequently offered, also shrank from the responsibilities of the office. The King thereupon fell back upon Herries. Lord Lansdowne resigned, but withdrew his resignation; and the world was assured that the Ministry was complete, and that the "fittest man in England" had accepted the Chancellorship of the Exchequer.'—Vol. ii. pp. 460–463.

Mr. Walpole's story of 'this intrigue,' as he calls it, is founded partly on Lord Palmerston's Autobiography, partly on Mr. Greville's 'Memoirs,' and the writer appears to fortify himself by general references to the 'Colchester Diary,' and to the 'newspapers of the day.' Now 'Lord Palmerston's Life' is the work of one who had become a strong anti-Tory partisan, and whose interests, throughout this episode, ran somewhat counter to those of Mr. Herries; while the value of Mr. Greville's gossip has been sufficiently tested before now in these pages. As to the 'Colchester Diary,' it confirms Mr. Walpole's account in precisely the same manner as Mr. Yonge's 'Life of Lord Liverpool' (which, as we have shown before, is quoted by Mr. Walpole as his authority) confirms his story of the bribery proposal with regard to Malta; that is to say, it directly contradicts it. The 'newspapers of the day' are used by Mr. Walpole in a manner that will presently appear. Considering the relations subsisting between Mr. Herries and Mr. Walpole's father, we should have thought that natural good feeling would have made the writer reluctant to accept evidence tending to the discredit of the former; that he would have applied for information on the subject to Mr. Herries's family, and that, at any rate, even if he felt himself obliged to form an adverse judgment, he would have let the reader know what was to be said in Mr. Herries's defence. It will be seen, however, that the above passage seems to justify the historian's disparaging estimate of Kings 'as such,' by representing George IV. in odious colours; that on the contrary it places the Whigs in the most advantageous light as the defenders of virtue and the public interest; and that the person, who is made to figure as the

the hero of the 'intrigue,' is described as a 'Tory clerk,' 'a creature of the King,' a man 'who believed, or affected to regard himself, as unequal to the high office that had been thrust upon him,' and—worst of all—one who was 'connected' (presumably in an ambiguous manner) 'with a great capitalist, the arbiter of the European Exchanges.' Justly indignant at the treatment which their father has received from the son of one of his old friends and colleagues, the sons of Mr. Herries have produced a Memoir of that once respected statesman, which, while it completely vindicates his character from Mr. Walpole's aspersions, is also of considerable historical interest, as furnishing us with a trustworthy account of the circumstances attending the formation of the Goderich Ministry. The style of Mr. Herries, the writer of the Memoir, contrasts curiously with that of Mr. Walpole. It is plain and unaffected; and, in the consciousness that he is defending a just cause, he commits himself to no statement that he cannot establish by evidence. His 'Memoir' shows that, instead of the King having behaved in a dishonourable manner, Lord Goderich testifies that he had 'behaved admirably'; that Mr. Herries was not nominated to the Exchequer by George IV., but by Lord Goderich; that his financial reputation stood as high as that of any man in England; that his connection with Rothschild had been formed in the service of the State; and that the letter in the 'Morning Chronicle' was inserted at the instigation of the Whigs, who, so far from being animated by lofty motives in their opposition to the appointment of Herries, were simply bent on bringing Lord Holland into the Cabinet, in order to secure the predominance of their own connection.

It is necessary to recal for a moment to the mind of the reader the position of parties after the death of Canning. Since the resignation of Pitt in 1801, the Tory party had been divided into two sections holding divergent views on the Catholic Question, and a constant difficulty had been experienced in the choice of leaders, under whom both divisions might consent to serve. Such a chief had been found in Lord Liverpool, under whose captaincy the Tory party, even in its divided state, had maintained its ascendancy for fourteen years. When Lord Liverpool was unable any longer to take part in affairs, the leadership, by right of genius and Parliamentary experience, fell naturally to Canning. But, from various causes, the accession of that statesman to the Premiership was displeasing to some of the most influential members of the Tory party; and the refusal of Wellington, Peel, and others, to serve under him caused him to turn for assistance to the Whigs. This party

party had been long exiles from power. Their factious intrigues in 1784, and the unpatriotic attitude, which many of their leaders had maintained at several crises of the Napoleonic war, had discredited them with the nation. But in the period of social and commercial suffering, which followed the conclusion of that war, these faults were forgotten, and the Whigs had undoubtedly made a step towards retrieving their forfeited position by encouraging the growth of the public discontent. Between themselves and Canning the only question, on which a serious difference of political opinion existed, was Parliamentary Reform, which Canning was inflexibly determined to resist. The Whigs on their side betrayed the extent of their convictions on this subject, by consenting not only to shelve it, but even to oppose it if it were mooted in Parliament; and on this condition they were again admitted to a share in those sweets of office, which—if we except the brief interval when the Ministry of ‘All the Talents’ were in power—they had not tasted since 1784. But the premature death of Canning deprived the Coalition Ministry of the only man to whom both Whigs and Tories could render a willing obedience; and, at the point where Mr. Walpole’s narrative begins, Lord Goderich had been summoned by the King to assume the Premiership, in the hope that, like Lord Liverpool, he might be able to reconcile the rival sections of the Cabinet. Unfortunately, as the sequel proved, the difficulties with which Goderich had to contend were far more serious than those which existed at the death of Perceval; while he himself was totally deficient in the tact and judgment which had given Lord Liverpool his long ascendancy.

The following account of the circumstances connected with the formation of the Ministry is condensed from Mr. Herries’s diary, which is in every single particular of importance confirmed in a letter dated August 21st, 1827, from Mr. Planta (one of the Secretaries to the Treasury, and in that position holding confidential intercourse with all the actors in the drama) to Mr. Huskisson. On August 10th Mr. Herries writes: ‘On Friday Lord Goderich called on me with Mr. Planta. He told me that *the King*’ (who, it will be remembered, wanted, according to Mr. Walpole, ‘a creature of his own’ at the Exchequer) ‘had proposed to Mr. Sturges Bourne to be Chancellor of the Exchequer while he was at Windsor.’ Bourne, however, declined the appointment. On August 12th Mr. Herries makes an entry that he has heard from Mr. Planta that ‘Lord Goderich was thinking of him for Chancellor of the Exchequer,’ and the next day he says:

‘This day I came to town as was desired by Lord Goderich. I saw the
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the Lord Chancellor first at Lincoln's Inn, in my way to Downing Street. He told me that the King desired him to convey to me his own particular wish that I should accept the office of Chancellor, which Lord Goderich would offer me.'

'I afterwards saw Lord Goderich on his return from Windsor in the evening, and he told me that the King desired I would undertake the office and come to him to-morrow morning to kiss hands, after which I might go abroad and take care of my health for a time.

'Lord Goderich expressed himself to be much gratified with this result, which he communicated to me with much cordiality.'

It is obvious then that, up to this point, Lord Goderich could not have thought of making Lord Palmerston Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Herries, however, feeling that the state of his health would render him unfit for so arduous a position, wrote a formal letter (August 14th) to Lord Goderich declining the office. But the same day he received a pressing message from Windsor, which, as he says, 'forced me to reconsider my refusal,' and he accordingly wrote privately that 'he would do his best to meet His Majesty's wishes,' but that 'in that case he must have some rest and absence from business immediately.' Not long afterwards Lord Goderich, having seen this private letter, which was addressed to Sir William Knighton, came to Mr. Herries, evidently in some embarrassment which, as it appears (though he was not frank enough to confide the reason to Herries), was caused by his having in the meantime offered the Exchequer to Lord Palmerston. Herries reassured him by begging him to consider himself at perfect liberty to make use of the formal refusal which he held in his hands, and Goderich seems to have acted on this permission. The King, however, remained steadfast to his resolution, and on August 16th Goderich informed Herries that His Majesty desired that he would attend the next day to receive the seals.

Thus far we have seen with how much accuracy Mr. Walpole describes the opening of the negotiations; his account of the motives of the different parties is equally confident and equally groundless. To begin with the King. George IV., we are told, 'intent on building palaces in London and making fresh improvements at Windsor, was anxious to have a "creature of his own" at the Exchequer.' We are not told from what authority Mr. Walpole has obtained his knowledge of the King's designs, or what the 'palaces' were which in 1827 George IV. was 'intent on building.' Buckingham Palace was far advanced towards completion in that year, and no other palace, as far as we know, was in contemplation. As to the King's general wishes

wishes on the subject, Nash, the royal architect, writing to the Buckingham Palace Committee in 1831, gives evidence to the following effect:—

‘His late Majesty’s intentions and commands were to convert Buckingham House into a private residence for himself . . . The late King constantly persisted that he would not build a palace. . . . One day His Majesty took me to Lord Farnborough, and said good-humouredly, “Long, now remember I tell Nash before you at his peril ever to advise me to build a palace. If the public wish to have a palace, I have no objection to build one, but I must have a *pied-à-terre*.”’

Mr. Walpole’s charges against this ‘monster of a King’ are therefore hardly to be sustained; and as to the Monarch’s ‘creature,’ we need only say, that not Herries, but *Canning*, *Goderich*, and *Liverpool*, were responsible for the appropriations for Buckingham House, and that with regard to the ‘fresh improvements at Windsor,’ during the whole of Herries’s tenure of office at the Exchequer no estimate for any additional works was passed by the Windsor Castle Commission.

But what of the Whigs, the public-spirited Whigs, by whom Herries’s appointment was so stoutly resisted? In Mr. Walpole’s pages they play the noble part of defenders of liberty against a despotic and extravagant King, grounding their opposition to the appointment of Herries on the scandal of elevating a mere ‘Tory clerk’ to an office of such importance. Now, as a matter of fact, Mr. Herries was recognized at the time as nearly, if not quite, the first financier in the country. As Commissary-in-Chief he had been charged, towards the close of the Napoleonic war, with the arduous duty of furnishing supplies for the army, and had conducted, on his own responsibility, a wide correspondence with foreign Governments, together with extensive and successful monetary operations; and in 1816 the highest tribute was paid to his ability and integrity by such authorities as the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Charles Grant, afterwards Lord Glenelg. In 1823 he was appointed by Lord Liverpool Financial Secretary of the Treasury, and, by the aid of Government influence, became Member for Harwich, and therefore the colleague of Canning. In his new capacity he exercised an authority which was really equal to that of a Cabinet Minister, and it was under his superintendence that the Consolidation of the Customs Laws was effected. When rumours of his retirement from the Treasury in consequence of his failing health began to circulate, the ‘Times,’ of July 23rd, 1827, said:—

‘Stockholders instinctively dread any change in the system of
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financial affairs, or in the management of the public debt; and they are aware that the present system, such as it is, owes its form chiefly to the laborious exertions of Mr. Herries, who has fulfilled all the duties of Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the exception of the delivery of the Budget.'

To this we will add a testimonial, the weight of which none will be likely to dispute. Mr. Gladstone writes to Sir Charles Herries on 3rd December, 1880:—

'I was not aware that Mr. Spencer Walpole's book had given occasion for a painful controversy. But to a limited extent I am a witness in the case. Carrying back my recollections to a period between fifty and sixty years back, I remember pretty distinctly Mr. Herries's rather peculiar position in the entangled politics of 1827-8. I also recollect quite well that his position in general repute was such that his appointment to be Chancellor of the Exchequer excited, and, indeed, could excite no surprise whatever on the ground of calibre. His qualifications were eminent.'

Such was the man whom Mr. Walpole thinks it good taste to describe as a 'Tory clerk.' The reader will probably be of opinion that George IV., instead of being influenced by the motive so generously imputed to him in this history, had good reason for the expressions in the letter of August 15th, which he sent to Mr. Herries through Lord Goderich:—

'The King is quite aware of the pressure at this moment of the affairs of finance upon the country, and hence it is that the King with this knowledge so highly and so justly values Mr. Herries's services.'

The Whigs then, it is plain, must have had some other grounds for their opposition than a general belief in Herries's incompetence, or the suspicion that he would act as the instrument of the King. What their real motive was, the object of their attacks tells us in his diary of August 15th:—

'I had good reason to know that all Lord Goderich's difficulties and embarrassments in this matter arose out of an intrigue of the Whigs, which had for its chief object the bringing of Lord Holland into the Cabinet.'

Such was indeed the case. The Whigs, having obtained a footing in the composite Cabinet during Canning's lifetime, were, very characteristically, determined to become the predominant element in it now that he was dead, and of course objected to the appointment of a decided Tory to such an important post as the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. The course they pursued is accurately traced in a letter from Planta to Huskisson, dated August 21st, and written by the direction
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of Lord Goderich to explain what had taken place with regard to the formation of the Government. Had the Whigs simply experienced the resistance of the weak Goderich, they would no doubt have succeeded in excluding Herries from the Cabinet; but the King, who detected their intrigue, was resolved to be master. When Herries, however, went to Windsor on the 17th of August to receive the seals, Goderich, under the pressure put upon him by the Whigs, entreated his friend to request the King to suspend the completion of the appointment till the return of Huskisson, who was travelling on the Continent. Herries did so, and the King reluctantly consented to the delay. But about a week after the interview at Windsor, the Whigs made a new and a highly discreditable move. The injurious letter affecting Herries's character, which Mr. Walpole mentions, appeared in the 'Morning Chronicle' of August 24th. For the insinuations made in it there was not the slightest foundation. That this shameful manœuvre proceeded from the Whig party, was confessed to Mr. Herries by Mr. Maberly, a Liberal M.P. interested in the 'Morning Chronicle,' who seems to have felt as a gentleman should about such a dirty business. But what are we to say to Mr. Walpole, who, without a word of explanation, rakes up this musty slander and inserts it in his 'History'? It is evident that he has read the newspapers of the day, for besides the letter in the 'Morning Chronicle,' he mentions the contradiction in the 'Courier,' and he adds that 'the "Times" threw its weight into the scale against Herries.' Why then does he not state that in the 'Times' of August 27th, 1827, appeared very prominently a letter from Lord Goderich to Mr. Herries, in which the writer desired 'to state explicitly that the grounds assumed in the paragraph of the "*Morning Chronicle*" for the delay in the appointment of Chancellor of the Exchequer are totally destitute of foundation'? If Mr. Walpole, who seems to have searched so carefully for everything that could be said against Mr. Herries, overlooked this conclusive evidence on the other side, he was guilty, to say the least,—considering that he was dealing with the reputation of his father's friend,—of culpable levity and carelessness; if on the other hand, as we hesitate to believe, he has been led, by the rancorous party spirit which disfigures his pages, to a *suppressio veri*, his conduct does not require to be described.

What Mr. Walpole tells us about Huskisson's conduct in this affair is as remote from the truth as his account of the motives of George IV., Mr. Herries, and the Whigs. He says: 'Huskisson required very little encouragement to induce him
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to oppose the appointment, and his language was so firm, that the King was persuaded to reconsider the contemplated arrangement.' Mr Herries, on the contrary, tells us in his 'Diary,' under August 31st:—

'He [the King] received me most kindly; thanked me for offering to serve under Huskisson; * assured me that Huskisson had proved himself a warm friend to me in all his interviews with the King on the subject of my appointment, and entered fully into his views and feelings with respect to the party who were pressing Lord Holland upon him, and thwarting his choice of me, with no other view than to carry their point with respect to that nobleman.'

And again, after he had received the seals, Mr. Herries writes to his sister on September 3rd:—

'Most of my colleagues, not positively Whig, attended on the occasion; and they behaved to me with much kindness. Huskisson has distinguished himself by his friendly and manly conduct in this affair.'

The struggle ended in the capitulation of the Whigs, who finding that all manœuvres availed nothing against the resolution of the King, gave up their point after some loud threats of resignation, and Herries became Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is right to add, with regard to the conduct of the King, that Lord Goderich writes to Mr. Herries on the 1st of September: 'The King has behaved admirably, and has shown his sincere desire to keep Canning's Government together upon the principles upon which it was formed.'

Such is the true account of this 'intrigue.' We venture to say that the evidence now first published is absolutely irresistible, and we hope that the readers of Mr. Walpole's 'History' will suspend their opinions as to its accuracy till they have also studied Mr. Herries's 'Memoir.' Whoever performs this common act of justice will, we feel pretty sure, agree with Mr. Gladstone, who says in the letter to Sir Charles Herries from which we have before quoted:

'I must, in honesty, congratulate you and your brother on the very effective tribute you have rendered both to your father's honour and to his character. . . . My view is one-sided, as I cannot check the book except by my own recollections. Those recollections,

* Mr. Herries, unwilling to stand in the way of the formation of the Government, though unable, after the scandalous letter in the 'Morning Chronicle' to accept any post in the Cabinet but that of Chancellor of the Exchequer, had in a manner highly honourable to his public spirit, offered to serve as Secretary to the Treasury under Huskisson, if the latter would undertake the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. Observe the turn which Mr. Walpole, in his narrative, gives to this incident.

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however, could not lead me in any degree to bear out any of the imputations against your father. His liberal offer about Huskisson ought, I should think, to silence them for ever.'

Mr. Gladstone, we fear, has not accurately gauged the extent of candour at the disposal of a 'judicial' historian. Mr. Walpole has thought fit to bring against his father's friend a charge most injurious to the character of an English statesman and gentleman, namely of slavishly pandering to the extravagant pleasures of his Sovereign. The sons of the statesman thus accused produce evidence which to all fair-minded men must seem absolutely conclusive, tending to show that this charge is utterly unsubstantial. Having performed this duty, they naturally ask the accuser whether, now that he is acquainted with facts of which he was previously ignorant, he is prepared to retract his unfounded statements. To this Mr. Walpole replies, that having read Mr. Herries's 'Memoir' he finds, to his great surprise, that it fails to disprove, in any essential particulars, the accuracy of his own narrative! He therefore declines to make any retraction!*

With this last example of 'the ruling passion strong in death,' we take our leave of him. We have, we think, produced sufficient evidence to enable our readers to appreciate the accuracy of his statements and the fairness of his judgments. As to the former point, we have not attempted to give an exhaustive list of his blunders. That would be impossible. But we have selected such as illustrate his historical method under a number of different aspects, and we imagine the result must be to produce a general feeling of profound amazement. It is amazing, from an intellectual point of view, that a writer of such inaccurate habits of thought should have fancied himself qualified to attempt the history of one of the most difficult and perplexing periods in our annals; it is still more amazing that he should have thought his subject would be best presented to the reader in the style of a smart newspaper. With regard to the second point, we do Mr. Walpole the justice to believe that, when he asserted his History was composed in a 'judicial' spirit, he was the victim of an extraordinary self-deception. We should be sorry to think that his failures in common courtesy, proper feeling, and fair play, to which we have called attention, were the product of deliberate malevolence. They are rather, we think, the fruits of party spirit. He has evidently been inspired by a passionate hatred of the political faith in which he

* Correspondence in the 'St. James's Gazette' of May 30th and June 1st, between Sir Charles Herries and Mr. Walpole.

was reared, and by a blind zeal for the party to which he has by conviction attached himself. We are by no means anxious to undertake an uncompromising defence of the past policy of the Tory party; time and experience have doubtless convicted them of serious errors. But we may safely say that the man, who can see nothing in their conduct but what is stupid, bigoted, or selfish, is not competent to write a history of England. Mr. Walpole has conceived this idea, and, in order to propagate it, he has not scrupled to employ the crudest forms of misrepresentation. Such arts, destructive as they are of whatever is generous and high-minded in political life, are, even when used on the spur of the moment, in the heated atmosphere of a public meeting, distasteful enough to those who have the feelings of gentlemen. When elaborated by an historian, who ought to regard himself as the trustee of his countrymen's honour, whose good faith is presumed by the public to be the natural check on the liberty he enjoys in the disposal of his facts, who has full leisure to weigh evidence and to calculate effect—when so employed, we say emphatically, they become absolutely intolerable.

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- ART. IX.—1. *Analysis of the Board of Trade Returns, from 1869 to 1880.* London, 1881.
 2. *Trade and Navigation Returns for 1880–81.*
 3. *The History of British Commerce.* By Leone Levi. London, 1881.
 4. *The Policy of Self-Help.* Two Letters by W. Farrer Ecroyd. Bradford, 1879.
 5. *Speeches by Richard Cobden, M.P.* London, 1880.
 6. *Protection to Native Industry.* By Sir E. Sullivan. London, 1880.

THE least observant reader of the public journals cannot fail to have remarked that a great change has passed over the tone of every discussion relating to the condition and prospects of England. The feeling of confidence and enthusiasm, which once inspired all anticipations of the future, has almost entirely disappeared. Mr. Gladstone no longer exults over a prosperity which advances by 'leaps and bounds,' but warns the nation that its progress appears to have been arrested. A premonition of this vicissitude in our affairs may have been in his mind when he declared that America would wrest from England her 'commercial primacy,' and frankly confessed that he, for one, felt no inclination

inclination to 'murmur at the prospect.'* Those whose entire fortunes happen to be embarked in trade doubtless envied the calmness of Mr. Gladstone's philosophy, even if they were unable to share it. In various other unexpected quarters we find the same anticipations of commercial decline. They were first heard in 1874, when an enormous falling-off was experienced in the foreign demand for our principal manufactures. It was, however, soon explained to the public by various accomplished writers, that there was no cause for uneasiness, and that the country was accumulating riches with a rapidity of which no history, except the 'Arabian Nights,' bears any record. Successive years passed away, and as each one passed it was found that substantially the same story had to be told of it. The manufacturers declared that they were continually growing poorer, while the 'experts' informed them that they were misled by mere appearances, and ridiculed their alarm at foolish spectres conjured up from the mists of illusion. Sometimes they thought that nothing was wrong; or, if anything was wrong, it was the fault of 'human nature.'† Supposing any depression existed, 'there was a natural remedy always at work—the increase of population.'‡ The public did not appear to derive any great degree of comfort from this suggestion, perhaps because the remedy is somewhat slow in action, even among the most favoured of communities. Increase of population has not made any material change for the better since 1879. The voices of the oracles are dumb, or give forth at intervals confused and uncertain sounds. Principles are now openly challenged which, a very few years ago, were regarded as settled for all time and beyond all dispute. In the heart of the manufacturing districts, it begins to be doubted whether what we have been in the habit of calling 'Free Trade' is so well adapted to our present situation as it may have been in 1846. If two or three men engage together in a discussion, it will soon turn on the almost unexampled prostration of certain great branches of national industry. Even the degrading spectacle of lawlessness and incipient revolution which is exhibited in the sister isle attracts comparatively little attention in Bradford, Leeds, or Birmingham. The word which is most frequently heard in those regions, in hotels or railway-carriages, in the counting-house or the shop, is not Ireland, but 'Reciprocity.' Differences of opinion on every side of the subject are great, but one point is past dispute—that trade is no longer going on in its old

* 'Kin Beyond Sea,' North American Review, Sept. 1878.

† 'Fortnightly Review,' Oct. 1st, 1877.

‡ 'Times,' Jan. 17th, 1879.

channels, and that events are taking place which are no less menacing to labour than to capital, and which at present alarm labour more than capital. For it is the working-men who are crying out bitterly against hostile tariffs, not the employers. The agitation is relatively but a thing of a day's growth. That it will die out in a day we must hold to be very improbable, especially when we consider the source from which it has sprung. It will be difficult for a 'tribune' to suppress a popular clamour by sneers or by denunciations of caste prejudices. Mr. Bright has repeatedly felt himself compelled to answer letters from anxious friends in his own neighbourhood, who are puzzled to account for the depression which seems to have become the permanent condition of their industries. It is true that he generally manages to call his correspondents 'lunatics;' but there are many signs that this injures Mr. Bright rather than the lunatics. At Bradford, in May last, there was no difficulty in getting ten thousand signatures in a few days to a requisition desiring the Mayor to call a public meeting for the purpose of considering the new French duties and the state of trade. Numerous influential newspapers in the north openly proclaim their antagonism to the present commercial policy of the country, and even the 'Times' sorrowfully acknowledges that it is becoming necessary to 'fight the whole battle of Free Trade over again.*' A still more remarkable admission was made a couple of months ago by Mr. Gladstone, in receiving a deputation representing the Trade Councils of various great centres of population and industry.† This deputation protested against bounties and prohibitive duties, and suggested the desirability of the Government adopting a system of countervailing duties. Mr. Gladstone delivered himself of a reply which must have produced a feeling of consternation in the minds of some of his colleagues, and which afforded interesting evidence that his unrivalled alertness in adapting himself readily to the ever-shifting phases of public opinion has not abated. 'We do not regard,' he said, 'with any satisfaction the system under which an artificial advantage is given in our markets to the products of foreign labour, the principle to be observed being that of equality. Some people say it is a good thing, because the consumer gets the benefit of it; but I do not think that any benefit founded on inequality and injustice can bring good even to the consumer.' It is not very easy to distinguish between what Mr. Gladstone calls 'equality,' and what others describe as 'reciprocity.' Mr. Gladstone himself would doubt-

* City Article, May 20th, 1881.
Vol. 152.—No. 303.

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† May 18th, 1881.

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less be able to show that there is a very great difference, and that even the word equality does not strictly mean equality, when used to a deputation. It then has a purely poetical, or as one may prefer to take it, a polemical signification. If, however, equality is actually to be accepted as the basis of a new commercial system for England, we may appreciate the foresight which some of the manufacturers have displayed in removing the busts of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright from the mantelpiece to the cupboard.

What has brought about the change in public sentiment, which leads Mr. Gladstone to talk of 'equality,' and the papers to confess that the Free Trade battle must be fought over again? What has happened to the commerce of the nation? Here, at the very threshold of the enquiry, the air is filled with the din of boisterous assertions and contradictions. The economical writers and statisticians have warmly denied, down even to the present moment, that English trade has suffered from foreign competition or from any other cause whatever. Influential journals have assured the public day after day, and year after year, that all is well with us, they have ridiculed 'the excessive excitement which seems to exist in some quarters about the depression of trade,'* and have told us that there is 'no evidence that the amount of the permanent foreign demand is changed.'† The very same journals, while making these statements in one column, have been called upon to record in another that there has been a continuous decline in our export trade with Germany, during the past twelve years, amounting to 33½ per cent.; with Holland, to 36 per cent.; with the United States, to 28 per cent. Fortunately for us, our own colonies and possessions have greatly increased their purchases during the same period, or our true position to-day would be much more grave than it actually is. But we cannot depend upon retaining even these customers very long, for most of them are either carrying out or demanding the policy of Protection for their own industries. There is no depression, and if we are larger buyers than sellers it is because we have so much spare money that we do not know what to do with it. Such are the conclusions which are still put before the public, with singular indifference to a multitude of facts which must be perfectly well known to every man who is not the slave of 'statistics,' or the dupe of preconceived and obstinate theories. In the manufacturing districts, the people have too many reasons for knowing that declining trade is a sad reality. No philosopher or other

* The 'Times,' Dec. 27th, 1878.

† Ibid., Jan. 11th, 1879.

dealer in mystery is able to convince a body of men who cannot find employment that they are living in a time of great prosperity. They ask for work, and the statisticians present them with a row of figures and a bundle of 'infallible principles' borrowed from Adam Smith and Ricardo. This method of treatment has always been thought good enough for the agricultural labourer, but the operative of Lancashire or Yorkshire is a less docile being to deal with, and it will be found before very long that he cannot be disposed of quite so easily. It will not be wise to tell him that he must submit to loss or suffering, if need be, for the benefit of the community at large. 'The greatest good for the greatest number' will be found only applicable to his case, when he and his class are the greatest number, and are receiving all the good. At present, there is a share of evil mixed with the good, and the evil is becoming more and more strongly marked. In some districts there is a greater degree of suffering than in others, and it is not always those of which we hear the most whose position need occasion the greatest disquietude. In Manchester the complaints are deep and general; but Manchester, after all, is only just beginning to feel a check in her long career of prosperity. She has not yet been subjected to the sharp pinch, which Bradford, Rochdale, and other towns near her, have had to encounter. It is true that her trade is not what it was, and no one but a man of very buoyant disposition would look upon an investment in mill property with so much favour as he would have done ten years ago. It is questioned by competent local authorities, whether Manchester will ever again witness a return of the palmy days of 1872-3, and those who are not local authorities, but simply close observers of the course which trade is taking, are disposed to think that there is very little room for any doubt on the subject. Cotton may yet be king, but Manchester will not remain the capital of the kingdom. If it had not been for our Indian Empire, which we are sometimes told that we ought, on strictly moral grounds, to cut away at the earliest possible moment, Manchester would to-day have been far on the road towards a realization of the gloomy forebodings which Mr. Bright once expressed, when for a moment he saw in his imagination her warehouses and palaces crumbling into ruins. It is easy to judge how it would have stood with her. In 1870, the value of our cotton manufactures exported to the United States was 2,674,697*l.* In 1876, it had sunk to 1,275,788*l.*, and although last year witnessed what the economical writers called a great revival, the amount was only raised to 1,748,645*l.* Then consider what has been happening with Germany. We exported to that country in 1872 cotton-yarn and

manufactures to the value of nearly six millions sterling. Last year the amount was below a million and a half. The decline in our cotton trade with Egypt is about sixty-eight per cent. as compared with ten years ago. At that time we sent to Holland cotton goods to the value of four and three-quarter millions. In 1880, the value was under two and a half millions. But, during the same period, the value of these exports to India increased from nearly thirteen to almost twenty millions—a fact which offers a suggestive comment upon the ‘perish India’ policy we have been urged to pursue, and which may, even at this late hour, lead the politicians of the Manchester School to look upon our foreign possessions as something better than a source of weakness to the mother country. If the principles identified with Manchester had prevailed long ago, as they are prevailing at the present moment, Manchester herself would have had the direst cause to regret it. A few more years like the last two or three will serve to convince even the ‘advanced’ Radical that it must be, after all, a mistake to suppose that we are inviting a heavy judgment upon our heads by remaining in India.

If we cannot admit that Manchester is entitled to any special sympathy, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the gloomy prospects of Bradford. The rise of that town was one of the most rapid on record, and there are some of its inhabitants to-day who fear that its fall will be equally rapid; but those fears, we may fairly anticipate, are exaggerated. There is ground for uneasiness, but none for despair. The visitor who looks from the hillside over a valley crowded with factories, warehouses, and workshops, amid which are the dwellings of nearly a hundred and fifty thousand people, will find it hard to conjure up the scene that presented itself at the beginning of the century, when there were no more than three factories in all the valley, and but a scanty population. There are few towns of equal size in England where the public buildings are more creditable to the inhabitants, or where a more generous spirit of private and public enterprise has been exercised for the welfare and comfort of the community. But, of late, a dark cloud has rested over Bradford, and although the people have been assured from time to time that it is passing away, everybody can see that it has not passed. The bankers would have a significant story to tell, were they at liberty to speak, and men with but a limited amount of capital could add much to its point and meaning. The best year for Bradford was that which seems destined to mark a memorable epoch in our commercial history—1872. We then sent to the United States
alone

alone woollen and worsted goods to the value of 5,627,575*l*. In 1880 the amount had fallen to 2,210,231*l*. From the district generally, it is calculated that the Americans have been in the habit of buying, on the average, goods to the annual value of three millions. This sum has been reduced to about a million. Even this falling off is not so great as that which has taken place in the trade with Germany. Under the influence of prohibitive tariffs, our exports of woollen and worsted manufactures, in which Bradford is so largely engaged, present results which may be summed up in a solitary line:—

1869.	1872.	1875.	1880.
£5,960,169.	£8,659,636.	£3,024,512.	£1,010,514.

It seems to us that these few figures throw a flood of light into the dark abysses where the eminent authorities who deal with trade 'in the abstract' are still stumbling. When the Bradford people look at these returns, they are at no loss to account for the fact, that the machinery in their district is only employed at one-half its full strength. There is about three years' stock, speaking generally, in their warehouses, and, as practical men are well aware, it is not deemed desirable to keep Bradford goods much more than one year, on account of changes of fashion. It has been publicly stated,* and we have taken pains to verify the statement, that a well-known manufacturer of the district has determined to open an establishment in America, devoted to the production of Bradford goods. Other firms have set up factories on the Continent, and others still propose to follow the advanced guard to the United States. It need not be pointed out that, though this course may save some of the employers, it cannot benefit the workmen, unless they also emigrate to other countries. In any case, England must suffer by the withdrawal of so much capital. In a justly celebrated part of the Bradford district, the workmen and their families, as we can state upon the best authority, are now earning twenty per cent. less than they did two or three years ago. The visitor will be taken to one room, in which eight hundred looms might formerly have been seen in full work. There are now over two hundred standing idle, and each month adds to the number. These, too, are not without a voice of their own, and it is one to which the working-men and women who labour in that spacious building, withdrawn further and further every day from those long lines of deserted looms, are not deaf.

* By the 'Leeds Times,' May 21st, 1881.

They understand too well its meaning, and can in no way reconcile it with the sounds which reach them from the chaotic regions of political economy. Each of these looms contributed not long ago to the support of a family, but the number of 'bread-winners' constantly diminishes, and yet the supply of bread is not to fall off. The workpeople are not, perhaps, to be severely condemned, if they find this mystery too deep for them. Many of them have already turned their faces to distant shores, and others will follow soon; in every respect they do well to seek some other lot before their savings are exhausted. Many of their employers in the district, whose reserves are slight, would be glad to imitate the example, for they find it increasingly difficult to stand their ground. From such beginnings as their own, large fortunes have been made in past times; but few of them in our day allow their dreams to run on fortunes. What they would like to feel sure of is, that they will be able to tide over the next half-dozen years. These are the people who, when they go to one of the authors of Free Trade for a little encouragement, are told that 'Bradford has had a good innings since 1860,' and that anyone who talks of hostile tariffs ought to be sent to Bedlam.

We have seen that Bradford has to a great extent lost its former ascendancy in Continental markets, and this loss is traced by the manufacturers to the Protective policy adopted in Germany, France, and elsewhere, and to the difficulty they experience at home in the management of labour. The French operatives at Roubaix or Lille work, on an average, seventy-two hours a-week; the Englishman will work only $56\frac{1}{2}$ hours. The employers in France pay less for seventy-two hours' work, than the English employer has to pay for $56\frac{1}{2}$ hours. One of the speakers at a meeting in Bradford, held on the 23rd of May last, made an allusion to this unequal condition of the present competition, but, as might have been anticipated, it was very unfavourably received by the workmen. A voice in the crowd was heard to cry out, 'we can do more in nine hours than a Frenchman in twelve,' a view which is always flattering to the national pride, but which will scarcely stand the test of practical experience. It is possible now for a French manufacturer to come into the English market, buy raw wool, take it home and dye and weave it, and send it back here at a lower price than that at which a similar article can be produced by the English manufacturer. This is a form of competition which is naturally regarded as fraught with danger to the existing interests of the district. The workmen are not likely to help their employers to compete with French labour, and the employers cannot go

on for ever sacrificing capital in a hopeless struggle. Manufacturers do not fear the Americans, and many of them attach comparatively little importance to their exclusion from particular markets by hostile tariffs. What they do fear is the danger of being gradually driven from neutral markets. This point was brought out very clearly some time ago, with especial reference to the cotton trade:—

‘The total annual consumption of cotton in Great Britain may be roughly stated at 1,250,000,000 lbs. About one-fifth is worked up into goods suitable for home consumption; the remaining four-fifths are converted into goods suitable for export. Our manufactures have no fear of foreign competition in respect of the 250 millions consumed at home, but they have very grave fears indeed in respect of the 1000 millions sent abroad.’*

Apprehensions of this kind are not imaginary in connection with the Bradford trade. It was stated, at the meeting to which we have referred, that the number of persons in receipt of parochial relief in that town is now three times greater than it was between 1875 and 1877. In April last there were 3579 uninhabited houses in the town, and there are now ‘thousands of offices, warehouses, and small shops untenanted.’† The total exports of worsted fabrics, according to the statement of one of the manufacturers, ‘have fallen during the last thirteen years from an average of between thirteen and fourteen millions to about seven millions.’ It cannot be supposed that the inhabitants of Bradford see their trade thus passing away from them without great regret and anxiety, or that they are much relieved by being told that they have had a ‘good innings’ since 1860. Reminiscences of past prosperity will not suffice to keep the population of Bradford.

In Leeds there is less suffering, because Leeds does not depend so much as Bradford upon one industry. But everywhere in the city the disadvantages of a depressed trade are making themselves felt. In Sheffield, the number of unemployed constantly increases, especially in a department of trade which has long been a source of great wealth to the city—that of hardware and cutlery. Formerly, not a knife or a pair of scissors could be found in the United States without the Sheffield stamp upon them. Now such articles may bear the Sheffield mark, but they are not made in Sheffield. They are turned out of American workshops. In Birmingham it is stated that there are ‘ten thousand houses without tenants, the rental per house ranging

* ‘Cotton Circular’ of Messrs. Ellison & Co., of Liverpool, November, 1878.

† Special report to the ‘Timber Trades Journal,’ June, 1881.

from 7*l.* to 200*l.* A low estimate of the value of this property is 2,000,000*l.** People who once kept house are now breaking up 'their homes, through commercial depression, and going into apartments; for it is now not unusual for two, and even three, families to occupy a small three shillings a week tenement, sharing the rent among them.' In the iron districts, notwithstanding occasional gleams of prosperity, there is no evidence of permanent improvement. 'We have,' says a journal which represents this interest, 'lost foreign markets so effectually that our manufacturing supremacy has well-nigh become a thing of the past. We have not only lost our old Continental markets, but see our legitimate markets in British colonies encroached upon, and foreign works supplying railways, &c. abroad, in competition with us, at far lower rates than they supply their home railways, where our competition is non-existent.'† Out of 967 blast furnaces now erected in this country, 556 only are at work.‡ In South Staffordshire there are but 42 in operation out of 144; in South Wales the proportion is about the same. 'Preparations,' according to an authoritative statement, 'are being made for reducing the production of the Cleveland and Durham district to the extent of close upon a thousand tons per week.' Everywhere the working classes are taking alarm at these circumstances, and looking round eagerly for a remedy. Two years ago they were taught to believe, and apparently did believe, that there was nothing wrong with the country except that it had a Conservative Government over it. But one thing was needed to send us once more on our way with leaps and bounds, and that was to place Mr. Gladstone in power. The workmen took the advice, and even sent Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain to help Mr. Gladstone, but the spell has not the virtue in it which was hoped for. Mr. Gladstone, it is true, managed to get a surplus in his second year of office, but it was by imposing special taxation to create it. If the working-men now feel disappointed, we hope it will lead them to ask themselves whether their own course of action, on many occasions, has not brought some of this evil upon them. Their strikes have too frequently driven away excellent customers, who have not returned to our markets again. If an employer has gone to them and said, 'I have a contract offered to me which I can carry out if you will accept a somewhat lower rate of wages, or work longer hours,' the proposition has in almost every case that we have heard of been peremptorily rejected. Sometimes

* 'Manchester City News,' June 11th, 1881.

† 'Iron,' June 4th, 1881.

‡ Official Statistics quoted in the 'Times,' June 18th, 1881.

the men were disposed to take the work offered to them, but their Trades-Unions were, as usual, the real masters of the situation. Many a contract has thus gone to Belgium or France, which ought never to have been allowed to leave England. Moreover, the French or German workman is far more ready than the ordinary Englishman to take up a new idea, and to adapt himself to the changing tastes and fashions of the times. It is true that away from his own country the English workman is generally willing to learn, and gets rid of his prejudices, because he finds that they stand in the way of his success; just as the Irishman will go to work in America when he discovers that it is not the custom there to keep a man in idleness because he calls himself a 'patriot,' and that sedition is not as sure a resource as a sum of money in the bank. In England itself, our workmen are hard to move from the old ways. A trade journal recently sent a correspondent to go through the warehouses of America, and he soon found out that the demand for English goods was falling off. 'This is attributed,' he reports, 'partly to improvements in the domestic manufacture, and partly to the fact that the English will not change their old ways and methods to suit the changes in fashions and styles and in modes of fitting the garments. Outside of a few houses, which pay close attention to the American trade and its changes and which have been running the trade during the past forty years, it is impossible to get anything in England that can be used here. The French and Germans, on the other hand, are making great and even extraordinary efforts to meet the American taste and its changes, and are making considerable headway.'*

These are considerations which might with advantage be pressed upon the attention of the working men of Birmingham and other towns. To lay them well to heart, and profit by the teaching they convey, will promote their own personal interests far more than anything which Mr. Chamberlain can teach them about the caucus.

The state of general trade is, however, not the only cause of disquietude to those who have carefully studied the events which are taking place around us. The agricultural interest is, after all, more important than any other in the country, as Mr. Bright is just beginning to perceive; and it is now the most depressed. It has been calculated that the agricultural produce of the United Kingdom, in a fair average year, is worth three hundred millions—'double the money produced by our looms, three times that of our forges, and four times the value of a year's

* The 'British Trade Journal,' June, 1881.

produce from mines.* Should the cotton lords and manufacturers be called upon to pass through as many years of adversity and trial as have fallen to the lot of landlords and farmers, we trust that they will pass as honourably through the ordeal. They will at least be able to understand better than they did formerly the true action of some of their favourite principles. As it so often happens in the world, the measure which they meted out to others will then be returned to them. The Manchester school has always denied that it was any part of the duty of a Government to study the interests of the producing or manufacturing class. Agriculture was exposed to unlimited foreign competition, but it was not ruined, for there was the enormous capital of the landowners to fall back upon—a capital which was supplemented, in many cases, by their coal mines, their iron, and the increased building value of land. Emigration lightened the pauper class, and the influx of gold greatly stimulated the home as well as the foreign market. The agricultural labourer, notwithstanding the heavy losses to which the owners and occupiers of land have been exposed for some years past, is better off than he was formerly. Does anybody suppose for a moment that it will be possible to make the same statement concerning the English operative after the manufacturing interest has gone through similar difficulties? The Radical leaders, although they may be unable to find a remedy for the troubles which are growing up in Rochdale and Birmingham, have always a restorative ready to hand for the agriculturists. They are advised, to begin with, to cultivate more land. In the same way, the Bradford manufacturers might be strongly recommended to build more machinery and set up more looms. There is little temptation to go on cultivating more land, when it is found that we cannot profitably cultivate that which has already been opened up. Every year the total value of the grain produced in England declines, and every year the quantity we buy from foreign nations increases. From 1852 to 1879 the value of grain produced in England averaged 37,709,059*l.* From 1876 to 1878 the average was only 24,670,579*l.* It is estimated that about a million acres of land have gone out of cultivation during the last ten years. Land may still command, in certain localities, a high price; but when it does so, it is bought not as a commercial speculation, or with the idea of any man deriving a living from it, but simply as other luxuries might be, for the gratification of taste or pleasure. Landlords are constantly investing large sums in

* Mr. J. G. Dodson, Speech at an Agricultural Show, Sept. 13th, 1877.
improvements,

improvements, and the only thing certain is, that they sink their capital without getting the return for it which everybody expects to derive from investments of other kinds. They are now told that they must reduce their rents. The best answer to this would be a return, showing to what extent rents have actually been reduced during the last four or five years. In thousands of cases, not only have there been great reductions, but rents have been largely remitted, arrears have been allowed to accumulate, and every kind of indulgence has been extended to the tenant. Many a landlord has not been receiving the half of his nominal rent-roll. And yet the labourer has had nothing to complain of. On the contrary, his wages are higher than they were. It is capital which has had to bear the strain, and it is upon capital that all the responsibility for agricultural depression is thrown. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and their colleagues, point to the Land Laws as the cause of unprofitable crops and the embarrassments of farmers. Reform those laws, and the times will no longer be out of joint. Will Mr. Bright be equally willing to make the capitalist in manufacturing districts responsible for the hard times which are undoubtedly advancing towards that direction also? We may be very sure that he will then have an explanation of a totally different kind to offer. Nothing is to be gained in this case by representing the mill-owner as the oppressor of the people, or by suggesting that he has grown rich in times past by grinding down the faces of the poor.

Besides 'cultivating more land,' we are told that land should be made cheaper. With these two prescriptions, administered under proper Radical supervision, England could be made to 'flourish in immortal youth,' absolutely unaffected by the enterprise and progress of other nations. If competition should ever become inconvenient, we need only upset an 'old institution' or two, to redress the balance. There may be some who honestly believe all this, for comparatively few take the trouble to examine well into facts before forming their opinions, and to the agitator facts are superfluous. Fair-minded persons, however, who do not take all their views cut and dried from demagogues, must be well aware of the extent to which land has fallen in price during the last few years. Some investigations into this subject were recently made by Mr. Sturge, of Birmingham, and the results were acknowledged even by a journal of the 'root and branch' description to be 'startling.' In Hertfordshire, we are told on this undeniable authority, 'a farm of four hundred acres is let rent free, on condition that the tenant keeps it in cultivation.' We have never heard that anyone asks for land

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at a much cheaper rate than that. The United States do not offer better terms to emigrants under the Homestead law. In the same county, eighteen hundred acres out of five thousand have been re-let at a reduction of twenty-seven per cent. In Essex the fall in value amounts to between forty and fifty per cent. A farm which was let down to Michaelmas last 'at 315*l.* a year is now let at 100*l.*' It is stated that a 'large portion of the land in the county has gone out of cultivation,'* and in many parts of the Midlands the same state of affairs is found. In North Wilts there are ten thousand acres to let on one estate; in West Sussex five thousand acres are tenantless; in Somerset the fall in arable land amounts to fifty per cent. From nearly all quarters very similar reports are made. Hundreds of farmers are only waiting for next Michaelmas to give up their holdings. When we consider the burdens on land—tithe, land-tax, highway rates, county rates, poor-rate, education rate, income tax—from all of which the foreigner who sells his corn or cattle here is entirely exempt, it will be tolerably plain that the landlord is not a being who is exceptionally favoured by the State. And yet, in the midst of emergencies which at the best must prove to be very grave, and may even be dangerous to the country, the Radical faction is using all its exertions to convince the rural labourer that his only enemy is the landlord. This is what is called 'elevating the masses,' and leading them from the thralldom and misery of the dark ages. The agitators may succeed in accomplishing their work, but, if they do so, the landlords will not be the only victims.

A warfare of this kind is apt to spread both faster and farther than its originators intended. The distressed operative in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Staffordshire, will soon begin to ask why he also should not be led out of the dark ages? He, who has put the demagogues in the seat of authority, will not be contented with empty words and glittering promises, nor will he consent to wait long and patiently in the 'Ugolino hunger-tower.' The beginnings of discontent are already audible enough to all who will listen to them, and unless a marvellous change takes place in the chief trades, such as might happen if all the world agreed to leave in our hands the monopoly of manufactures, these murmurings will increase till we shall soon be able to hear nothing else. The working-men are now disposed to resent the exclusion from the chief foreign markets of the goods which they make, and they are told that this exclusion does no harm to them, but simply injures the country which shuts them

* Sir H. J. Selwin-Ibbetson, M.P., June 18th, 1881.

out. Thanks to the cheap newspapers which circulate so largely among them, they begin to understand the action of hostile tariffs, and consequently it is comparatively useless to tell them that such tariffs injure no one but the nation which adopts them. When they are informed that the United States are driving English goods out of their markets, but that the American people are the only sufferers by this policy, common sense tells them not to believe it. They see that, while English trade is falling off, the progress made by the United States in all the departments of industrial enterprise which are most valuable to a nation—with the sole exception of the shipping trade—has been most extraordinary. The increase of their exports to England and Ireland last year alone amounted to thirty-five and a half millions of dollars (7,100,000*l.*). In every direction they have advanced, while we have remained stationary, even if we have not fallen back. The capital invested in their iron industries during the last ten years has increased by nearly ninety per cent.* During the same period, the number of cotton looms has been enlarged by forty-six per cent., and the number of spindles by fifty-three per cent. It would be very easy to fill pages with illustrations of the enormous progress made by the United States in their manufactures since the close of the civil war, and all this has been done under the 'withering influence' of hostile tariffs and Protection—not Protection as we once understood it, but Protection on a scale such as the world never saw before. We in England have, throughout these ten years, solemnly warned the Americans that, unless they gave up Protection, they would retard the development of their country and impoverish their people. They have invariably replied by assuring us that there was no real ground for concern on their behalf; that they were doing as well as could reasonably be expected, and understood thoroughly their own interests and their own business. We must confess that it is difficult to disprove their representations on either of these points. It is generally admitted that no nation is better able to take care of itself, and none more expert in turning its opportunities to the best possible account. They have over and over again told us, in return for our good advice, that they will fight our Free Trade with Protection, and that in this way they will eventually deprive us of our 'commercial primacy.' Acting upon this principle, they have levied duties upon our products of from forty to two hundred per cent., and with the money thus obtained they are carrying on the govern-

* The exact figures are these, according to the preliminary report of the new census, recently issued:—1870, \$121,772,074; 1880, \$230,671,884. Increase, 89·68 per cent.

ment of the country, and paying for their war with the Southern States. According to all 'established' theories, and according to the 'immutable' doctrines of great 'thinkers,' America should have been going rapidly down-hill for years past. She ought now to be trying to borrow a little money in England at high interest, instead of being able to pay off her national debt at the rate of a hundred millions of dollars a year, and lowering her interest on Government loans to three and a half per cent.* So far from her industries having perished, they flourish more prodigiously than ever, attract every year a larger amount of capital, and give profitable employment for increasing thousands of working-men. The best artisans of all countries are drawn to those shores. If Protection causes them to pay more for clothing and other articles than they did at home, they get more work and higher wages. One half the duties imposed upon imports falls upon the consumer, and the other half upon the foreign exporter. These are the opinions entertained by the majority of Americans. It is true that they are not in accordance with the teachings of political economy, but it is a melancholy fact that the Americans have but a poor opinion of political economy, and hold the most eminent of its professors in slight respect. Even the gentle ministrations of the Cobden Club have thus far been entirely thrown away upon them.

Now the working-men of England have had their eyes upon all this, and have tried in vain to reconcile it with what they have been taught about the true way of building up a national commerce. Sir Robert Peel maintained that the 'more widely you extend Protection, the greater the injury you inflict on the national wealth and the more you cripple the national industry.' † We fancy that we have established the truth of this principle in our own experience, but what are we to say about the United States? The fact is that the theorists do not know what to say. They hazard the conjecture occasionally, that it must all be because the United States have so 'much land.' Are we then to suppose that the great truths of science lose all their force when brought into contact with 'much land'? Are the United States above the operation of the 'laws' of political economy? If so, the professors might as well have said so long ago, instead of making persistent efforts to induce the United States to follow in our footsteps. What is the use of preaching Free Trade any longer to Americans, if the economists have now discovered that owing to their 'much land' Protection

* During the past sixteen years the debt of the United States has been reduced by 151,731,500*l*. Last year (1880) the amount paid off was over 20,000,000*l*.

† Speech in the House of Commons, July 6th, 1849.

is the proper thing for them? That the Americans themselves so regard Protection, and consequently have not the slightest intention of abandoning it, cannot be doubted. We sometimes hear in England that the Free Trade party in the United States is constantly growing in strength, and must soon sweep everything before it. But no delusion could well be greater. At the Presidential election last year the Democratic party introduced the distinct issue of a 'tariff for revenue only.' The Republicans eagerly took up the challenge, and fought out the battle on the basis of Protection, pure and simple. The question was thus very fairly set before the people, and how did they decide it? By electing the Republican candidate. The American newspapers almost all agreed in assigning the cause of victory to the Democratic blunder in proposing—not Free Trade, be it remarked—but a tariff for revenue only. 'That preposterous piece of political blindness,' remarked one of them,* 'imperilled at once every one of four States that it was possible for General Hancock to carry. The tariff issue was the most potent, and was in itself quite sufficient to decide the result in the indispensable debatable States. It gave away the whole case.' And yet, in spite of such evidence as this, which has been repeated in one form or other for years past, nothing is more common than to find it asserted here that America is becoming a Free Trader. Mr. Bright, who makes many prophecies, and has lived to see most of them reversed, on one occasion projected his gaze into the future, and saw the following vision:—'If we look at France, we see that Protection is becoming weaker. If we look at the United States, or consult any intelligent American that comes to this country, we shall find that there it is shaken and tottering to its fall.'† Four years have since passed away—an interval of time long enough to allow anything which was 'tottering to its fall' to come down; but Protection stands with remarkable firmness in all parts of the world, except these islands. If anything seems likely to fall, decidedly it is not Protection. The United States are more bent upon that policy than ever; Canada is determined to follow their example; and as for the Continent of Europe, it is not likely to be won over to Free Trade by the partial experiences of France, or by her resolution to revert as soon as possible to the principle of high duties. The refusal of the French to be enticed any further along the path we were trying to lead them will indefinitely prolong the reign of Pro-

* The 'Philadelphia Ledger.'

† Speech at the Cobden Celebration, July 25th, 1877.

tection on the Continent. The other nations of the world are perfectly willing to see England practise Free Trade, but when we invite any of them to join us, we find that they only think it good for us—not for themselves. We have no doubt that when the manufactures of the United States are fairly launched, the country will adopt what is understood there to be ‘Free Trade,’ although it will always keep up import duties sufficient for revenue, for the people are impatient of direct taxation. When this partial Free Trade is in force there, what policy shall we be pursuing? A French writer has recently cast our commercial horoscope for us, much as Mr. Bright has often done in times past. The Americans, says the Duc d’Ayen, will become ‘plus libre-échangeistes que n’importe qui, et alors, par un singulier retour des choses d’ici bas, l’Angleterre sera forcée peut-être de redevenir Protectionniste, pour ménager la cruelle transition qui s’imposera sans doute à elle.’* Whatever may be our own impressions of our affairs, this is the view which is generally taken of them by others. It is not believed by anybody but ourselves that one nation can carry on a system of trade of its own, without the slightest regard to the system which the rest of the world is pursuing. Moreover, it is strongly maintained that a nation which is continually increasing its purchases in the world’s markets and diminishing its sales cannot possibly be in a healthy condition; and this opinion, it is very evident, is growing rapidly in England likewise, and nowhere more rapidly than in the places which have been ‘educated’ by Mr. Bright, and which, unhappily, now abound with lunatics.

To buy more than we sell, and to make that not a mere accident of our trade, but its permanent condition—the end above all others to be sought for and desired—this, according to the economists, is a most excellent thing for the country. Practical men, who look at such matters from a strictly business point of view, come to a different conclusion. They hold that we cannot persevere in this system without plunging the country into disaster. They think it a bad and not a good thing for England that her imports should have exceeded her exports in 1879 by 170,595,983*l.*, and in 1880 by 187,179,530*l.* In the first five months of the present year the excess was 78,782,396*l.*† This great disproportion we are instructed to regard as the surest sign we could have of our immense prosperity. It is a ‘proof of excessive wealth;’‡ ‘the more the imports are in excess of

* ‘Revue des Deux Mondes,’ May 15th, 1881, p. 434.

† ‘Quarterly Returns of the Board of Trade,’ May 1st, 1881.

‡ The ‘Times,’ February 7th, 1878.

the exports the better.'* In fact, why bother ourselves with any exports at all? Why not do away with them altogether, and confine ourselves to the import trade? This is the conclusion to which the professors would lead us. As one authority puts it, 'the magnitude of our import trade, so far from being a matter for alarm, is evidence of the greatness of our resources and the stability of our position.'† This is one of the most blundering and most mischievous of the delusions which have helped to blind a portion of the people to the true state of their affairs, and to prevent any attempt being made to restore health and activity to our commerce. The excess of imports in our case is produced chiefly by purchases of food, which are not paid for in manufactures, as we have seen in reference to the United States. How can such a trade be profitable to us? Moreover, the matter-of-fact business men of whom we have spoken cannot help asking themselves, how it happened that England was so prosperous when the disparity between what she was buying and selling was nothing like so great as it is now? Between 1846 and 1858 our exports and imports increased together; the excess was not disproportionately large, and therefore, according to the argument of the 'statisticians,' we must have been continually growing poorer during that period. Was it so? Do we not all know that it was a period of affluence, when we had our great trades pretty much in our own hands, and were enabled to put aside savings without which our circumstances to-day would be a thousand times worse than they really are? Again, if we look at the United States, where Mr. Bright has so often told us to look, we shall find that their exports for the year ending June, 1881, exceeded their imports by 54,000,000*l*. This ought to mean that the Americans are getting poorer, if they are not actually approaching bankruptcy; but they by no means regard it in that light. They like Mr. Bright's praises of their country at the expense of his own, but they will not have his teaching at any price, and consequently they will go on exporting more than they import as long as good fortune enables them to do so. Then there is France. She also should have been sinking deeper and deeper in the slough of despond, for in her case also the exports exceed the imports. But she has apparently thriven well under these circumstances, and has even managed to pay off the German indemnity. French publicists do not see that their country is placed in jeopardy by conditions which all 'sound' political economists unite in pronouncing almost fatal: so far from seeing this, they persist in warning us of the perils attaching to

* The 'Times,' June 25th, 1881.

† Speech of Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, M.P., June 27th, 1878.

our own position. 'On ne doit pas avancer,' says the Duc d'Ayen, 'qu'elle [*i.e.* England] est riche parce qu'elle importe plus qu'elle n'exporte; il faut dire qu'elle importe plus qu'elle n'exporte parce qu'elle est très riche en capitaux et en revenus.' This being so, we are not growing richer, nor even taking care of the riches we already had. We could not spend the money, it is said, unless we had it. That is very true, and it is equally true that we cannot always have the money unless we gain it. A man with ten thousand pounds at his bankers' might make a very great stir in the world, and as his gay equipages dashed past the windows of his neighbours they would probably be much impressed with the prodigality of his expenditure, and feel morally certain that he was growing richer every day. This would last as long as the ten thousand pounds lasted, and no longer. It is precisely the same with a nation. We can pay for our excess of imports at present, because, as the French writer says, we are 'rich in capital and revenues;' as he goes on to say, it is 'a sign, but not a cause, of prosperity.' These are considerations which may be understood by any intelligent working-man without the slightest difficulty, and numberless unmistakable signs abroad prove that the working-men do understand them, far more clearly, and to a much greater extent, than is generally supposed by either the demagogues or the pedants. They are assured, however, that we cannot possibly be drawing upon our capital, because it is another of the special revelations of the modern prophets that 'foreign commodities are always paid for by British commodities.' In like manner, Mr. Cobden took it for granted that if 'we bought corn largely from America, the Americans would be obliged to take our manufactures from us in exchange.' 'This,' he said, 'would lead to an increased demand for labour in the manufacturing districts, which would necessarily be attended with a rise of wages, in order that the goods might be made for the purpose of exchanging for the corn brought from abroad.'* This was the way it ought to have worked, if both sides were to profit equally; but that it does not so work, most of us by this time are well aware. The assumptions were entirely satisfactory, but the facts—the unalterable facts—are against them. Last year, for instance, we bought of the United States grain supplies to the value of 25,598,505*l*.† Now this exceeded the entire value of everything we sold to the United States, the amount of our exports to them being 22,950,999*l*. They do not even take of us manu-

* Speech in London, February 8th, 1844.

† Trade and Navigation Returns, Dec. 1880.

factures enough to pay for the food we buy of them—to say nothing of our enormous purchases of raw cotton (31,845,066*l.*), and of many other articles which have almost become to us as the necessities of existence. In short, we bought last year of the United States various commodities to the value of over 90,000,000*l.*; the sales of our goods to them were valued at 22,950,999*l.* Here, then, is one country which refuses absolutely to buy the equivalent of what it sells. No case could more completely disprove the theory—one of the most precious of all the heirlooms of the political economist—that ‘foreign commodities are always paid for by British commodities.’ The figures just given cannot, even by the most skilful manipulation, be brought into harmony with it. Figures, it has been said, can be made to prove anything, but it will be found impossible to make these figures prove that America is taking payment for her wheat in kind. And yet, in the face of all this, we are told that she must be doing so, since all trade is barter, and might be carried on without money or anything to represent money.* This is another instance of *theory* being deemed stronger than *fact*. Mr. Cobden contended that to suppose we should buy corn of other nations while they declined to take our manufactures, was as much as to say that they would ‘give us their corn for nothing.’ There was another alternative which he overlooked, and that is, that they would ask to be paid for their corn in *cash*. We must have the grain; if it were a luxury we might consent to do without it, and say, ‘We will not trade with you because you refuse to trade with us on fair terms.’ But bread we cannot do without, and we must pay down in hard money for it if we are unable to get it on other terms. We have about 2000 millions invested in American and other foreign bonds, and with this we are paying for a large part of the difference between our imports and our exports. We are constantly told that gold is disappearing, and we know that, instead of being an importer of the precious metal, we are now obliged to export it. The theorists who uphold the wonderful dogma just referred to are lost in wonder over the ‘drain of gold,’ and are always asking some one to tell them what becomes of it. It goes towards the payment of our debts—that is the heart of the mystery. But this explanation, though the obvious and the true one, does not satisfy the economists, and we find them, in despite of all evidence and reason, clinging hard and fast to an exploded delusion of an *effete* school, concocted during a period essentially different in all respects from the present. Time, change, experience—all

* The ‘Times,’ June 25th, 1881.

is disregarded. They still fancy we are just as we were in 1846; still they wave over their heads the same antique device, believing, apparently, that it is capable of rekindling extinct furnaces, and finding employment for empty looms. A nation which will not buy from us cannot sell to us.* If the United States will not buy our manufactures, they cannot sell us their corn or cotton. The tapping on a child's drum produces sounds which mean as much as this hollow jargon.

At last, however, there are ominous signs of a revolt in the 'centres of intelligence'—that is to say, in the workshops and factories of Birmingham and Manchester, of Leeds and Sheffield; nay, even in Rochdale itself. The cheap papers in the northern districts find themselves overwhelmed with letters about 'retaliation' and 'fair trade.' At working-men's clubs the favourite topic of conversation is the good or harm which Free Trade is doing to the country. England, it is contended, cannot always keep her ports open to the whole world, while finding one port after another closed to her. It must, in common fairness, be conceded that this is a phase of 'Free Trade' which some of its greatest advocates never seem to have contemplated. That other nations would remain Protectionist while England carried on her business upon Free Trade principles, was assuredly never foreseen by Mr. Cobden. So far was he from foreseeing it, that he felt thoroughly convinced Free Trade would soon become universal, if only England would set the example. He even went so far as to fix a limit of time for the conversion. 'Adopt Free Trade,' he argued on one occasion, 'and there will not be a tariff in Europe that will not be changed in less than five years to follow your example.'† Seven times five years have rolled over our heads since these words were uttered, and, whatever may be our condition or prospects, on one point there can be no dispute—namely, that every tariff in the old world and the new is more thoroughly Protectionist, and more hostile to England, than ever. Sir Robert Peel, while maintaining that hostile tariffs would best be met by free imports, never for a moment supposed that England, after the lapse of thirty-five years, would still be the only free trader on the face of the earth. 'Depend upon it,' he said, 'your example will ultimately prevail . . . Reason and common sense will induce relaxation of high duties. That is my firm belief; I see symptoms of it already.'‡ Already! And what symptoms of

* 'If France will buy from us, she will be able to export to us, but on no other terms.' (The 'Times,' June 20th, 1881.)

† Speech at Manchester, January 15th, 1846.

‡ Speech, January 27th, 1846.

the kind would Sir Robert Peel have discerned had he lived till to-day? What space of time would he now be disposed to allow for the world to come over to our way of thinking? He thought that hostile tariffs could be fought with free imports, but, with the utmost respect to his memory, it may be said that he had no idea what free imports really meant. In 1846 our imports amounted to little more than seventy-four millions; in 1850, when Sir Robert Peel died, they reached the amount of 100½ millions.* Last year they were valued at 410 millions. Did Sir Robert Peel ever dream of such an import trade as this? If he did, it is most probable that he saw in his dreams our exports approaching the same standard, if not exceeding it, and that such a balance sheet as the following never rose up before his mind's eye:—

		£
Imports in 1880	409,990,056
Exports „	222,810,526
Excess of Imports	187,179,530

This excess, according to the writers we have quoted, represents the sum by which we have grown more wealthy in 1880 than we were in 1879. Is it possible that any one with a mind capable of comprehending facts and their meaning can really believe it?

The demand for 'reciprocity,' or 'equality,' or whatever the system is to be called, has originated entirely in the manufacturing districts, and to them it is still confined. If there is any cry for Protection, it proceeds from the very interest in whose behalf Protection was abolished. It is not in the fields or on the Corn Exchange that the question is a theme of constant discussion, but in the workshops and factories of the great towns which have been supposed to owe their existence to Free Trade. If it were possible, the fuglemen who boast that they lead the working-men would cast all the blame of declining trade and diminished labour upon the employers. The attempt was made in Lancashire some time since by one or two wandering politicians in search of a seat, but it did not succeed, because the operatives have some little insight into the true state of their own affairs, and cannot well fail to perceive that it is not to the advantage of capitalists to extinguish their furnaces and close their mills. They know that many a manufacturer would have been far better off to-day had he

* Leone Levi, 'History of British Commerce.'

retired from business five years ago. The belief is becoming general among them, that to encourage unrestricted foreign competition in this country, and to be debarred from competing freely in any other country, cannot possibly be advantageous to any class which is obliged to find a living in England. The only argument which has been allowed a hearing for a long period is, that the interests of the 'consumer' alone should be studied; the producer must, if necessary, be trodden under in the strife, or, if he does not like that, let him betake himself to some other land. This was considered as the essence of all wisdom on the subject when it was only a handful of poor Spitalfields weavers, or some other limited and powerless class, who were concerned. But when the 'producer' has to be counted by the million, it will be found that even the most eminent of statesmen are open to conviction, and can be brought with very little pressure to admit that the 'consumer' must not be allowed to profit by 'inequality and injustice.' Who would venture to go down to-day into Staffordshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, and tell the operatives that the only hope before them is in emigration; that henceforth England will be able to supply the means of existence to but a limited number of their order? It will be found that the masters of eloquence, and the deep thinkers, who volunteer to proceed on that mission, will be remarkably few. The strength of the agitation for some kind of check on foreign competition has thus far been brought to a practical test in one constituency only—that of Preston, in May last. The Radical party thought proper to represent it as a distinct issue between Free Trade and Protection, having very little doubt that this would give them an easy victory. Every expedient that could be thought of was adopted to arouse the working-men of Preston to a proper sense of their duty in this perilous 'crisis.' The old paraphernalia of the Free Trade League was furbished up afresh, and pictures of the 'big' and 'little' loaf appealed pathetically to the fathers of families. Mr. Bright issued a 'manifesto,' declaring that Mr. W. F. Ecroyd, though a 'personal friend' of his own, was always 'wrong in his political views.' The Radical papers in London declared that Mr. Ecroyd could not possibly be elected. He 'comes forward,' said one,

'if not as an avowed Protectionist, at all events as the advocate of views inconsistent with the doctrine of Free Trade. That is in itself an issue on which there is no room for hesitating counsels or a vacillating policy. We do not for a moment believe that the country is about to recede one inch from its old principles, or that it is in the slightest

slightest degree influenced by proposals to abandon the half because it cannot have the whole.*

The people of Preston responded to these warnings and appeals by giving Mr. Ecroyd a majority which astonished all parties alike. It is perfectly well known to those who have any knowledge of public opinion in the manufacturing counties that other constituencies are prepared to follow the example of Preston. That contest was the first event in the new agitation which attracted public attention, but the way had been prepared for it long ago. The working-men had made up their minds that 'justice and equality' alike called for some attempt to secure fair dealing from foreign nations. It is evident from the tone of the papers which represent them all over the north, that this conviction is gaining ground rapidly; and it is safe to predict that Mr. Ecroyd will not be the only man sent to Parliament to represent his particular views. We must do him the justice to admit that he has not in any way sought to conceal the nature of the changes he proposes to introduce into our commercial policy. He would impose a duty of ten per cent. on all articles of foreign production, except the raw materials of manufactures, and he would admit importations from our own colonies duty free. His object, he explains, would not be to afford protection to domestic industries, but to raise revenue, lighten taxation, and break down the hostile tariffs of other countries. As for the revenue, his calculation is that over seventeen millions would be produced by the proposed new duties, of which nine millions would be paid by the consumer. Taking the population according to the old census as giving seven millions of families of five persons each, the extra cost of living entailed upon each family would amount to sixpence per week. Mr. Ecroyd further proposes to remit the duties on tea, coffee, and other articles received from nations which do not at present weigh down British commerce with heavy duties, or from our own dependencies; and he calculates that, after all deductions, there would be seven and a half millions sterling 'to relieve our depressed and harassed agriculturists,' and '1,600,000*l.* to increase the interests and profits of wholesale and retail distributors, should competition permit them to charge it to us.' A duty on American wheat would not, he contends, cause any advance in the price of bread, for ample supplies could be procured from Canada; and in return for taking her grain duty free, she would doubtless be willing to admit all English manufactures into her ports on similar terms. He would have the

* 'Daily News,' May 20, 1881.

‘United Kingdom and its colonies and dependencies welded into one great Free Trade Empire, capable, if the Protective system be finally adopted by other nations, of supplying all its own essential wants.’* Such is a brief outline of Mr. Ecroyd’s plan, and whether we like it or dislike it, we shall do well to bear in mind the fact that a great manufacturing constituency has sent the author of it to Parliament, in order that he may advocate its adoption. A Liverpool journal, strongly opposed to Mr. Ecroyd’s opinions, declared after the election that the working-men were ‘alarmed’; that he had ‘created a scare in the factories, and a sort of political contagion seized on the people.’ It is said that this cry for import duties is nothing more than ignorant clamour, but the very persons who tell us so have hitherto taught the working-men that any cry which they think proper to raise must be regarded in the light of a ‘mandate, to be promptly and unhesitatingly obeyed by every sincere lover of the people. It will be somewhat awkward to repudiate this teaching now. If landlords or farmers had asked for a duty on foreign corn, there might have been some hope of inducing the artisans and operatives to withdraw this mandate and issue another; but the classes in question do not ask for any such duties, and appear to take very little interest, even of a speculative kind, in the discussion. This need not surprise any one who looks a little into the facts. No duty that it would be possible to place upon corn would afford the slightest protection to the farmer. He would be the first to regard any such proposition as a wild absurdity. It is calculated that wheat can be grown in America and sold in Liverpool at 36s. a quarter, and allow of a sufficient profit. The English farmer cannot now grow wheat, on an average of years, and considering the present price of labour, at less than 45s. a quarter. What kind of ‘protection’ can be of any service to him? It is true that a small duty on imported wheat would add considerably to the revenue, and there was no good reason for Mr. Lowe remitting the old duty of a shilling a quarter, which brought in about a million a year, was easily collected, and did not affect the price of bread. It was a mere freak, like the match tax. But there is a double motive for the proposal which Mr. Ecroyd and others make to tax grain imported from the United States—first, to raise revenue, and secondly, to compel the Americans to lower their tariffs. It is, of course, impossible to say what effect reprisals would have upon the American Congress. Many industries are growing up which the Americans would be unwilling to see

* ‘The Policy of Self-Help,’ p. 3.

arrested, such as the trade in canned fruits and provisions, now becoming very extensive. Duties on these would produce a large amount of money, without inflicting the slightest hardship upon any class. But is it to be supposed that a duty upon grain would induce the American people to give up buying their own cotton and iron manufactures, and go back voluntarily to the position they were in when their domestic industries were entirely undeveloped? We may dismiss the assumption that they would again retaliate by levying an export duty on raw cotton, for this is beyond their power. There is a clause in their Constitution, distinctly ordaining that 'no tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.*' 'The power is, therefore,' says Judge Story, 'wholly taken away to intermeddle with the subject of exports,' and 'the prohibition extends not only to exports but to the exporter. Congress can no more rightfully tax the one than the other.†' There is no necessity, therefore, to apprehend the imposition of duties on the raw materials of our manufactures. On the other hand, we are unable to see in what way the taxation of imports from America would enable England to regain her former position in the markets of that country. The utmost that can be said is, that the addition from this source would relieve the burden of direct taxation, and undoubtedly this is an important object to gain, for no rational being can suppose that we shall always be able to go on raising 60,000,000*l.* a year by taxing each other, with agriculture in its present state, and a manufacturing trade which is shut out to a great extent from some of the best markets in the world. The total receipts from our customs duties are not much over 20,000,000*l.* a year, and Mr. Gladstone's estimate for the expenditure of 1881 is 81,486,472*l.* Some day or other, however much it may be opposed to the principles we have avowed, we shall be compelled to depend upon imported goods for a larger proportion of our means to defray the cost of carrying on the government. Mr. Gladstone's favourite *coup* is to put a penny in the pound on the income tax, but even this no longer realizes as much as it did formerly. Moderate import duties on certain foreign manufactures would very soon enable a Minister to dispense with the income tax altogether, and if they were judiciously applied, the agriculturists would derive some advantage from the general animation imparted to trade, and in some special commodities—as in wool, for example—they might gain the benefit of an actually increased demand. Beyond this indirect assistance, no system of duties that could be devised

* Article I., sect. 9, clause 5.

† 'Commentaries,' book iii. § 1014-15.

would

would give what is called 'protection' to the British farmer. Mr. Ecroyd himself denies that his scheme is in any sense of a Protectionist character, and it is difficult, indeed, to see what or whom it would protect. The manufacturers themselves say that they do not require any artificial aid to enable them to compete with the foreigner in English markets. They are, if anything, disposed to underrate the extent of competition to which they are now exposed at home. The newspapers, as a rule, make very light of it, and speak of the importations of manufactured goods as utterly insignificant. Thus, the 'Economist' remarked not very long ago that 'of the 400,000,000*l.* worth of commodities we imported last year, little more than a tenth consisted of manufactured goods.' It sounds a mere trifle to say 'little more than a tenth,' but 40,000,000*l.* is not a trifle, and this, according to the estimate of the 'Economist,' is the value of finished manufactures now sold in England by foreigners in direct competition with our own. But practical men* have analysed the returns with great care, and their estimate is that the value of these imports is fully 70,000,000*l.* a year. Whatever may be the precise amount, it is certain that foreign manufactures are coming more largely into the market every year, as the following brief statement relating to three articles only will show:—

	1878.	1880.
	£	£
Imports of cotton manufactures ..	2,058,676	2,672,021
" iron " ..	1,710,775	2,417,083
" woollen yarn ..	1,354,587	1,713,767

Of woollen and worsted manufactures, the importations for the three years 1869–71 were valued at 3,456,675*l.* For the three years 1878–80 the amount had risen to 6,484,397*l.*—an increase of 87 per cent. There are many other articles—such as refined sugar—concerning which similar results are shown. We have quoted quite enough to prove how great a fallacy it is to speak of the importations of foreign manufactures as too insignificant to be deserving of the least consideration.

The plan of uniting our colonies with us in one great commercial Confederation, each member dealing with the other on equal terms, and labouring to promote the common prosperity, has many attractions—'twere a consummation devoutly to be wished.' The day will come when Manitoba alone will be able to grow wheat enough to supply all Europe, and Canadian statesmen are now keeping some such end as that steadily in

* Among them, Mr. H. Mitchell, of Bradford, Chairman in 1880 of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce.

view. But, so far as we are concerned, the formation of a friendly commercial alliance would involve the total reversal of the colonial policy we have hitherto pursued. It has been the rule to treat the colonies with contemptuous indifference. They have been given to understand that they were a burden and an annoyance to us, that it was 'high time' they got out of 'leading strings' and learned to run alone, and that, if only they would cease to claim any connection with us, we should most willingly bid them farewell. And yet, as it has been truly said, 'colonies are not to be picked off the street every day.' We are now beginning to understand their value. Finding that England would give them nothing but hard words, they saw no reason why they should treat her commerce with peculiar favour, and Canada has adopted tariffs which are almost as injurious to us as those of the United States. The Canadian papers all attest that the immediate effect has been considerably to improve local industries; and this, according to the usually received theories on the subject, is the very last result that might have been expected. With the Canadian Dominion it may yet be possible to establish better terms for our merchandise; and Australia, with proper management, may be a far more profitable customer to us than hitherto. There is no public man, however, in England, who seems to have given the subject a moment's thought. Once it was Reform that was to make the nation prosperous and happy; now it is the system of harassing landlords, abolishing the House of Lords, and trying various other miraculous 'pills' for 'curing earthquakes.' When all other resources fail, the agricultural interest can always be made a convenient scape-goat. It is only now that the manufacturers are opening their eyes to the truth, often proved and as often forgotten, that no great class in a nation can suffer from adversity without involving in its misfortunes all other classes. Mr. Bright, who has seldom had anything but taunts for the landlord or the farmer, now refers to them in terms which are almost amiable. He tells the owners of mills and looms that there can be no more bright days in store for them till the owners and occupiers of land are again placed in flourishing circumstances. 'I believe,' he says, 'the agricultural classes have lost more than 150,000,000*l.* sterling through the great deficiency of our harvests.'* The manufacturers look for a good harvest as their best chance of regaining their own lost ground, for if labourers had more money to spend, the home market would receive a new impulse, and the operatives would be earning better wages. The fact

* Letter to Mr. M. G. Lord, of Bradford, April 15th, 1881.

must not be lost sight of, that our manufacturers have been too much in the habit of neglecting the home market in their eagerness to open up a foreign one, and from this short-sighted policy also they are destined to suffer. But one good harvest, or three good harvests, would not enable the 'owners and occupiers of land' to retrieve their past losses. The English farmer can no longer depend upon receiving remunerative prices. The immense influx of grain from abroad will continue, and with a good harvest in this country the labourers would indeed have more money to spend, but there would not be the overflow of surplus wealth into all sorts of trade channels, which the manufacturers hope for. What they have to prepare to meet is a totally new set of conditions in the home as well as in the foreign markets, and in what way they can be enabled to do this, is a problem not less urgent in its character than even the settlement of Irish grievances.

The agitation for retaliatory tariffs has received a fresh impulse from the refusal of the French to renew Mr. Cobden's Treaty, and the announcement of their intention to introduce a new scale of duties on English goods. The proposed increase ranges from seven to two hundred per cent., and on certain kinds of woollen yarns the increase amounts to 210 per cent. On most of our cotton manufactures the increase averages 150 per cent. For years past it has been taken for granted, that the next great change in the commercial policy of France would be the adoption of Free Trade, and so much the greater is the disappointment which is felt now, when it is seen that she has resolved to launch forth on a course of transatlantic Protection. We have failed to convince even our nearest neighbours that Free Trade causes a land to flow with milk and honey. It is true that the English people have been taught that they owe all which they have or can hope for to Free Trade, and that is one great mistake which Mr. Bright and his imitators will have to explain away if they can. While all was well with us, nobody cared to investigate the claims which were made for the great 'panacea,' but it was inevitable that a time would come when other nations would overtake us in manufacturing skill, and then it could not fail to be seen that our wealth had come, not from one cause only, but from many causes combined. The growth of railways, the employment of steam in the carrying trade of the world, the development of other nations, the practical monopoly we enjoyed for many years—all these immense forces are utterly ignored by Mr. Bright. Nothing whatever is said about an event which had more to do with the expansion of trade than all the 'panaceas' ever dreamt

dreamt of by the Manchester school—namely, the discoveries of gold in California and Australia. The receipt of the vast sum of nearly 20,000,000*l.* a year for above thirty years in succession has enabled us to pay for grain and other indispensable commodities, without the strain which even an outlay of five millions in one year of scarcity produced upon all branches of industry before these great discoveries. At a time when railroads were being built, and steam was more and more used on the ocean, a medium of exchange which was recognised all over the world, and which always maintained a steady value, was poured in upon us at a rate unheard of before. We had much to sell which the world wanted, we sold it, and grew rich. In the course of a few years it was found that it cost as little to bring wheat from America as to move it from one part of England to another. What cheap transit alone has done for the extension of trade we may partly estimate from one small fact which was mentioned at a recent meeting of the Farmers' Alliance.* A farmer declared that he 'could bring wheat from New York to London for one shilling per quarter, while to send the same quantity from Robertsbridge† to London he had to pay two shillings, besides terminal charges.' We need not say that freights have not always been so low as this, or probably there would not be so many of our steamers on the ocean; nor is it necessary now for us to do more than direct the reader's attention for one moment to a grievance which is acutely felt by farmers all over the country, and which touches their pockets far more than the Land Laws—that is, the excessive charges now made by the railways for the purpose of providing dividends, and concealing the results of extravagance and mismanagement. This also is a question well worthy of the attention of the Legislature, and whenever it arises there will at least be no cause to complain that the railway interest is not sufficiently represented in the House of Commons. That interest has always understood the short and easy way of securing 'Protection.' The effect of cheap ocean transit has been felt in every little shop in the country, and Free Trade has had no more to do with it than the new comet. But did not Free Trade 'save the people from starvation'? Let us answer the question, as it is well to answer all questions, if practicable, in the light of *facts*. The average price of wheat for nineteen years prior to the introduction of Free Trade—

* Held at Hailsham, June 22nd, 1881.

† Robertsbridge is less than fifty miles from London.

that is to say, from 1828 to 1846—was 57s. 3½d. per quarter. For the thirty-two years from 1847 to 1878, it was 52s. 7½d. per quarter. The difference amounts to 4s. 8d. per quarter, or 7d. per bushel, or less than a halfpenny in the quartern loaf. Thus, the gain to a labouring man and his family has amounted to not more than one penny a week each, and this is the utmost that can be claimed as regards the ‘cheap loaf.’ A penny a head is, of course, worth saving; but is it as much as most people suppose the working-men to have saved by the abolition of all duties on corn? Does it represent the difference between ‘starvation’ and plenty? When the ‘big’ loaf and the ‘little’ loaf are henceforth produced for public inspection at election times, it is to be hoped that the disproportion between them will be considerably reduced. Even, however, if Free Trade had made bread cheap, and at the same time had compelled us to cope with the rest of the world with our hands tied, it would be by no means an unmitigated blessing. If employment cannot be found for our working-men, cheapening the articles of daily consumption will not be enough. You may offer to sell them a loaf of bread for sixpence, but if they cannot earn more than fourpence, they will not be enabled to live. They will have to go to countries where bread may be dearer, but where they can earn the necessary money to buy it with. Even duties such as are proposed by Mr. Ecroyd would not increase the price of bread to anything like the extent which would be inferred from the old argument of the ultra Free Trader. A duty of 4s. a quarter would represent about one penny on a gallon of flour—equivalent to ½d. on a ‘quartern,’ or 4 lb., loaf. This duty would bring in to the revenue not less than 8,000,000*l.* a year, within a million of the whole amount produced by the income tax at fivepence in the pound. Ministers will not always be able to resist the temptation of raising money in a more effectual and a cheaper way than the income tax itself has ever afforded. But, as we have already shown, a duty on corn would not protect the British farmer, and therefore not a single voice has been heard to ask for it in agricultural districts from one end of England to the other. The competition for the supply of this market with wheat would lead the foreign producer to sell at lower prices than he does now, and at least one-half of the duty would fall upon him. If, at the same time, it led him to relax the tariffs which are so great a detriment to our trade, every portion of the nation would have cause to rejoice. The working-men believe that the experiment is worth trying, and that the time is ripe for trying it. Mr. Ecroyd has evidently
caught

caught their opinions upon the subject in the following passage : *—

‘The nations from whom we chiefly purchase our supply of food, and who, until the past five or six years, took large quantities of our manufactures in payment, will now take them from us no longer. They have shut out our goods by heavy duties, and, by thus excluding us from competition, have encouraged the extension of their own manufactures till they can supply themselves. Thus the English workman’s employment, by which he earned the money to pay for his imported food, is taken away from him ; not by competition, which he would gladly meet, but by forcibly excluding his goods by the action of tariffs. This is what has happened, and this is what will prevent him from getting his fair share of employment in future.’

Mr. Bright contends that hostile tariffs cannot be the cause of declining trade, because we ‘have had great prosperity with the same tariffs.’ But what Mr. Bright will never see is, that we had prosperity when other nations bought from us largely because they could not help themselves, not because they loved us, or because some magnetic influence of Free Trade drew them to our shores. We had prosperity when our cotton and iron were indispensable to other nations, but when they ceased to be indispensable we felt the full weight of hostile tariffs. Those tariffs are not the sole cause of a crippled trade, but they are the main cause, for if we could even to-day get into the United States with our goods, the American manufacturer would be driven to the wall. With fair play, our manufacturers can still beat the world, notwithstanding all that is sometimes said about their ‘obstinacy’ and lack of enterprise. Suppose all hostile tariffs abolished, can it be doubted that our great staple trades would revive? How, then, can it be said that hostile tariffs have no effect? Free Trade would then be a reality, and not a delusion ; and this was what the working-men thought they were to have when they asked for it long ago. They would only be too glad to-day to get this genuine Free Trade on any terms, and to let who will take the spurious form which is doing them so much harm. There is not a market in the universe where English goods would not find a ready sale, if only we were allowed to sell them on equal conditions with all competitors. We should not then hear of ‘overproduction,’ or be told that it is nothing more than a ‘change of fashion’ that has filled our warehouses with goods for which there are no buyers. If this kind of Free Trade is not to be had, then the working classes seem disposed to insist upon giving up the kind which they

* From a letter to the ‘Burnley Advertiser,’ Sept. 15th, 1879.

have now, and treating foreigners much as foreigners treat them. 'Equality,' as Mr. Gladstone says, 'is the principle to be observed.' The operatives will probably be quite satisfied to accept the decision of so eminent an authority. They are told by certain London papers, that they are deceived in imagining that there is any distress whatever among them, or any depression of trade, or any cause of anxiety. But on these points they think they are better able to judge correctly than all the professors, statisticians, and philosophers, put together. We have already learned from leaders of 'schools' and advanced thinkers that nothing is what it seems. Revolutionary projects have been avowed by men who are now Cabinet Ministers, and are advocated every day by their satellites, but there is no such thing as a Revolutionary party. The Dilkes and the Chamberlains merely give vent occasionally to a little sportive enthusiasm. The 'expansive intellect' is expanded only with a harmless gas. Again, employment is becoming more difficult to procure, but trade is not depressed. It can be proved by statistics, all neatly tabulated, that there are no smokeless factory-shafts, no silent looms, no closed mills, in all Staffordshire, Yorkshire, or Lancashire. But when all this has been proclaimed by 'master minds' and learned men, the unlearned men in the suffering districts will still rest unsatisfied. They will continue to ask why it is that their work is leaving them, and at no distant period the great 'labour question' will once more be upon us, with a force which will drive before it all other questions, including the Irish question, like chaff before the wind.

The demand for import duties, seeing that it springs from the 'masses,' and not from the 'privileged orders,' will attract the support of many who hitherto have fancied they understood political economy, and thought they believed in it. The gentlemen whose motto is 'Thorough,' and the 'friends of humanity,' whose ears are ever open to the cries of the oppressed, will soon see which way the tide is running. Then they will once more talk to us of progress, throw off the trammels of the past, and rush forth to rescue their countrymen from the yoke of the foreigner. The dead cargo of political economy will be flung overboard, and they will spread their sails gaily under the new flag of Reciprocity. Great are the powers of conversion exercised by the multitude:—

'Almighty crowd, thou shortenest all dispute,
Power is thy essence, wit thy attribute!
Nor faith nor reason make thee at a stay,
Thou leap'st o'er all eternal truths in thy pindaric way!'

It is not improbable that a few 'demonstrations' and pro-cessions may induce the present Ministry, should it remain in office long enough, to pursue in this field also the policy of unconditional surrender, in which it has already gained so much distinction at home and abroad. In some way, and by some party, the present decline of trade must be arrested, and if there is any plan which has more promise in it than that of bringing our colonies into closer relationship with us, let it, by all means, be brought forward. The working-men may be wrong in supposing that 'retaliation' would sweep away hostile tariffs, but it must be remembered that hitherto it has been felt by every foreign power that it was quite safe to impose any duties it thought proper on English goods, because the Free Trade party was strong enough to prevent reprisals. If this assumption were once shown to be erroneous—if we could no longer be depended on to take all the hard blows delivered at us and give none in return—there is at least a probability that we should eventually receive more liberal treatment. Free Trade we have never yet had, and, after talking about it so many years, it is surely time that we made an effort to get it. We continue even now to place heavy duties on the produce of our own possessions, or on that of countries which deal fairly with us, while allowing the prohibitive nations to send most of their wares here untaxed. We are not even consistent in our application of a principle which we adopted at a time when it was suited to our condition, necessities, and purposes, which serves us well no longer under the altered circumstances of the present age, and which has been repudiated with one consent by all other nations having any trade to call their own. We have two of the best markets in the world in which we could raise revenue by duties, England and India; and it may well be doubted whether the governments which are now so much attached to enormous tariffs would care to run the risks of finding these markets practically closed to them. If public opinion on the subject continues to move in its present direction, we may make up our minds that the experiment will be tried. *Doctrinaires* may continue to lose themselves amid a wilderness of sophistical arguments and delusive theories, but the working-men will go straight to the root of the matter. They have so often been told to take example from the United States in everything, that it seems only reasonable they should ask, why not in this also? The Free Trade party in that country does not propose to abolish import duties, but to impose them 'for revenue only.' If that is Free Trade there, as the highest authorities here certify that it is, why should it not be good enough for us? We may not recover, by any exertions,

all the ground we have lost, but we may be able to avert the loss of more. Manchester, Birmingham, and other cities which modern industry has brought into existence, were built, as they stand to-day, for the greatest foreign trade the world ever saw. It has not come, and therefore we hear of mills working on short time, and streets full of empty houses. When we entered upon the career of prosperity which culminated in 1872, there was no nation which could venture into the commercial field against us. The great wars of Europe had prevented any progress in manufactures on the Continent, and the United States had scarcely begun to make anything for themselves, except roads. These were advantages which we could not enjoy for ever, and it would be folly to suppose that they can return. The trade of the world will henceforth be divided among different nations, and the most enterprising and the most skilful will get the lion's share of it, provided that a fair field and no favour is afforded to all. That is what we have to secure. Probably it may become the duty of the Conservative Party to show the people how to secure it. Assuredly it cannot be done by denying the existence of the evil, or by inciting a warfare of classes, or by harassing landlords, or by endeavouring to array one interest against another. Our own workmen have yet to be made familiar with the totally changed conditions of modern commerce all over the world, and if we may judge from certain signs and tokens which are to be observed, they will not without sore difficulty become reconciled to that change, or to the modifications which it must introduce into their own lot.

that every faithful man among us should bestir himself: and in particular that such as have made Greek textual criticism in any degree their study should address themselves to the investigation of the claims of this, the latest product of the combined Biblical learning of the Church and of the sects.

For it must be plain to all that the issue, which has been thus at last raised, is of the most serious character. The authors of this new Revision of the Greek have either entitled themselves to the Church's profound reverence and abiding gratitude; or else they have laid themselves open to her gravest censure, and must experience at her hands nothing short of stern and well-merited rebuke. No middle course presents itself; since assuredly to construct a new Greek Text formed no part of the instructions which the Revisionists received at the hands of the Committee of the Southern Province. Rather were they warned against venturing on such an experiment; the fundamental principle of the entire undertaking having been declared at the outset to be—that '*a Revision of the Authorized Version*' is desirable; and the fundamental rule laid down for the revising body being that they should 'introduce into the Text as few alterations as possible consistent with faithfulness.' It cannot of course be denied that this last clause set the door inconveniently wide open for innovation. But then, a limit was prescribed to the amount of license which might possibly result, by the insertion of a proviso, which however is found to have been disregarded by the Revisionists almost entirely. The condition was imposed upon them that whenever '*decidedly preponderating evidence*' constrained their adoption of some change in 'the Text from which the Authorized Version was made,' they should indicate such alteration in the margin. Will it be believed that, this notwithstanding, not one of the many alterations which have been introduced into the original text is distinctly so commemorated? On the contrary: singular to relate, the margin is disfigured throughout with ominous hints that, had 'some ancient authorities,' 'many ancient authorities,' 'many very ancient authorities,' been attended to, a vast many more changes might, could, would, or should have been introduced into the Greek text than have been actually adopted. And yet, this is precisely the kind of record which we ought to have been spared. First, because it is not reasonable that the echoes of a forgotten strife should be prolonged for ever; least of all in the margins of the Gospel of peace. Next, because we claim on behalf of unlearned persons, that they ought not to be molested with so-called 'various readings' (for the most part singularly uncouth ones), which they are in the same breath invited to disregard, as only ancient

ancient corruptions of the text. Undeniable at all events it is, that the effect which these ever-recurring announcements produce on the devout reader of Scripture is the reverse of edifying; is never helpful, is always perplexing. A man of ordinary acuteness can but exclaim,—‘Yes, very likely. But *what of it?* My eye happens to be resting on “Bethesda” (in S. John v. 2); against which I find in the margin,—“Some ancient authorities read *Bethsaida*, others *Bethzatha*.” Am I then to understand that in the judgment of the Revisionists it is uncertain *which* of those three names is right?’ . . Not so the expert, who is overheard to moralize concerning the phenomena of the case after a somewhat less ceremonious fashion:—“*Bethsaida!*” Yes, the Vulgate, countenanced by *one* manuscript of bad character, so reads. “*Bethzatha!*” Yes, *two* manuscripts (of bad character) so read. Why do you not go on to tell us that *another* manuscript exhibits *Belzetha?*—another (supported by Eusebius and [in one place] by Cyril), *Bezatha?* Nay, why not say plainly that there are found to exist *upwards of thirty* blundering representations of this same word; but that *Bethesda* (the reading of sixteen uncials and the whole body of the cursives, besides the Syriac, Didymus, Chrysostom, and Cyril), is the only true way of exhibiting it? To speak plainly, *Why encumber your margin with such a note at all?*’ . . But we are moving forward too fast.

It can never be any question among scholars, that a fatal error was committed when a body of Divines, appointed to revise the *Authorized English Version* of the New Testament Scriptures, addressed themselves to the solution of an entirely different and far more intricate problem, namely the *re-construction of the Greek Text*. We are content to pass over much that is distressing in the antecedent history of their enterprise. We forbear at this time of day to investigate, by an appeal to documents and dates, certain proceedings in and out of Convocation, on which it is known that the gravest diversity of sentiment still prevails among Churchmen.¹ Our business is exclusively with the *result* at which the Revisionists of the New Testament have arrived; and it is to this that we now address ourselves, with the mere avowal of our grave anxiety at the spectacle of an assembly of scholars, appointed to revise a *Translation*, finding themselves called upon, as every fresh difficulty emerged, to develop the skill requisite for revising the *original Text*. What else is implied by the very endeavour but a singular expectation that

¹ A reference to the ‘Journal of Convocation,’ for a twelvemonth after the proposal for a Revision of the Authorized Version was seriously entertained, will reveal more than it would be convenient in this place even to allude to.

experts in one Science may, at a moment's notice, show themselves proficient in another,—and *that* one of the most difficult and delicate imaginable?

Enough has been said to make it plain why in the ensuing pages we propose to pursue a different course from that which has been adopted by Reviewers generally, since the memorable day (May 17) when the work of the Revisionists was for the first time submitted to public scrutiny. The one point which, with rare exceptions, has ever since monopolized attention, has been the merits or demerits of *their English rendering* of certain Greek words and expressions. But there is clearly a question of prior interest and infinitely greater importance, which has to be settled first: namely, the merits or demerits of *the changes which the same Scholars have taken upon themselves to introduce into the Greek text*. Until it has been ascertained that the result of their labours exhibits a decided improvement upon what before was read, it is clearly a mere waste of time to enquire into the merits of their work as *Revisers of a Translation*. But in fact the treatment which the N. T. has experienced at the hands of the Revisionists recalls the fate of some ancient edifice which confessedly required to be painted, papered, scoured,—with a minimum of masons' and carpenters' work,—in order to be inhabited with comfort for the next hundred years: but the contractors for the job were so ill-advised as to persuade themselves that it required to be to a great extent rebuilt: accordingly, in an evil hour they set about removing foundations, and did so much structural mischief that in the end it became necessary to proceed against them for damages.

Without the remotest intention of imposing views of our own on the general reader, but only to enable him to give his intelligent assent to much that is to follow, we find ourselves constrained in the first instance,—before conducting him over any part of the domain which the Revisionists have ventured uninvited to occupy,—to premise a few ordinary facts which lie on the threshold of the science of Textual Criticism. Until these have been clearly apprehended, no progress is possible.

The provision, then, which the Divine Author of Scripture is found to have made for the preservation in its integrity of His written Word, is of a peculiarly varied and highly complex description. First,—By causing that a vast multiplication of COPIES should be required all down the ages—beginning at the earliest period, and continuing in an ever-increasing ratio until the actual invention of printing,—He provided the most effectual security imaginable against fraud. True, that millions of the copies so produced have long since perished: but it is never the

theless a plain fact that there survive of the Gospel alone upwards of one thousand copies to the present day.

Next, VERSIONS. The necessity of translating the Scriptures into divers languages for the use of different branches of the early Church, procured that many an authentic record has been preserved of the New Testament as it existed in the first few centuries of the Christian era. Thus, the Peschito Syriac and the old Latin version are believed to have been executed in the 2nd century: the two Egyptian translations in the 3rd and 4th. The Vulgate (or revised Latin) and the Gothic belong to the 4th: the Armenian, and possibly the Æthiopic, to the 5th.

Lastly, the requirements of assailants and apologists alike, the business of commentators, the needs of controversialists and teachers in every age, have resulted in a vast accumulation of additional evidence, of which it is scarcely possible to over-estimate the importance. For in this way it has come to pass that every famous Doctor of the Church in turn has quoted more or less largely from the sacred writings, and thus has borne testimony to the contents of the codices with which he was individually familiar. PATRISTIC CITATIONS accordingly are a third great safeguard of the integrity of the deposit.

To weigh these three instruments of Criticism—COPIES, VERSIONS, FATHERS—one against another, is obviously impossible on the present occasion. Such a discussion would grow at once into a treatise.¹ Certain explanatory details, together with a few words of caution, are as much as may be attempted. And first, the reader should be apprised (with reference to the first-named class of evidence) that most of our extant copies of the N. T. Scriptures are comparatively of recent date, ranging from the 10th to the 14th century of our era. That these are in every instance copies of yet older manuscripts, is self-evident: and that in the main they represent faithfully the sacred autographs themselves, no reasonable person doubts. The fact however remains, that they *are* thus separated by about a thousand years from their inspired archetypes. Readers are reminded, in passing, that the little handful of copies, on which we rely for the texts of Herodotus and Thucydides, of Æschylus and Sophocles, are removed from *their* originals by full 500 years more: and that, instead of a thousand, or half a thousand copies, we are dependent for the text of certain of these authors on as many copies as may be

¹ Dr. Scrivener's 'Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament,' 8th edition, 1874 (pp. 607), may be confidently recommended to any one who desires to master the outlines of Textual Criticism under the guidance of a judicious, impartial, and thoroughly competent guide.

counted on the fingers of one hand. In truth, the security which the Text of the New Testament enjoys is altogether unique and extraordinary. To specify one single consideration, which has never yet attracted nearly the amount of attention it deserves,—‘Lectionaries’ abound, which establish the Text which has been publicly read in the churches of the East, from at least A.D. 400 until the time of the invention of printing.

But here an important consideration claims special attention. We have to allude to the result of increased acquaintance with certain of the oldest extant Codices of the N. T. Two of these, viz. a copy in the Vatican technically indicated by the letter B, and the recently-discovered Sinaitic, styled after the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, \aleph , are thought to belong to the 4th century:—two are assigned to the 5th, viz. the Alexandrian (Δ) in the British Museum, and the rescript Codex preserved at Paris, designated C:—one is probably of the 6th, viz. the Codex Bezae (D) preserved at Cambridge. Singular to relate, the first, second, fourth, and fifth of these Codices (B \aleph C D), but especially B and \aleph , have within the last twenty years established a tyrannical ascendancy over the imagination of the critics, which can only be fitly spoken of as a blind superstition. It matters nothing that all four are discovered on careful scrutiny to differ essentially, not only from ninety-nine out of a hundred of the whole body of extant MSS. besides, but even from one another. This last circumstance, obviously fatal to their corporate pretensions, is unaccountably overlooked. And yet it admits of only one satisfactory explanation: viz. that *in different degrees* they all five exhibit a fabricated text. Between the first two (B and \aleph) there subsists an amount of sinister resemblance, which proves that they must have been both derived at no very remote period from the same corrupt original. Yet do they stand asunder in every page, as well as differ widely from the commonly received Text, with which they have been carefully collated. In the Gospels alone, B is found to omit at least 2877 words: to add, 536: to substitute, 935: to transpose, 2098: to modify, 1132 (in all 7578):—the corresponding figures for \aleph being severally 3455, 839, 1114, 2299, 1265 (in all 8972). And be it remembered that the omissions, additions, substitutions, transpositions, and modifications, are by no means the same in both. It is in fact easier to find two consecutive verses in which these two MSS. differ the one from the other, than two consecutive verses in which they entirely agree.

But by far the most depraved text is that exhibited by codex D. ‘No known manuscript contains so many bold and extensive interpolations. Its variations from the sacred Text are beyond all

all other example.'¹ This, however, is not the result of its being the most recent of the five, but (singular to relate) is due to quite an opposite cause. 'When we turn to the Acts of the Apostles,' (says the learned editor of the codex, Dr. Scrivener)—

'We find ourselves confronted with a text, the like to which we have no experience of elsewhere. It is hardly an exaggeration to assert that codex D reproduces the *Textus receptus* much in the same way that one of the best Chaldee Targums does the Hebrew of the Old Testament: so wide are the variations in the diction, so constant and inveterate the practice of expounding the narrative by means of interpolations which seldom recommend themselves as genuine by even a semblance of internal probability.'

'*Sæpe dubites per ludumne an serio scripta legas*,'—is Tischendorf's blunt estimate of the text of that codex. Though a considerable portion of the Gospels is missing, in what remains we find 3704 words omitted: no less than 2213 added, and 2121 substituted. The words transposed amount to 3471: and 1772 have been modified: the deflections from the received text thus amounting in all to 13,281.—Next after D, the most untrustworthy codex is K, which bears on its front a memorable note of the evil repute under which it has always laboured: viz. it is found that at least ten revisers between the 4th and the 12th centuries busied themselves with the task of correcting its many and extraordinary perversions of the truth of Scripture.—Next in impurity comes B:—then, the fragmentary codex C: our own A being, beyond all doubt, disfigured by the fewest blemishes of any.

What precedes admits to some extent of further numerical illustration. It is discovered that in the 111 (out of 320) pages of a copy of Lloyd's Greek Testament, in which alone these five manuscripts are collectively available for comparison in the Gospels,—the serious deflections of A from the *Textus receptus* amount in all to only 842: whereas in C they amount to 1798: in B, to 2370: in K, to 3392: in D, to 4697. The readings peculiar to A within the same limits are 133: those peculiar to C are 170. But those of B amount to 197: while K exhibits 443: and the readings peculiar to D (within the same limits), are no fewer than 1829. . . . We submit that these facts are not altogether calculated to inspire confidence in codices B K C D.

But let the learned chairman of the New Testament company of Revisionists (Bp. Ellicott) be heard on this subject. He is characterizing these same 'old uncials,' which it is just

¹ Scrivener's 'Introd.' p. 118.

now the fashion to hold up as oracular, and to which his lordship is almost as devotedly attached as his neighbours:—

‘The *simplicity and dignified conciseness*’ (he says) ‘of the Vatican manuscript (B): the *greater expansiveness* of our own Alexandrian (A): the *partially mixed characteristics* of the Sinaitic (X): the *paraphrastic tone* of the singular codex Bezae (D), are now brought home to the student.’¹

Could ingenuity have devised severer satire than such a description of four professing *transcripts* of a book; and *that* book, the everlasting Gospel itself?—transcripts, be it observed in passing, on which it is just now the fashion to rely implicitly for the very orthography of proper names,—the spelling of common words,—the minutiae of grammar. What (we ask) would be thought of four such ‘*copies*’ of Thucydides or of Shakspeare? Imagine it gravely proposed, by the aid of four such conflicting documents, to re-adjust the text of the funeral oration of Pericles, or to re-edit ‘Hamlet.’ *Risum teneatis amici?* Why, some of the poet’s most familiar lines would become scarcely recognizable: e.g. A,—‘*Toby or not Toby; that is the question*’: B,—‘*Tob or not, is the question*’: X,—‘*To be a tub, or not to be a tub; the question is that*’: C,—‘*The question is, to beat, or not to beat Toby?*’: D (the ‘singular codex’),—‘*The only question is this; to beat that Toby, or to be a tub?*’

And yet—without by any means subscribing to the precise terms in which the learned Prelate characterizes those *ignes fatui* which have so persistently and egregiously led his lordship and his colleagues astray—(for indeed one seems rather to be reading a description of four styles of composition, or of as many fashions in ladies’ dress, than of four copies of the Gospel)—we have already furnished indirect proof that his estimate of the codices in question is in the main correct. Further acquaintance with them does but intensify the bad character which he has given them. Let no one suppose that we deny their extraordinary value,—their unrivalled critical interest,—nay, their actual *use* in helping to settle the text of Scripture. What we are just now insisting upon is only the *depraved character* of codices X A B C D,—especially of X B D. And because this is a matter which lies at the root of the whole controversy, and because we cannot afford that there shall exist in our reader’s mind the slightest doubt on *this* part of the subject, we shall be constrained once and again to trouble him with detailed specimens of the contents of X B, &c., in proof of the justice of what we have been alleging. We

¹ Bishop Ellieott’s ‘Considerations on Revision,’ &c. (1870), p. 40.

venture to assure him, without a particle of hesitation, that $\aleph \beta \delta$ are *three of the most corrupt copies extant*: have become, by whatever process (for their history is wholly unknown), the depositories of the largest amount of fabricated readings and ancient blunders which are anywhere to be met with.

But in fact turn to p. 184 of Lloyd's Greek Testament—(it contains ten verses of S. Luke's Gospel, ch. viii. 35 to 44)—and proceed to collate those verses. You will make the notable discovery that, within those narrow limits, by codex δ alone, the text has been depraved 53 times, resulting in no less than 103 corrupt readings, 93 of which are found only in δ . The words omitted by δ are 40: the words added are 4. Twenty-five words have been substituted for others, and 14 transposed. Variations of case, tense, &c., amount to 16; and the phrase of the Evangelist has been departed from 11 times. Happily the other four 'old uncials' are here available. And it is found that (within the same limits) α exhibit 3 omissions, 2 of which are peculiar to α . β omits 12 words, 6 of which are peculiar to β : substitutes 3 words; transposes 4; and exhibits 6 lesser changes—2 of them being its own peculiar property. γ has 5 readings (affecting 8 words) peculiar to itself. Its omissions are 7: its additions, 2: its substitutions, 4: 2 words are transposed; and it exhibits 4 lesser discrepancies. ζ has 7 readings (affecting 15 words) peculiar to itself. Its omissions are 4: its additions, 7: its substitutions, 7: its words transposed, 7. It has 2 lesser discrepancies, and it alters the Evangelist's phrase 4 times.

But (we shall be asked) what is the amount of agreement between these 5 codices? for that, after all, is the practical question. We answer,— α has been already shown to stand alone twice: β , 6 times; γ , 8 times: ζ , 15 times: δ , 93 times. We have further to state that $\alpha \beta$ stand by themselves once: $\beta \gamma$, 4 times: $\beta \zeta$, 1: $\beta \delta$, 1: $\gamma \zeta$, 1: $\zeta \delta$, 1. $\alpha \gamma \zeta$ conspire 1: $\beta \gamma \zeta$, 1: $\beta \gamma \delta$, 1: $\alpha \beta \gamma \zeta$, once (viz. in reading *ἐρώτησεν*, which Tischendorf admits to be a corrupt reading): $\beta \gamma \zeta \delta$, also once. The 5 'old uncials' therefore ($\alpha \beta \gamma \zeta \delta$) combine, and again stand apart, with singular impartiality. Lastly, they are never once found to be in accord in respect of any single 'various reading.' Will any one, after a candid survey of the premisses, deem us unreasonable, if we avow that such a specimen of the *concordia discors* which everywhere prevails between the oldest uncials, but which especially characterizes $\aleph \beta \delta$, indisposes us greatly to suffer their unsupported authority to determine for us the text of Scripture?

Nothing has been said as yet about the character of the text exhibited by the earliest of the Versions and by the most ancient of

of the Fathers. But, for the purpose we have just now in hand, neither are such details necessary. We desire to hasten forward. A somewhat fuller review of certain of our oldest available materials might prove even more discouraging. But *that* would only be because it is impossible, within such narrow limits as the present, to give the reader any idea at all of the wealth of our actual resources; and to convince him of the extent to which the least trustworthy of our guides prove in turn invaluable helps in correcting the exorbitancies of their fellows. The practical result, in fact, of what has been hitherto offered is after all but this, that we have to be on our guard against pinning our faith exclusively on two or three,—least of all on one or two ancient documents; and of adopting *them* exclusively for our guides. We are shown, in other words, that it is utterly out of the question to rely absolutely on any single *set* of authorities, much less on any single document, for the determination of the Text of Scripture. Happily, our manuscripts are numerous: most of them are in the main trustworthy: *all* of them represent far older documents than themselves. Our Versions (two of which are more ancient by a couple of centuries than any sacred codex extant) severally correct and check one another. Lastly, in the writings of a host of Fathers,—the principal being Eusebius, Athanasius, Basil, the Gregories, Didymus, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, the Cyrils, Theodoret,—we are provided with contemporaneous evidence which, whenever it can be had, becomes an effectual safeguard against the unsupported decrees of our oldest codices, A B & C D, as well as the occasional vagaries of the Versions. No more precarious foundation for a reading, in fact, can be named, than the unsupported advocacy of a single manuscript, or Version, or Father; or even of two or three of these combined.

But indeed the principle involved in the foregoing remarks admits of being far more broadly stated. It even stands to reason that we may safely reject any reading which, out of the whole body of available authorities,—manuscripts, versions, Fathers,—finds an advocate nowhere save in one and the same little handful of suspicious documents. For we resolutely maintain, that external Evidence must after all remain our best, our only safe guide; and (to come to the point) we refuse to throw in our lot with those who, disregarding the witness of *every other* known codex—all the versions—and *every other* available ecclesiastical writer,—insist on following the dictates of a little handful of authorities, of which nothing is known with certainty except that, when they concur exclusively, it is often demonstrably only to mislead. We speak of codices B or & or D; the

D; the 9th century codex L, and such cursives¹ as 13 or 33; a few copies of the old Latin and one of the Egyptian versions: perhaps Origen. Not theory therefore: not prejudice: not conjecture: not unproved assertion: not codex B: not an imaginary 'Antiochene recension' of another imaginary 'Præ-Syrian text': not antecedent fancies about the affinity of documents: nothing of this sort (however specious and plausible it may sound, especially when set forth in magisterial language and recommended by justly respected names),—nothing of this sort, we say, must be allowed to determine for us the text of Scripture. We deem it even axiomatic, that, in every case of doubt, our critical method must be the same: namely, after patiently collecting *all* the available evidence, then without partiality or prejudice to adjudicate between the conflicting authorities, and loyally to accept that verdict for which there is clearly the preponderating evidence. *The best supported reading*, in other words, must always be held to be *the true reading*: and nothing may on any account be rejected from the commonly received Text, except on evidence which shall *clearly* outweigh the evidence for retaining it. Whenever the evidence is about evenly balanced, few it is hoped will deny that the Text which has been 'in possession' for three centuries and a half, and which rests on infinitely better manuscript evidence than that of any ancient work which can be named,—should, for every reason, be let alone.²

But, (we shall perhaps be asked,) has any critical editor of the N. T. seriously taught the reverse of all this? Yes, indeed, we answer. Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf,—the most recent and most famous of modern editors,—have all three adopted a directly opposite theory of textual revision. With the first-named, fifty years ago (1831), virtually originated the principle of recurring exclusively to a few ancient documents to the exclusion of the many. 'LACHMANN'S text seldom rests on more than four Greek codices, very often on three, not unfrequently on two, *sometimes on only one*.'³ Of the Greek Fathers (he said) he employed *only Origen*.⁴ Paying extraordinary deference to the Latin Version, he entirely disregarded the coëval Syriac translation. The result of such a system must needs prove satisfactory to no one except its author.

¹ The word is used to describe manuscripts written in 'running-hand,' of which the oldest are considered to belong to the 9th century.

² Once for all, to avoid cavil, let it be observed that we do not claim *perfection* for the received text. We point out further on (see p. 366), that it needs correction.

³ Scrivener's 'Introduction,' p. 342-4. We prefer to quote the indictment from the pages of one of the Revisionists.

⁴ 'Ex scriptoribus Græcis tantisper Origene solo usi sumus.'—*Prefatio*, p. xxi.
Lachmann's

Lachmann's leading fallacy has perforce proved fatal to the value of the text put forth by DR. TREGELLES. Of the scrupulous accuracy, the indefatigable industry, the pious zeal of that estimable and devoted scholar, we speak not. All honour to his memory! As a specimen of conscientious labour, his edition of the N. T. (1857-72) passes praise, and will *never* lose its value. But it has only to be stated, that Tregelles effectually persuaded himself that '*eighty-nine ninetieths*' of our extant manuscripts and other authorities may safely be rejected and lost sight of when we come to amend the text and try to restore it to its primitive purity,¹—to make it plain that in Textual Criticism he must needs be regarded as an untrustworthy teacher. *Why* he should have condescended to employ no patristic authority later than Eusebius [fl. A.D. 320], he does not explain.

With DR. TISCHENDORF—(whom one vastly his superior in learning, accuracy, and judgment, has generously styled 'the first Biblical Critic in Europe'²)—'*the evidence of codex x*, supported or even unsupported by one or two other authorities of any description, is sufficient to outweigh any other witnesses, whether manuscripts, versions, or ecclesiastical writers.'³ We need say no more. Until the foregoing charge has been disproved, Dr. Tischendorf's edition of the N. T., however precious as an unrivalled storehouse of materials for criticism,—however admirable as a specimen of unwearied industry, critical learning, and first-rate ability,—must be admitted to be utterly untrustworthy as a guide to the truth of the inspired Text. It has been ascertained that his discovery of codex x caused his 8th edition (1865-72) to differ from his 7th in no less than 3369 places,—to the scandal of the science of Comparative Criticism, as well as to his own grave discredit for discernment and consistency.⁴ But, in fact, what is to be thought of a critic who,—because the last verse of S. John's Gospel in x seemed to himself to be *written with a different pen* from the rest,—has actually omitted that last verse entirely, in defiance of every known copy, every known version, and the explicit testimony of a host of Fathers? Such are Origen (10 times),—Eusebius (3),—Gregory Nyss. (2),—Gregory Nazian.,—Nonnus,—Chrysostom (6),—Theodorus Mops.,—Isidorus,—Cyril Alex. (2),—Victor Ant.,—Ammonius,—Severus,—Maximus,—Andreas Creten.,—Ambrose,—Gaudentius,—Philastrius,—Sedulius,—Jerome,—Augustine (6).

The last to enter the field are DRS. WESTCOTT and HORT, whose beautifully-printed edition of 'the New Testament in the

¹ Scrivener's 'Introd.' p. 472.

² Ibid. p. 470.

³ Ibid. (ed. 1874), p. 429.

⁴ Ibid.

original Greek' was published *on the same day* with the 'Revised Authorized Version, itself, a copy of their work having been already confidentially entrusted to every member of the N. Test. company of Revisionists to guide them in their labours. The learned Editors candidly avow, that they 'have deliberately chosen on the whole to rely for documentary evidence on the stores accumulated by their predecessors, and to confine themselves to their proper work of editing the text itself.'¹ Nothing therefore has to be enquired after, except the critical principles on which they have proceeded. And, after assuring us that 'the study of grouping is the foundation of all enduring Criticism'² they produce their secret: viz. that in 'every one of our witnesses' *except codex B*, the 'corruptions are innumerable';³ and that, in the Gospels, the one 'group of witnesses' of '*incomparable value*,' is codex B in 'combination with another primary Greek manuscript, as $\aleph B$, B L, B C, B T, B D, B Ξ , A B, B Z, B $\beta\beta$, and in S. Mark B Δ .'⁴ This is 'Textual Criticism made easy,' certainly. Well aware of the preposterous results to which such a major premiss must inevitably lead, we are not surprised to find a plea straightway put in for '*instinctive processes of Criticism*,' of which the foundation '*needs perpetual correction and recorection*.' But our confidence fairly gives way when, in the same breath, the accomplished Editors proceed as follows:—'But we are obliged to come to the *individual mind* at last; and canons of criticism are useful only as warnings against natural illusions, and aids to circumspect consideration, not as absolute rules to prescribe the final decision. It is true that no individual mind can ever work with perfect uniformity, or free itself completely from its own idiosyncrasies. Yet a clear sense of the danger of unconscious caprice may do much towards excluding it. We trust also that the present text has escaped some risks of this kind by being the joint production of two editors of different habits of mind.'⁵ A somewhat insecure safeguard surely! May we be permitted without offence to point out that the 'idiosyncrasies' of an 'individual mind' (to which we learn with astonishment 'we are obliged to come at last') are probably the very worst foundation possible on which to build the recension of an inspired writing? With regret we record our conviction, that these accomplished scholars have succeeded in producing a Text vastly more remote from the inspired autographs of the Evangelists than any which has appeared since the invention

¹ From the Preface prefixed to the 'limited and private issue' of 1870, p. vi.

² Ibid. p. xv.

⁴ Ibid. p. xvi.

³ Ibid. p. xviii.

⁵ Ibid. pp. xviii., xix.

of printing. When full Prolegomena have been furnished, we shall know more about the matter:¹ but, to judge from the Remarks (p. 541–62) which the learned Editors (Revisionists themselves) have subjoined to their elegantly-printed volume, it is to be feared that the fabric will be found to rest too exclusively

¹ While these sheets are passing through the press, a copy of the long-expected volume reaches us. The theory of the respected authors proves to be the simplest imaginable, and is briefly *this*:—Fastening on the two oldest codices extant (B and N, both of the 4th century), they invent the following hypothesis:—‘That the ancestries of those two manuscripts *diverged from a point near the autographs, and never came into contact subsequently.*’

Having thus secured two independent witnesses of what was in the sacred autographs, the Editors claim that *the coincidence of N and B* must ‘mark those portions of text in which two primitive and entirely separate lines of transmission had not come to differ from each other through independent corruption:’ and therefore that, ‘in the absence of specially strong internal evidence to the contrary,’ ‘the readings of N and B combined *may safely be accepted as genuine.*’

What is to be done, however, when the same two codices *diverge one from the other*? In all such cases (we are assured) the readings of any ‘binary combination’ of B are to be preferred, because ‘on the closest scrutiny,’ they generally ‘have the ring of genuineness;’ hardly ever ‘look suspicious after full consideration.’ ‘Even when B stands *quite alone*, its readings must never be lightly rejected.’

But we decline to admit that the texts exhibited by B & N can have ‘diverged from a point near the sacred autographs, and never come into contact subsequently.’ We are able to show, on the contrary, that the readings they jointly embody afford the strongest presumption that the MSS. which contain them are nothing else but specimens of those ‘corrected,’ i.e. *corrupted* copies, which are known to have abounded in the earliest ages of the Church. From the prevalence of identical depravations in either, we infer that they are, on the contrary, derived from some not very remote corrupt common ancestor: and therefore, that their coincidence, when they differ from all (or nearly all) other MSS., so far from marking ‘two primitive and entirely separate lines of transmission’ of the inspired autographs, does but mark what was derived from the same corrupt common ancestor; whereby the supposed two independent witnesses to the Evangelic verity become resolved into a *single witness to a fabricated text of the 3rd century.*

It is impossible in the meantime to withhold from these learned and excellent men (who are infinitely better than their theory) the tribute of our sympathy and concern at the evident perplexity and constant distress to which their own fatal major premiss has reduced them. The Nemesis of Superstition and Idolatry is ever the same. Doubt,—unbelief,—credulity,—general mistrust of *all* evidence, is the inevitable sequel and penalty. In 1870, Drs. Westcott and Hort solemnly assured their brother Revisionists that ‘the prevalent assumption, that throughout the N. T. the true text is to be found *somewhere* among recorded readings, *does not stand the test of experience:*’^a and they are evidently still haunted by the same spectral suspicion. They see a ghost to be exorcised in every dark corner. ‘The Art of Conjectural Emendation’ (says Dr. Hort) ‘depends for its success so much on personal endowments, fertility of resource in the first instance, and even more an appreciation of language too delicate to acquiesce in merely plausible corrections, that it is easy to forget its true character as a critical operation founded on knowledge and method.’^b Specimens of the writer’s skill in this department abound. One occurs at p. 135 (*App.*) where, *in defiance of every known document*, he evacuates S. Paul’s memorable injunction to Timothy (2 Tim. i. 13) of all its significance. May we be allowed to assure him that IN BIBLICAL TEXTUAL CRITICISM ‘CONJECTURAL EMINATION’ HAS NO PLACE?

^a P. xxi.

^b *Introd.* p. 71.

on vague assumption and unproved hypothesis. In other words, a painful apprehension is created, that their edition of 'The New Testament in the original Greek' will be found to partake inconveniently of the nature of a work of the imagination. As codex α proved fatal to Dr. Tischendorf, so is codex B evidently the rock on which Drs. Westcott and Hort have split.

But surely (rejoins the intelligent reader, coming fresh to these studies), the oldest extant manuscripts (B α A C D) *must* exhibit the purest text! Is it not so? It *ought* to be so, no doubt (we answer); but it certainly *need not* be the case.

We know that Origen in Palestine, Lucian at Antioch, Hesychius in Egypt, 'revised' the text of the N. T. Unfortunately, they did their work in an age when such fatal misapprehension prevailed on the subject, that each in turn will have inevitably imported a fresh assortment of *monstra* into the sacred writings. Add, the baneful influence of such spirits as Theophilus (sixth Bishop of Antioch, A.D. 168), Tatian, Ammonius, &c., of whom there must have been a vast number in the primitive age,—some of whose productions, we know for certain, were freely multiplied in every quarter of ancient Christendom:—add, the fabricated gospels which anciently abounded; notably the 'Gospel of the Hebrews,' about which Jerome is so communicative, and which (he says) he had translated into Greek and Latin:—lastly, freely grant that, here and there, with well-meant assiduity, the orthodox themselves may have sought to prop up truths which the early heretics (Basilides [134], Valentinus [140] with his disciple Heracleon, Marcion [150], and the rest, most perseveringly assailed;—and we have sufficiently explained how it comes to pass that not a few of the codices of ancient Christendom must have exhibited a text which was even scandalously corrupt. 'It is no less true to fact than paradoxical in sound,' writes the most learned of the Revisionist body,

'that the worst corruptions, to which the New Testament has ever been subjected, originated within a hundred years after it was composed: that Irenæus [A.D. 150] and the African Fathers, and the whole Western, with a portion of the Syrian Church, used far inferior manuscripts to those employed by Stunica, or Erasmus, or Stephens thirteen centuries later, when moulding the Textus Receptus.'

And what else are codices α B C D but *specimens*—*in vastly different degrees*—of the class thus characterized by Dr. Scrivener? Nay, who will venture to deny that those codices are indebted for their preservation *solely* to the circumstance, that they were

¹ Scrivener, 'Introduction,' p. 453.

long since recognized as the depositories of readings which rendered them utterly untrustworthy?

Only by singling out some definite portion of the Gospels, and attending closely to the handling it has experienced at the hands of $\text{A} \text{N} \text{B} \text{C} \text{D}$ —to the last four of which it is just now the fashion to bow down as to an oracular voice from which there shall be no appeal—can the student become fully aware of the hopelessness of any attempt to reconstruct the text of the N. T. out of the materials which those codices supply. Let us this time take S. Mark's account of the healing of 'the paralytic borne of four' (ch. ii. 1–12). In the course of those 12 verses (not reckoning 4 blunders and certain peculiarities of spelling) there will be found to be 60 variations of reading,—of which, 55 are nothing else but depravations of the text, the result of inattention or licentiousness. Westcott and Hort adopt 23 of these:—18, in which $\text{N} \text{B}$ conspire to vouch for a reading: 2, where N is unsupported by B : 2, where B is unsupported by N : 1, where $\text{C} \text{D}$ are supported by neither N nor B . Now, in the present instance the 'five old uncials' *cannot be* the depositories of a tradition,—whether Western or Eastern,—because they render inconsistent testimony *in every verse*. It must further be admitted (for this is really not a question of opinion, but a plain matter of fact), that it is unreasonable to place confidence in such documents. What would be thought in a Court of Law of five witnesses, called up 47 times for examination, who should be observed to bear contradictory testimony *every time*?

But the whole of the problem does not by any means lie on the surface. All that *appears* is that the five oldest uncials are not trustworthy witnesses, which singly in the course of 12 verses separate themselves from their fellows 33 times: viz. A , twice; N , 5 times; B , 6 times; C , thrice; D , 17 times: and which also enter into the 11 following combinations with one another in opposition to the ordinary Text:— $\text{A} \text{C}$, twice; $\text{N} \text{B}$, 10 times; $\text{N} \text{D}$, once; $\text{C} \text{D}$, 3 times; $\text{N} \text{B} \text{C}$, once; $\text{N} \text{B} \text{D}$, 5 times; $\text{N} \text{C} \text{D}$, once; $\text{N} \text{B} \text{C} \text{D}$, once; $\text{A} \text{N} \text{C} \text{D}$, once; $\text{A} \text{B} \text{C} \text{D}$, once; $\text{A} \text{N} \text{B} \text{C} \text{D}$, once. (Note that, on this last occasion, which is the *only* time when they all 5 agree, *they are certainly all 5 wrong*.) But this, as was observed before, lies on the surface. On closer inspection, it is further discovered that their testimony betrays the baseness of their origin by its intrinsic worthlessness. Thus, in ver. 1, the delicate precision of the announcement $\eta\kappa\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\theta\eta\ \acute{o}\tau\iota\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ (that '*He has gone in*') disappears from $\text{N} \text{B} \text{D}$:—as well as (in ver. 2) the circumstance that it became the signal for many '*immediately*' ($\text{N} \text{B}$) to assemble about the door. In ver. 4, S. Mark explains his predecessor's concise statement

statement that the paralytic was 'brought to' our SAVIOUR,¹ by remarking that the thing was 'impossible' by the ordinary method of approach. Accordingly, his account of the expedient resorted to by the bearers fills one entire verse (ver. 4) of his Gospel. In the mean time, $\aleph B$ by exhibiting in S. Mark ii. 3, 'bringing unto Him one sick of the palsy' (φέροντες πρὸς αὐτὸν παραλυτικόν,—which is but a senseless transposition of πρὸς αὐτὸν, παραλυτικὸν φέροντες), do their best to obliterate the exquisite significance of the second Evangelist's method. In the next verse, the perplexity of the bearers, who, because they could not 'come nigh Him' (προσέγγισαι αὐτῷ), unroofed the house, is lost in $\aleph B$,—whose προσενέγκαι has been obtained either from Matt. ix. 2, or else from Lu. v. 18, 19 (εἰσενεγκεῖν, εἰσενέγκωσιν). 'The bed WHERE WAS the paralytic' (τὸν κράββατον ὅπου ἦν ὁ παραλυτικός, in imitation of 'the roof WHERE WAS' Jesus (τὴν στέγην ὅπου ἦν [ὁ Ἰησοῦς]), which had immediately preceded), is just one of those tasteless depravations, for which $\aleph B$, and especially D, are conspicuous among manuscripts. In the last verse, the *instantaneous rising* of the paralytic, noticed by S. Mark (ἡγέρθη εὐθέως) and insisted upon by S. Luke ('and immediately he rose up before them,'—καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀναστὰς ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν), is obliterated by shifting εὐθέως in $\aleph B$ and C to a place where εὐθέως is not wanted and where its significance disappears.

Other instances of assimilation are conspicuous. All must see that, in ver. 5, καὶ ἰδὼν ($\aleph B C$) is derived from Matt. ix. 2 and Luke v. 20: as well as that 'Son, be of good cheer' (C) is imported hither from Matt. ix. 2. 'My son,' on the other hand (\aleph), is a mere effort of the imagination. In the same verse, σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ($\aleph B D$) is either from Matt. ix. 5 (*sic*); or else from ver. 9 lower down in S. Mark's narrative. Λέγοντες in ver. 6 (D) is from Luke v. 21. "Ἐπαγε (\aleph) in ver. 9, and ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου (D), are clearly importations from ver. 11. The strange confusion in ver. 7,—'Because this man thus speaketh, he blasphemeth' (B),—and 'Why doth this man thus speak? He blasphemeth' ($\aleph D$),—is due solely to Matt. ix. 3:—while the appendix proposed by \aleph as a substitute for 'We never saw it on this fashion' (οὐδέποτε οὕτως εἶδομεν), in ver. 12 (*viz.* 'It was never so seen in Israel,' οὐδέποτε οὕτως ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ), has been transplanted hither from Matt. ix. 33.

We shall perhaps be told that, scandalously corrupt as the text of $\aleph B C D$ hereabouts may be, no reason has been shown as yet for suspecting that *heretical* depravation ever had anything to do with such phenomena. That (we answer) is only because

¹ προσέφερον αὐτῷ,—S. Matt. ix. 2.

the writings of the early depravers and fabricators of Gospels have universally perished. From the slender relics of their iniquitous performances which have survived to our time, we are sometimes able to lay our finger on a foul blot, and to say, 'This came from Tatian's Diatessaron; and that from Marcion's mutilated recension of the Gospel according to S. Luke.' The piercing of our SAVIOUR'S side, transplanted by codices \aleph B C from S. John xix. 34 into S. Matt. xxvii. 49, is an instance of the former,—which it may reasonably create astonishment to find that Drs. Westcott and Hort (*alone among editors*) have nevertheless admitted into their text, as equally trustworthy with the last 12 verses of S. Mark's Gospel. But it occasions a stronger sentiment than surprise to discover that this, 'the gravest interpolation yet laid to the charge of B,'—this 'sentence which neither they nor any other competent scholar can possibly believe that the Evangelist ever wrote,'¹—has been actually foisted into the margin of the Revised Version of S. Matt. xxvii. 49. Were not the Revisionists aware that such a disfigurement must prove fatal to their work? For whose benefit is the information volunteered that 'many ancient authorities' are thus grossly interpolated?

An instructive specimen of depravation follows, which can be traced to Marcion's mutilated recension of S. Luke's Gospel. We venture to entreat the favour of the reader's sustained attention to the license with which the LORD'S Prayer, as given in S. Luke's Gospel (xi. 2-4), is exhibited by codices \aleph A B C D. For every reason one would have expected that so precious a formula would have been found enshrined in the 'old uncials' in peculiar safety; handled by copyists of the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries with peculiar reverence. Let us ascertain exactly what has befallen it:—

(a) D introduces it by interpolating the following free paraphrase of Matt. vi. 7:—'*Use not vain repetitions as the rest: for some suppose that they shall be heard by their much speaking. But when ye pray*' . . . After which portentous exordium,

(b) B \aleph omit the 5 words, 'Our' 'which art in heaven.' Then,

(c) D omits the article ($\tau\omicron$) before 'name': and supplements the first petition with the words 'upon us' ($\epsilon\phi'$ $\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$). It must needs also transpose the words 'Thy Kingdom' ($\eta\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$).

(d) B in turn omits the third petition,—'*Thy will be done, as in heaven, also on the earth*'; which 11 words \aleph retains, but adds 'so' before 'also,' and omits the article ($\tau\omicron\eta\varsigma$); finding for once an ally in A C D.

¹ Scrivener, 'Introd.' p. 472.

(e) \aleph D for διδου write δός (from Matt.)

(f) \aleph omits the article (τό) before 'day by day.' And,

(g) D, instead of the 3 last-named words, writes 'this day' (from Matt.): substitutes 'debts' (τὰ ὀφειλήματα) for 'sins' (τὰ ἁμαρτήματα,—also from Matt.): and in place of 'for [we] ourselves' (καὶ γὰρ αὐτοί) writes 'as also we' (ὥς καὶ ἡμεῖς, again from Matt.). But,

(h) \aleph shows its sympathy with D by accepting two-thirds of this last blunder: exhibiting 'as also [we] ourselves' (ὥς καὶ αὐτοί).

(i) D consistently reads 'our debtors' (τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν) in place of 'every one that is indebted to us' (παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῶν). Finally,

(j) B \aleph omit the last petition,—'but deliver us from evil' (ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ)—unsupported by A C or D. Of lesser discrepancies we decline to take account.

So then, these five 'first-class authorities' are found to throw themselves into six different combinations in their departures from S. Luke's way of exhibiting the LORD'S Prayer,—which, among them, they contrive to falsify in respect of no less than 45 words; and yet they are never able to agree among themselves as to any single various reading: while only once are more than two of them observed to stand together,—viz. in the unauthorized insertion of the article. In respect of 32 (out of the 45) words, they bear in turn solitary evidence. What need to declare that it is certainly false in every instance? Such however is the infatuation of the critics, that the vagaries of B are all taken for gospel. Besides omitting the 11 words which B omits jointly with \aleph , Drs. Westcott and Hort erase from the Book of Life those other 11 precious words which are omitted by B only. And in this way it comes to pass that the mutilated condition to which the scalpel of Marcion the heretic reduced the LORD'S Prayer some 1730 years ago¹ (for the mischief can all be traced back to him!), is palmed off on the Church of England by the Revisionists as the work of the Sacred Writers!

(A) We may now proceed with our examination of their work, beginning—as Dr. Roberts, one of the Revisionists, does, in his work explaining the method and results of their labours—with what we hold to be the gravest blot of all, viz. the marks of serious suspicion which we find set against the last 12 verses of S. Mark's Gospel. Well may the learned writer anticipate that—

¹ The words omitted are therefore the following 22:—ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς . . . γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . . ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

‘The reader will be struck by the appearance which this long paragraph presents in the Revised Version. Although inserted, it is marked off by a considerable space from the rest of the Gospel. A note is also placed in the margin containing a brief explanation of this.’¹

He refers to the words—

‘The two oldest Greek manuscripts, and some other authorities, omit from ver. 9 to the end. Some other authorities have a different ending to the Gospel.’

But now,—For the use of *whom* has this piece of information been volunteered? Not for learned readers certainly: it being familiarly known to all, that codices B and \aleph *alone of manuscripts* (to their own effectual condemnation) omit these 12 verses. But then scholars know something more about the matter. They also know that these 12 verses have been made the subject of a separate treatise extending to upwards of 300 pages,—which treatise has now been before the world for a full decade of years, and for the best of reasons has never yet been answered. Its object, stated on its title-page, was to vindicate against recent critical objectors, and to establish ‘the last Twelve Verses’ of S. Mark’s Gospel.² Moreover, competent judges at once admitted that the author had succeeded in doing what he undertook to do.³ Can it then be right (we respectfully enquire) still to insinuate into unlearned minds distrust of twelve consecutive verses of the everlasting Gospel, which yet have been demonstrated to be as trustworthy as any other verses which can be named?

The question arises, But how did it come to pass that such evil counsels were allowed to prevail in the Jerusalem Chamber? Light has been let into the subject by two of the New Testament company. And first by Dr. Newth, who has been at the pains to describe the method which was pursued on such occasions. The practice (he informs us) was as follows. The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol as chairman, asks—

‘Whether any *textual* changes are proposed? The evidence for and against is briefly stated, and the proposal considered. The duty of stating this evidence is by tacit consent devolved (*sic*) upon two members of the Company, who from their previous studies are specially entitled to speak with authority upon such questions,—Dr. Scrivener and Dr. Hort,—and who come prepared to enumerate particularly the authorities on either side. Dr. Scrivener opens up the matter by stating the facts of the case, and by giving his judgment on the

¹ ‘Companion to the Revised Version,’ p. 61.

² Pp. 334, published by Parker, Oxford, 1871.

³ As Dr. Jacobson and Dr. Chr. Wordsworth,—the learned Bishops of Chester and Lincoln.

bearings of the evidence. Dr. Hort follows, and mentions any additional matters that may call for notice, and, if differing from Dr. Scrivener's estimate of the weight of the evidence, gives his reasons and states his own view. After discussion, the vote of the Company is taken, and the proposed reading accepted or rejected. *The Text being thus settled*, the Chairman asks for proposals on the rendering.¹

And thus, the men who were appointed to improve the *English Translation*, are exhibited to us remodelling the original Greek. At a moment's notice, as if by intuition, these eminent Divines undertake to decide which shall be deemed the genuine words of the Sacred Writers, and which *not*. Each is called upon to give his vote, and he gives it. '*The Text being thus settled*,' they proceed to do the only thing they were originally appointed to do; viz. to try their hands at improving our Authorized Version. But we venture respectfully to suggest, that by no such 'rough-and-ready' process is that most delicate and difficult of all critical problems—the truth of Scripture—to be 'settled.'

We naturally cast about for some evidence that the members of the New Testament company possess that mastery of the subject which alone could justify one of their number (Dr. Milligan) in asserting roundly that these 12 verses are '*not from the pen of S. Mark himself*;' ² and another (Dr. Roberts) in maintaining that '*the passage is not the immediate production of St. Mark*.' ³ Dr. Roberts assures us that—

'Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, Victor of Antioch, Severus of Antioch, Jerome, as well as other writers, especially Greeks, testify that these verses were not written by S. Mark, or not found in the best copies.' ⁴

Will the learned writer permit us to assure him in return that he is entirely mistaken? He is requested to believe that Gregory of Nyssa says nothing of the sort—*says nothing at all* concerning these verses: that Victor of Antioch vouches emphatically for their *genuineness*: that Severus does but copy, while Jerome does but translate, a few random expressions of Eusebius: and that Eusebius himself *nowhere* 'testifies that these verses were not written by S. Mark.' So far from it, Eusebius actually *quotes the verses*, quotes them as *genuine*. Dr. Roberts is further assured that there are *no* 'other writers,' whether Greek or Latin, who insinuate doubt concerning these verses. On the contrary, besides *both* the Latin and *all* the Syriac—besides the Gothic and the *two* Egyptian versions—

¹ 'Lectures on Bible Revision,' pp. 119–20.

² 'Words of the N. T.' p. 193.

³ 'Companion to the Revised Version,' p. 63.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 62.

there

there exist four authorities of the 2nd century; as many of the 3rd; five of the 5th; four of the 6th; as many of the 7th;—together with *at least ten* of the 4th¹ (*contemporaries therefore of codices B and S*);—which actually recognize the verses in question. Now, when to every known manuscript but two of bad character,—besides every ancient Version,—some one-and-thirty Fathers are added, 18 of whom must have used copies at least as old as either B or S,—Dr. Roberts is assured that an amount of external authority has been accumulated which is simply impregnable in discussions of this nature. But the significance of a single circumstance, of which up to this point nothing has been said, is alone sufficient to determine the controversy. We refer to the fact that in every part of Eastern Christendom these same 12 verses—neither more nor less—have been from the earliest recorded period, and still are, a proper lesson both for the Easter season and for Ascension Day.

We pass on.

(B) A more grievous perversion of the truth of Scripture is scarcely to be found than occurs in the proposed revised exhibition of S. Luke ii. 14, in the Greek and English alike; for indeed not only is the proposed Greek text (*ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας*) impossible, but the English of the Revisionists ('*peace among men in whom he is well pleased*') 'can be arrived at' (as one of themselves has justly remarked) 'only through some process which would make any phrase bear almost any meaning the translator might like to put upon it.' More than that: the harmony of the exquisite three-part hymn, which the Angels sang on the night of the Nativity, becomes hopelessly marred, and its structural symmetry destroyed, by the welding of the second and third members of the sentence into one. Singular to relate, the addition of a single letter (*s*) has done all this mischief. Quite as singular is it that we should be able at the end of upwards of 1700 years to discover what occasioned its calamitous insertion. From the archetypal copy, by the aid of which the old Latin translation was made (for the Latin copies all read '*pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis*'), the preposition *ἐν* was evidently away,—absorbed apparently by the *ἀν* which immediately follows. In order therefore to make a sentence of some sort out of words which, without *ἐν*, are simply unintelligible, *εὐδοκία* was turned into *εὐδοκίας*. It is accordingly a significant circumstance that,

¹ Viz. Eusebius, Macarius Magnes, Aphraates, Didymus, the Syriac 'Acts of the App.,' Epiphanius, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine. For the disputation of Macarius Magnes (A.D. 300-350) with a heathen philosopher, which has recently come to light, contains an elaborate discussion of S. Mark xvi. 17, 18.

whereas

whereas there exists *no* Greek copy of the Gospels which *omits* the *ἐν*, there is scarcely a Latin exhibition of the place to be found which contains it.¹ To return however to the genuine clause,—‘Good-will towards men’ (*Ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία*).

Absolutely decisive of the reading of the passage—irrespective of internal considerations—ought to be the consideration that it is vouched for *by every known copy* of the Gospels of whatever sort, excepting only \aleph Λ B D : the first and third of which, however, were anciently corrected and brought into conformity with the received Text; while the second (Λ) is observed to be so inconstant in its testimony, that in the primitive ‘Morning-hymn’ (given in another page of the same codex, and containing a quotation of Luke ii. 14), the correct reading of the place is found. D ’s complicity in error is the less important, because of the ascertained sympathy between that codex and the Latin. In the meantime the two Syriac Versions are a sufficient set-off against the Latin copies; while the hostile evidence of the Gothic (which this time sides with the Latin) is fully neutralized by the unexpected desertion of the Coptic version from the opposite camp. It therefore comes to this:—We are invited to make our election between every extant copy of the Gospels,—every known lectionary,—and, not least of all, the ascertained ecclesiastical usage of the Eastern Church from the beginning,—on the one hand; and the testimony of four codices without a history or a character, which concur in upholding a patent mistake, on the other. Will any one hesitate as to the side to which he ought to yield allegiance?

Could doubt be supposed to be entertained in any quarter, it must at all events be borne away by the torrent of Patristic authority which is available on the present occasion. In the 2nd century, we have the testimony of Irenæus:² in the 3rd, that of Origen³ in 3 places, and of the Apostolical Constitutions⁴ in 2. In the 4th—Eusebius,⁵ Aphraates the Persian,⁶ Titus of Bostra,⁷ each twice; Didymus⁸ in 3 places; Gregory of Nazianzus,⁹ Cyril of Jerusalem,¹⁰ Epiphanius¹¹ twice; Gregory of Nyssa¹² 4 times, Ephraem Syrus,¹³ Philo bishop of Carpasus,¹⁴ Chrysostom,¹⁵ in 9 places, and a nameless preacher at Antioch,¹⁶

¹ Tisch. specifies 7 Latin copies. Origen (iii. 946 f.), Jerome (vii. 282), and Leo (ap. Sabat.) are the only patristic quotations discoverable.

² i. 459.

³ i. 374; ii. 714; iv. 15.

⁴ vii. 47; viii. 13.

⁵ ‘Dem. Ev.’ pp. 163, 342.

⁶ i. 180, 385.

⁷ In loc. Also in Luc. xix. 29 (‘Cat. Ox.’ 141).

⁸ ‘De Trin.’ p. 84; Cord. ‘Cat. in Ps.’ ii. 450, 745.

⁹ i. 845.

¹⁰ P. 180; cf. p. 162.

¹¹ i. 154, 1047.

¹² i. 355, 696, 697; iii. 346.

¹³ Gr. iii. 434.

¹⁴ Ap. Galland. ix. 754.

¹⁵ i. 587; ii. 453, 454; vi. 393; vii. 311, 674; viii. 85; xi. 347. Also cat. in ps. iii. 139.

¹⁶ Ap. Chrys. vi. 424; cf. p. 417.

—all these are found to bear concurrent testimony in favour of the commonly received text. In the 5th century, Cyril of Alexandria,¹ on no less than 14 occasions, vouches for it also; Theodoret² on 4; Theodotus of Ancyra³ on 5 (once⁴ in a homily preached before the Council of Ephesus on Christmas day, A.D. 431); Proclus⁵ archbishop of Constantinople; Paulus⁶ bishop of Emesa (in a sermon preached before Cyril of Alexandria on Christmas day, A.D. 431); the Eastern bishops⁷ at Ephesus collectively (an unusually weighty piece of evidence); and lastly, Basil of Seleucia.⁸ In the 6th century the witnesses are Cosmas⁹ 5 times, Anastasius,¹⁰ Eulogius¹¹ archbishop of Alexandria. In the 7th, Andreas of Crete¹² twice. And in the 8th, John Damascene¹³ and Germanus¹⁴ archbishop of Constantinople. To these 28 illustrious names are to be added other unknown writers of uncertain date, but *all* of considerable antiquity, and some¹⁵ proved by internal evidence to belong to the 4th or 5th century,—in short, to be of the date of the Fathers whose names 16 of them severally bear, but among whose genuine works their productions are probably *not* to be reckoned. One of these was anciently mistaken for Gregory Thaumaturgus:¹⁶ a second, for Methodius:¹⁷ a third, for Basil.¹⁸ Three others, with different degrees of reasonableness, have been supposed to be Athanasius.¹⁹ One has passed for Gregory of Nyssa;²⁰ another for Epiphanius;²¹ while no less than eight have been mistaken for Chrysostom,²² some of them being certainly his contemporaries. Add one anonymous Father,²³ and the author of the apocryphal '*Acta Pilati*,' and it will be perceived that 18 ancient authorities have been added to the list, every whit as competent to witness what was the text of Luke ii. 14 at the time when A B Δ D were written, as Basil or Athanasius, Epiphanius or Chrysostom themselves.²⁴ *For our present purpose they are codices*

¹ In Luc. pp. 12, 16, 502 (= Mai, ii. 128). Also Mai, ii. 343, 'Hom. de Incarn.' p. 109. *Opp.* ii. 593; v. 681, 30, 128, 380, 402, 154; vi. 398. Mai, iii. 286.

² i. 296, 1298; ii. 18; iii. 480.

³ Ap. Galland. ix. 446, 476. Concil. iii. 1001, 1023. ⁴ Concil. iii. 1002.

⁵ Ap. Galland. ix. 629.

⁶ Concil. iii. 1095.

⁷ Concil. iii. 829.

⁸ Nov. Auctar. i. 596.

⁹ Montf. ii. 152, 160, 247, 269. Galland. xiii. 235.

¹⁰ Hexaem. ed. Migne, vol. 89, p. 899.

¹¹ Ap. Galland. xii. 308.

¹² Ed. Combefsis. 14, 54; ap. Galland. xiii. 100, 123.

¹³ ii. 836.

¹⁴ Ap. Galland. xiii. 212.

¹⁵ E.g. Chrys. *Opp.* viii.; *Append.* 214.

¹⁶ P. 6 d.

¹⁷ Ap. Galland. iii. 809.

¹⁸ ii. 602.

¹⁹ ii. 101, 122, 407.

²⁰ iii. 447.

²¹ ii. 298.

²² ii. 804; iii. 783; v. 638, 670, 788; viii. 214, 285; x. 754, 821.

²³ Cord. Cat. in ps. ii. 960.

²⁴ Of the ninety-two places above quoted, Tischendorf adduces only *eleven*, Tregelles only *six*. Neither critic seems to have been aware that '*Gregory Thaum.*' is not the author of the citation they ascribe to him. And why does Tischendorf quote as Basil's what *is known* not to have been his?

of the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries. In this way then, no less than *fifty-six* ancient witnesses in all have come back to testify to the men of this generation that the commonly received reading of S. Luke ii. 14 is *the true reading*, and that the text which the Revisionists are seeking to palm off upon us is *a fabrication and a blunder*. Will any one be found to maintain that the authority of B and N is appreciable, when confronted by the first 15 contemporary ecclesiastical writers above enumerated? or that A can stand against the 7 which follow?

This is not all however. Survey the preceding enumeration geographically, and note that, besides 1 name from Gaul, at least 2 stand for Constantinople, while 5 are dotted over Asia Minor: 2 at least represent Antioch; and 5, other parts of Syria: 3 stand for Palestine, and 2 for Churches further East: at least 5 are Alexandrian, 2 are men of Cyprus, and 1 is from Crete. If the articulate voices of so many illustrious bishops, coming to us in this way from every part of ancient Christendom and all delivering the same unfaltering message,—if *this* be not allowed to be decisive on a point of the kind just now before us, then pray let us be told what amount of evidence men *will* accept as final. The plain truth is, that a case has been established against NABD and the Latin version, which amounts to *proof* that those documents, even when they conspire to yield the self-same evidence, are not trustworthy witnesses to the text of Scripture. The history of the reading advocated by the Revisionists is briefly this:—*It emerges into notice in the 2nd century; and in the 4th, disappears from sight entirely.*

Enough and to spare has now been offered concerning the true reading of S. Luke ii. 14. But because we propose to ourselves that *no uncertainty whatever* shall remain on this subject, it will not be wasted labour if at parting we pour into the ruined citadel just enough of shot and shell to leave no dark corner standing for the ghost of a respectable doubt hereafter to hide in. Now, it is confessedly nothing else but the high estimate which critics have conceived of the value of the testimony of the old uncials (NABCD), which has occasioned any doubt at all to exist in this behalf. Let the learned reader then ascertain for himself the character of codices NABCD hereabouts, by collating *the context in which S. Luke ii. 14 is found*, viz. the 13 verses which precede and the one verse (ver. 15) which immediately follows. If the old uncials are observed all to sing in tune throughout, hereabouts, well and good: but if on the contrary, their voices prove utterly discordant, *who* sees not that the last pretence has been taken away for placing *any confidence at all* in their testimony concerning the text of ver. 14, turning

turning as it does on the presence or absence of *a single letter*? He will find, as the result of his analysis, that within the space of those 14 verses, the old uncials are responsible for 56 'various readings' (so-called): singly, for 41; in combination with one another, for 15. So diverse, however, is the testimony they respectively render, that they are found severally to differ from the text of the cursives no less than 70 times. Among them, besides twice varying the phrase, they contrive to omit 19 words: to add 4: to substitute 17: to alter 10: to transpose 24. Lastly, these five codices are observed (within the same narrow limits) to fall into *ten* different combinations: viz. B \aleph , for 5 readings; BD, for 2; \aleph C, \aleph D, AC, \aleph BD, AND, AB \aleph D, B \aleph CD, AB \aleph CD, for 1 each. A therefore, which stands alone *twice*, is found in combination 4 times; C, which stands alone *once*, is found in combination 4 times;¹ B, which stands alone 5 times, is found in combination 6 times; \aleph , which stands alone 11 times, is found in combination 8 times; D, which stands alone 22 times, is found in combination 7 times. . . . And now, with what show of reason (we ask) can the reading *εὐδοκίας* (of \aleph ABD) be upheld as genuine, in defiance of *the whole body of the manuscripts*, uncial and cursive, and the mighty array of Fathers exhibited above?

(c) We are at last able to pass on, with a promise that we shall rarely prove so tedious again. But it is absolutely necessary to begin by clearing the ground. We may not go on doubting for ever. The 'Angelic hymn,' and 'The last 12 Verses' of S. Mark's Gospel, are convenient places for a trial of strength. It has been proved that the commonly received text of S. Luke ii. 14 is the true text,—the Revisionists' emendation of the place, a palpable mistake. On behalf of the second Gospel, we claim to have also established that an important portion of the sacred narrative has been unjustly branded with a note of ignominy; from which we solemnly call upon the Revisionists to set the Evangelist free. The pretence that no harm has been done him by the mere statement of what is an undeniable fact,—(viz. that 'the two oldest Greek manuscripts, and some other authorities, omit from verse 9 to the end;' and that 'some other authorities have a different ending to the Gospel,')—will not stand examination. Pin to the shoulder of an honourable man a hearsay libel on his character, and see what he will have to say to you! Those who, with Doctors Roberts and Milligan,²

¹ But then, note that C is only available for comparison down to the end of ver. 5. In the 9 verses which have been lost, who shall say how many more eccentricities would have been discoverable?

² 'Companion to the Revised Version,' pp. 62, 63. 'Words of the N. T.' p. 193.
maintain

maintain 'that the passage is *not the immediate production of S. Mark*,'—'can hardly be regarded as a part of the original Gospel; but is rather an addition made to it at a very early age, —whether in the lifetime of the Evangelist or not, it is impossible to say:—such Critics are informed that they stultify themselves when they proceed in the same breath to assure the offended reader that the passage 'is nevertheless *possessed of full canonical authority*.'¹ Men who so write show that they do not clearly understand the question. For if these 12 verses are 'canonical Scripture,'—as much inspired as the 12 verses which precede them, and as worthy of undoubting confidence,—then, whether they be 'the production of S. Mark,' or of some other, is a purely irrelevant circumstance. The *authorship* of the passage, as every one must see, is not the question. The last 12 verses of Deuteronomy, for instance, were probably not written by Moses. Do we therefore separate them off from the rest of Deuteronomy, and encumber the margin with a note expressive of our opinion? Our Revisionists, so far from holding what follows to be 'canonical Scripture,' are careful to state that a rival ending to be found elsewhere merits serious attention. S. Mark xvi. 9–20, therefore (*according to them*), is *not certainly* a genuine part of the Gospel; *may*, after all, be nothing else but a spurious accretion to the text. And as long as such doubts are put forth by our Revisionists, they publish to the world that, *in their account* at all events, these verses are *not* 'possessed of full canonical authority.' If 'the two oldest Greek manuscripts' *justly* 'omit from verse 9 to the end' (as stated in the margin), will any one deny that our printed text ought to exhibit the same omission?² On the other hand, if the circumstance is a mere literary curiosity, will any one gravely maintain that it is entitled to an abiding record in the margin of the *English Version* of the everlasting page?

(D) We can probably render ordinary readers no more effectual service, than by offering now to guide them over a few select places, concerning the true reading of which the Revisionists either entertain such serious doubts that they have *recorded* their uncertainty in the margin of their work; or else, entertaining no doubts at all, have deliberately thrust a new reading into the body of their text, and that, without explanation, apology, or indeed record of any kind.³ One remark should be premised, viz.

¹ 'Words of the N. T.' p. 193.

² Drs. Westcott and Hort (consistently enough) separate them completely off; putting them *on the same footing* with the evidently spurious ending found in 1.

³ True, that a separate volume of Greek Text has been put forth, showing every change which has been either actually accepted, or else suggested for future possible

viz. that 'various Readings' as they are (often most unreasonably) called, are seldom if ever the result of conscious *fraud*. An immense number are to be ascribed to sheer accident. It was through erroneous judgment, we repeat, not with evil intent, that men took liberties with the deposit. They imported into their copies whatever readings they considered highly recommended. By some of these ancient critics it seems to have been thought allowable to *abbreviate*, by simply leaving out whatever did not appear to themselves strictly necessary: by others, to *transpose* the words—even the members of a sentence—almost to any extent: by others, to *substitute* easy expressions for difficult ones. In this way it comes to pass that we are often presented, and in the oldest documents of all, with readings which condemn themselves and are clearly fabrications. That it was held allowable to assimilate one Gospel to another, is quite certain. Add, that as early as the 2nd century there abounded in the Church documents,—‘Diatessarons’ they were sometimes called,—of which the avowed object was to weave one continuous and connected narrative ‘out of the four;’—and we shall find that as many heads have been provided, as will suffice for the classification of almost every various reading which we are likely to encounter in our study of the Gospels.

I. To ACCIDENTAL CAUSES we gave the foremost place, and of these we have already furnished the reader with two notable and altogether dissimilar specimens. The first (viz. the omission of S. Mark xvi. 9–20 from certain ancient copies of the Gospel) seems to have originated in an unique circumstance. According to the Western order of the four, S. Mark occupies the *last* place. From the earliest period it had been customary to write τέλος (“THE END”) after the 8th verse of

possible acceptance. But (in the words of one of the accomplished editors) ‘the *Revisers* are not responsible for its publication.’ Moreover it is a sealed book to all but actual scholars.

It were unhandsome, however, to take leave of the learned labours of Prebendary Scrivener and Archdeacon Palmer, without a few words of sympathy and admiration. Their volumes (mentioned at the head of the present article) are all that was to have been expected from the exquisite scholarship of their respective editors, and will be of abiding interest and value. Both volumes should be in the hands of every scholar, for neither of them supersedes the other. Dr. Scrivener has (with rare ability and immense labour) set before the Church for the first time the Greek Text which was followed by the Revisers of 1611, viz. Beza's N. T. of 1598, supplemented in above 190 places from other sources; every one of which the editor traces out in his ‘Appendix,’ pp. 648–56. At the foot of each page, he shows what changes of text have been introduced by the Revisers of 1881. Dr. Palmer, taking the Text of Stephens (1550) as his basis, presents us with the Readings adopted by the Revisers of the ‘Authorized Version,’ and relegates the displaced Readings (of 1611) to the foot of each page. We cordially congratulate them both, and thank them for the good service they have rendered.

his

his last chapter, in token that *there* a famous ecclesiastical lection comes to a close. Let the last leaf of one very ancient archetypal copy have begun at ver. 9; and let that last leaf have perished;—and all is plain. A faithful copyist will have ended the Gospel perforce—as B and \aleph have done—at S. Mark xvi. 8. Our other example (S. Luke ii. 14) will have resulted from an accident of the most ordinary description,—as was explained at the outset. To the foregoing, a few other specimens of erroneous readings resulting from accident shall now be added.

(a) Always instructive, it is sometimes even entertaining to trace the history of a mistake which, dating from the 2nd or 3rd century, has remained without a patron all down the subsequent ages, until at last it has been suddenly taken up in our own times by an Editor of the sacred text, and straightway palmed off upon an unlearned generation as the genuine work of the inspired Writer. Thus, whereas the Church has hitherto supposed that S. Paul's company 'were in all in the ship *two hundred threescore and sixteen souls*' (Acts xxvii. 37), Drs. Westcott and Hort (on the authority of B and the Sahidic version) insist that what S. Luke actually wrote was '*about seventy-six*.' In other words, instead of *διακόσiai ἐβδομηκονταῖξ*, we are invited henceforth to read *ωC ἐβδομηκονταῖξ*. What can have given rise to so formidable a discrepancy? Mere accident, we answer. First, whereas S. Luke certainly wrote *ἡμεν δὲ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ αἱ πᾶσαι ψυχαί*, his last six words at some very early period underwent the familiar process of transposition, and became, *αἱ πᾶσαι ψυχαί ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ*; whereby the *word* *πλοίῳ* and the *numbers* *διακόσiai ἐβδομηκονταῖξ* were brought into close proximity. (It is thus that Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, &c., wrongly exhibit the place.) But since '276' when represented in Greek numerals is *COΣ*, the inevitable consequence was that the words (written in uncials) ran thus: *ΨΥΧΑΙΕΝΤΩΠΛΟΙΩCOC*. Behold, the secret is out! Who sees not what has happened? There has been no intentional falsification of the text. There has been no critical disinclination to believe that 'a corn-ship presumably heavily laden would contain so many souls,'—as an excellent judge supposes. The discrepancy has been the result of sheer accident: is the merest blunder. Some 2nd-century copyist connected the last letter of *ΠΛΟΙΩ* with the next ensuing numeral, which stands for 200 (viz. C); and made an *independent word* of it, viz. *ὡς*—i.e. 'about.' But when C (i.e. 200) has been taken away from *COΣ* (i.e. 276), 76 is perforce all that remains. In other words, the result of so slight a blunder has been that instead of '*two hundred and seventy-six*' (*COΣ*), some one wrote *ὡς ος*—
i.e.

i.e. 'about seventy-six.' His blunder would have been diverting had it been confined to the pages of a codex which is full of blunders. When however it is adopted by the latest Editors of the N. T. (Drs. Westcott and Hort),—and by their influence has been foisted into the margin of our revised English Version—it becomes high time that we should reclaim against such a gratuitous depravation of Scripture.

All this ought not to have required explaining: the blunder is so gross,—its history so patent. But surely, had its origin been ever so obscure, the most elementary critical knowledge joined to a little mother-wit ought to convince a man that the reading *ὡς ἐβδόμηκονταξ* cannot be trustworthy. A reading discoverable only in codex B and one Egyptian version (which was evidently executed from codices of the same corrupt type as codex B) may always be dismissed as certainly spurious. But further,—Although a man might of course say 'about seventy' or 'about eighty' (which is how Epiphanius¹ quotes the place), who sees not that 'about seventy-six' is an impossible expression? Lastly, the two false witnesses give divergent testimony even while they seem to be at one: for the Sahidic (or Thebaic) version arranges the words in an order peculiar to itself.

(b) Another corruption of the text, with which it is proposed henceforth to disfigure our Authorized Version, originating like the last in sheer accident, occurs in Acts xviii. 7. It is related concerning S. Paul, at Corinth, that having forsaken the synagogue of the Jews, 'he entered into a certain man's house named Justus' (*ὀνόματι Ἰούστου*). That this is what S. Luke wrote, is to be inferred from the fact that it is found in almost every known copy of the Acts, beginning with ADGHLP. Chrysostom—the only ancient Greek Father who quotes the place—so quotes it. This is, in consequence, the reading of Lachmann, Tregelles, and Tischendorf in his 7th edition. But then, the last syllable of 'name' (*ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ*) and the first three letters of 'Justus' (*ΙΟΥΣΤΟΥ*), in an uncial copy, may easily get mistaken for an independent word. Indeed it only wants a horizontal stroke (at the summit of the second *ι* in *ΤΙΟΥ*) to produce 'Titus' (*ΤΙΤΟΥ*). In the Syriac and Sahidic versions accordingly, 'Titus' actually stands in place of 'Justus,'—a reading no longer discoverable in any extant codex. As a matter of fact, the error resulted not in the substitution of 'Titus' for 'Justus,' but in the introduction of both names where S. Luke wrote but one. *ⲛ* and *ⲉ*, the Vulgate, and the Coptic version, exhibit 'Titus Justus.' And that the fore-

¹ ii. 61 and 83.

going is a true account of the birth and parentage of 'Titus' is proved by the tell-tale circumstance, that in B the letters ΤΙ and ΙΟΥ are all religiously retained, and a supernumerary letter (Τ) has been thrust in between,—the result of which is to give us one more imaginary gentleman, viz. 'Titus Justus,' with whose appearance,—(and he is found *nowhere* but in codex B),—Tischendorf in his 8th ed., with Westcott and Hort in theirs, are so captivated that they actually give him a place in their text. It was out of compassion (we presume) for the friendless stranger 'Titus Justus' that our Revisionists have, in preference, promoted *him* to honour: in which act of humanity they stand alone. Their new Greek Text is *the only one in existence* in which the imaginary foreigner has been advanced to citizenship, and assigned 'a local habitation and a name.' Those must have been wondrous drowsy days in the Jerusalem Chamber when such manipulations of the inspired text were possible!

(c) The two foregoing depravations grew out of the ancient practice of writing the Scriptures in uncial characters (i. e. in capital letters), no space being interposed between the words. Another striking instance is found in S. Matthew xi. 23 and S. Luke x. 15, where however the error is so transparent that the wonder is how it can ever have imposed upon any one. What makes the matter serious is, that it gives a turn to a certain Divine saying, of which it is incredible that either our SAVIOUR or His Evangelists knew anything. We have hitherto believed that the solemn words ran as follows:—'And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted (ἡ . . . ὑψωθείσα) unto heaven, shalt be brought down (καταβιβασθήσῃ) to hell.' For this, our Revisionists invite us to substitute, in S. Luke as well as in S. Matthew,—'And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted (μὴ . . . ὑψωθήσῃ;) unto heaven?' And then, in S. Matthew, but not in S. Luke,—'Thou shalt go down (καταβήσῃ) into Hades.' Now, what can have happened to occasion such a curious perversion of our LORD'S true utterance, and to cause Him to ask an unmeaning question about the future, when He was clearly announcing a *fact*, founded on the history of the past? A stupid blunder has been made (we answer), of which traces survive (as usual) only in a little handful of suspicious documents. The final letter of Capernaum (M) by cleaving to the next ensuing letter (H) has made an independent word (MH); which new word necessitates a change in the construction, and causes the sentence to become interrogative. And yet, fourteen of the uncial manuscripts and the whole body of the cursives know nothing of this: neither does the Peschito nor the Gothic version: no, nor Chrysostom, nor Cyril, nor ps.-Cæsarius, nor Theodoret,—the only Fathers
who

who quote either place. The sole witnesses for $\mu\eta \dots \iota\psi\omega\theta\eta\sigma\eta$ in *both* Gospels are \aleph B, copies of the old Latin, Cureton's Syriac, the Coptic, and the Æthiopic versions,—a consensus of authorities which ought to be held fatal to any reading. C joins the conspiracy in Matthew xi. 23, but not in Luke x. 15: DL consent in Luke, but not in Matthew. The Vulgate, which sided with \aleph B in S. Matthew, forsakes them in S. Luke. In writing *both* times $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\eta\sigma\eta$ ('thou shalt go down'), codex B (forsaken this time by \aleph) is supported by a single manuscript, viz. D. But because, in Matthew xi. 23, B obtains the sanction of the Latin copies, $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\eta\sigma\eta$ is actually introduced into the revised text, and we are quietly informed in the margin that 'many ancient authorities read *be brought down*:' the Truth being (as the reader has been made aware) that there are *only two manuscripts extant which read anything else*. And (what deserves attention) those two manuscripts are convicted of having *borrowed their quotation from the Septuagint*,¹ and therefore stand self-condemned. Were the occupants of the Jerusalem Chamber all—saving the two who in their published edition insist on reading (with B and D) $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\eta\sigma\eta$ in both places—all fast asleep when they became consenting parties to this sad mistake?

II. It is time to explain that, if the most serious depravations of Scripture are due to accident, a vast number are unmistakably the result of DESIGN, and are very clumsily executed too. The enumeration of a few of these may prove instructive. With nothing perhaps will each several instance so much impress the devout student of Scripture, as with the exquisite structure of a narrative in which corrupt readings stand revealed and self-condemned, the instant they are ordered to come to the front and show themselves. But the point to which we especially invite his attention is, the sufficiency of the *external evidence* which Divine Wisdom is observed to have invariably provided for the establishment of the truth of His written word.

(a) When our LORD was about to enter His capital in lowly triumph, He is observed to have given to 'two of His disciples' directions well calculated to suggest the mysterious nature of the incident which was to follow. They were commanded to proceed to the entrance of a certain village,—to unloose a certain colt which they would find tied there,—and to bring the creature straightway to JESUS. Any obstacle which they might encounter would at once disappear before the simple announcement that 'the LORD hath need of him.'² But, singular to relate, this transaction is found to have struck some

¹ Isaiah xiv. 15.

² S. Matthew xxi. 1-3. S. Mark xi. 1-6. S. Luke xix. 29-34.

third-rate third-century Critic as not altogether correct. The good man was evidently of opinion that the colt,—as soon as the purpose had been accomplished for which it had been obtained,—ought in common fairness to have been returned to ‘the owners thereof.’ (S. Luke xix. 33.) Availing himself therefore of there being no nominative before ‘will send,’ he assumed that it was *of Himself* that our LORD was still speaking: feigned that the sentence is to be explained thus:—‘say ye, “that the LORD hath need of him and straightway will send him hither.”’ According to this view of the case, our SAVIOUR instructed His two Disciples to convey to the owner of the colt an undertaking from Himself that *He would send the creature back as soon as He had done with it*: would treat the colt, in short, as a loan. A more stupid imagination one has seldom had to deal with. But in the meantime, by way of clenching the matter, the Critic proceeded on his own responsibility to thrust into the text the word ‘again’ (πάλιν). The fate of such an unauthorized accretion might have been confidently predicted. After skipping about in quest of a fixed resting-place for a few centuries (see the note at foot ¹), πάλιν has shared the invariable fate of all such spurious adjuncts to the truth of Scripture, viz.: It has been effectually eliminated from the copies. Traces of it linger on only in those untrustworthy witnesses \aleph B C D L Δ , and about twice as many cursive copies, also of depraved type. So transparent a fabrication ought in fact to have been long since forgotten. Yet have our Revisionists not been afraid to revive it. In S. Mark xi. 3, they invite us henceforth to read, ‘And if any one say unto you, Why do ye this? say ye, The LORD hath need of him, and straightway *He will send him back hither.*’ Of what can they have been dreaming? They cannot pretend that they have *Antiquity* on their side: for, besides the whole mass of copies with Λ at their head, *both* the Syriac, *both* the Latin, and *both* the Egyptian versions, the Gothic, the Armenian, and the *Æthiopic*, are against them. Even Origen, who twice inserts πάλιν,² twice leaves it out.³ *Quid plura?*

(b) No need to look elsewhere for our next instance. A novel statement arrests attention five verses lower down: viz. that ‘Many spread their garments upon the way’ [and why not ‘*in* the way’? εἰς does not mean ‘upon’]; ‘and others, branches which they had cut from the fields’ (S. Mark xi. 8). But how in the world could they have done *that*? They must have been

¹ \aleph D L read—αὐτον ἀποστέλλει ΠΑΛΙΝ ὥδε: C*, αὐτον ΠΑΛΙΝ ἀποστέλλει ὥδε: B, ἀποστέλλει ΠΑΛΙΝ αὐτον ὥδε: Δ , ἀποστέλλει ΠΑΛΙΝ ὥδε: γ^{acc} αὐτον ἀποστέλλει ΠΑΛΙΝ.

² iii. 722, 740.

³ iii. 737, iv. 181.

clever people certainly if they 'cut branches from' anything except *trees*. Was it because our Revisionists felt this, that in the margin they volunteer the information, that the Greek for 'branches' is in strictness '*layers of leaves*'? But what are '*layers of leaves*'? and how could '*layers of leaves*' have been suddenly procured from such a quarter? We turn to our Authorized Version, and are refreshed by the familiar and intelligible words: 'And others cut down branches off the trees and strawed them in the way.' Why then has this been changed? In an ordinary sentence, consisting of 12 words, we find that 2 words have been substituted for other 2; that 1 has undergone modification; that 5 have been ejected. *Why* is all this? asks the unlearned reader. He shall be told.

An instance is furnished us of the perplexity which a difficult word sometimes occasioned the ancients, as well as of the serious consequences which have sometimes resulted therefrom to the text of Scripture itself. S. Matthew, after narrating that 'a very great multitude spread their garments in the way,' adds, 'others cut branches (κλάδους) from the trees and strawed them in the way.'¹ But would not branches of any size have impeded progress, and inconveniently encumbered the road? No doubt they would. Accordingly, as S. Mark (with S. Matthew's Gospel before him) is careful to explain, they were *not* 'branches of any size,' but 'leafy twigs'—'*foliage*,' in fact it was—'cut from the trees and strawed in the way.' The word, however, which he employs (στοιβάδας) is an unique word—very like another of similar sound (στιβάδας), yet distinct from it in sense as in origin. Unfortunately, all this was not understood in a highly uncritical and most licentious age. With the best intentions (for the good man was only seeking to reconcile two inconvenient parallel statements), some Revisionist of the second century, having convinced himself that the latter word (στιβάδας) might with advantage take the place of S. Mark's word (στοιβάδας), substituted this for that. In consequence, it survives to this day in nine uncial copies headed by $\aleph B$. But then, στιβάς does not mean 'a branch' *at all*; no, nor a 'layer of leaves' either; but a *pallet*—a *floor-bed*, in fact, of the humblest type, constructed of grass, rushes, straw, brushwood, leaves, or any similar substance. On the other hand, because such materials are not obtainable *from trees* exactly, the ancient Critic judged it expedient further to change δένδρων into ἀγρῶν ('*fields*'). Even this was not altogether satisfactory. Στιβάς, as explained already, in strictness means a '*bed*.' Only

¹ S. Matt. xxi. 8.

by a certain amount of license can it be supposed to denote the materials of which a bed is composed; whereas the Evangelist speaks of something "strawn." *The self-same copies*, therefore, which exhibit 'fields' (in lieu of 'trees'), by introducing a slight change in the construction (κόψαντες for ἐκοπτον), and omitting the words 'and strawn them in the way,' are observed—after a summary fashion of their own, (with which, however, readers of B & D are only too familiar)—to dispose of this difficulty by putting it nearly out of sight. The only result of all this misplaced officiousness is a miserable travestie of the Sacred words:—ἄλλοι δὲ στιβάδας, κόψαντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν: 7 words in place of 12!

But the calamitous circumstance is that the Critics have all to a man fallen into the trap. True, that Origen (who once writes στοιβάδας and once στιβάδας), as well as the two Egyptian versions, side with B C L Δ in reading ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν: but then both versions (with C) decline to alter the construction of the sentence; and (with Origen) decline to omit the clause καὶ ἐστρώννουν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν: while, against this little band of disunited witnesses, are marshalled all the remaining fourteen uncials, headed by A D—the Syriac, the Italic, the Vulgate, the Gothic, the Armenian, and Æthiopic versions, besides the whole body of the cursives. Whether therefore antiquity, variety, respectability of witnesses, numbers, or the reason of the thing be appealed to, the case of our opponents breaks hopelessly down. Does any one seriously suppose that, if S. Mark had written the common word στιβάδας, so vast a majority of the copies at this day would exhibit the improbable στοιβάδας? Had the same S. Mark expressed nothing else but ΚΟΨΑΝΤΕΣ ἐκ τῶν ἄγρων, will any one persuade us that every copy in existence but five would present us with ἔΚΟΠΤΟΝ ἐκ τῶν ΔΕΝΔΡΩΝ, καὶ ἔΣΤΡΩΝΝΥΟΝ Εἰς τὴν ὁδόν? And let us not be told that there has been assimilation here. There has been none. S. Matthew (xxi. 8) writes ἈΠΟ τῶν δένδρων . . . ἘΝ τῇ ὁδῷ: S. Mark (xi. 8), ἘΚ τῶν δένδρων . . . Εἰς τὴν ὁδόν. The types are distinct, and have been faithfully maintained all down the ages. The common reading is certainly correct. The Critics are certainly in error. And we exclaim (surely not without good reason) against the hardship of thus having an exploded corruption of the text of Scripture furbished up afresh and thrust upon us, after lying deservedly forgotten for upwards of a thousand years.

(c) Take a yet grosser specimen, which has nevertheless imposed just as completely upon our Revisionists. It is found in S. Luke's gospel (xxiii. 44), and belongs to the history of the

Crucifixion. All are aware that as, at the typical redemption out of Egypt, there had been a preternatural darkness over the land for three days,¹ so, preliminary to the actual exodus of 'the Israel of God,' 'there was darkness over all the land' for three hours.² S. Luke adds the further statement,—*'And the sun was darkened'* (καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος). Now the proof that this is what S. Luke actually wrote is the most obvious and conclusive possible. It is found in all the most ancient documents. Marcion³ (whose date is A.D. 130–50) so exhibits the place: besides the old Latin,⁴ the Vulgate, and the three Syriac versions. Hippolytus⁵ (190–227), Athanasius,⁶ Ephraem Syrus,⁷ Nilus the monk,⁸ Cyril of Alexandria,⁹ the apocryphal 'gospel of Nicodemus,' and the 'Anaphora Pilati,'¹⁰ are all witnesses to the same effect. But the most striking evidence is the consentient testimony of the manuscripts, viz. *all the uncials but 4, all the cursives but 11.*

That the darkness spoken of was a divine portent—not an eclipse of the sun, but an incident wholly out of the course of nature—the ancients clearly recognize. Origen,¹¹ Julius Africanus¹² (220), Macarius Magnes¹³ (330), are even eloquent on the subject. It is, nevertheless, well known that this place of S. Luke's gospel was tampered with from a very early period; and that Origen¹⁴ (186–253), and perhaps Eusebius,¹⁵ employed copies which had been depraved. In some copies, writes Origen, instead of 'and the sun was darkened' (καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος) is found 'the sun having become eclipsed' (τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλιπόντος). He points out with truth that the thing spoken of is a physical impossibility, and delivers it as his opinion that the corruption of the text was due either to some friendly hand in order to *account for* the darkness; or else (which he,¹⁶ and Jerome

¹ Exod. x. 21–23.

² S. Matth. xxvii. 45; S. Mark xv. 33; S. Lu. xxiii. 44.

³ Ap. Epiph. i. 347.

⁴ 'Sol mediâ die tenebravit.' Tertull. *adv. Jud.* c. xiii.

⁵ Ap. Routh, 'Opusc.' i. 79.

⁶ i. 90, 913; ap. Epiph. i. 1006.

⁷ Syr. ii. 48.

⁸ i. 305.

⁹ Ap. Mai, ii. 436; iii. 395.

¹⁰ i. 288, 417.

¹¹ iii. 922–4. Read the whole of cap. 134. See also ap. Galland. xiv. 82, *append.*, which by the way deserves to be compared with Chrys.

¹² ἡλ' ἦν σκότος θεοποίητον, διότι τὸν Κύριον συνέβη παθεῖν.—Routh, ii. 298.

¹³ εἴτ' ἐξαίφνης κατενεχθὲν ψηλαφητὸν σκότος, ἡλίου τὴν οἰκλαν αὐγὴν ἀποκρέψαντος, p. 29.

¹⁴ i. 414, 415; iii. 56.

¹⁵ Ap. Mai, iv. 206. But further on he says: αὐτίκα γοῦν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει οὐχ ἥλιος μόνον ἐσκότασεν κ. τ. λ. Cyril of Jerusalem (pp. 57, 146, 199, 201, 202) and Cosmas (ap. Montf. ii. 177 *bis*) were apparently acquainted with the same reading, but neither of them actually quotes Luke xxiii. 45.

¹⁶ 'In quibusdam exemplaribus non habetur tenebræ factæ sunt, et obscuratus est sol: sed ita, tenebræ factæ sunt super omnem terram, solē deficiente. Et forsitan

Jerome¹ after him, thought more likely) to the enemies of Revelation, who sought in this way to provide themselves with a pretext for cavil. Will it be believed that this gross fabrication—for no other reason but because it is found in \aleph B, and probably once existed in C²—has been resuscitated in 1881, and foisted into the sacred Text by our Revisionists?

It would be interesting to have this proceeding of theirs explained. *Why* should the truth dwell exclusively with \aleph B? It cannot be pretended that between the 4th and 5th centuries, when the copies \aleph B were made, and the 5th and 6th centuries, when copies A Q D R were executed, this corruption of the text arose: for (as was explained at the outset) the reading in question (*καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος*) is found in all the oldest and most famous documents. Our Revisionists cannot advance the claim of 'clearly preponderating evidence;' for they have but fifteen manuscripts to appeal to, out of perhaps sixty times that number. They cannot pretend that essential probability is in favour of the reading of \aleph B; seeing that the thing stated is astronomically impossible. They will not tell us that critical opinion is with them: for their judgment is opposed to that of every Critic ancient and modern, except Tischendorf since his discovery of codex \aleph . Of what nature then will be their proof? . . . *Nothing* results from the discovery that \aleph reads τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος, B ἐκλείποντος,—except that those two codices are of the same corrupt type as those which Origen deliberately condemned 1650 years ago. In the meantime, with more of ingenuity than of ingenuousness, our Revisionists have attempted to conceal the foolishness of the text of their choice by translating it unfairly. They present us with, '*the sun's light failing.*' But this is a gloss of their own. There is no mention of '*the sun's light*' in the Greek. Nor perhaps, if the rationale of the original expression were accurately ascertained, would such a paraphrase of it prove correct.³ But, in fact, the phrase ἐκλείφεις ἡλίου means '*an eclipse of the sun,*' and *no other thing*. In like manner, τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος⁴ (as our Revisionists are perfectly

ausus est aliquis quasi manifestius aliquid dicere volens, pro, *et obscuratus est sol*, ponere *Deficiente sole*, existimans quod non aliter potuissent fieri tenebrae, nisi sole deficiente. Puto autem magis quod insidiatores ecclesiae Christi mutaverunt hoc verbum, quoniam tenebrae factae sunt sole deficiente, ut verisimiliter evangelia argui possint secundum adinventiones volentium arguere illa.' (iii. 923 f. a).

¹ vii. 235.

² This rests on little more than conjecture. Tisch. 'Cod. Ephr. Syr.' p. 327.

³ Our old friend of Halicarnassus (vii. 37), speaking of an eclipse which happened B.C. 481, remarks: ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλείπων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδρην.

⁴ For it will be perceived that our Revisionists have adopted the reading vouched for *only by codex B*. What C* once read is as uncertain (for it has been erased) as it is unimportant.

well

well aware) means 'the sun becoming eclipsed,' or 'suffering eclipse.' And they ought either to have had the manliness to render the words faithfully, or else the good sense to let the Greek alone,—which they are respectfully assured would have been their only proper course. Καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος is, in fact, above suspicion. Τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος, which these learned men (with the best intentions) have put in its place, is, to speak plainly, a transparent fabrication.

III. Next, let us produce an instance of depravation of Scripture resulting from the practice of ASSIMILATION, which prevailed anciently to an extent which baffles arithmetic. We choose the most famous instance that presents itself.

(a) It occurs in S. Mark vi. 20, and is more than unsuspected. The substitution (on the authority of *Σ Β Λ* and the Coptic) of ἡπόρει for ἐποίει in that verse (i.e. Herod 'was much perplexed,'—instead of Herod 'did many things,') is even vaunted by the Critics as the recovery of the true reading of the place—long obscured by the 'very singular expression' ἐποίει. To ourselves the only 'very singular' thing is, how men of first-rate ability can fail to see that, on the contrary, the proposed substitute effectually conceals the SPIRIT'S teaching in this place. The object clearly is, to record the fact that Herod was so moved by the discourse of John (whom he used to listen to with pleasure), that he even 'did many things' (πολλὰ ἐποίει) in conformity with the Baptist's teaching.¹ . . . But if this be so, how (we shall be asked) has 'he was much perplexed' (πολλὰ ἡπόρει) contrived to effect a lodgment in so many as three copies of the second Gospel?

It has resulted from nothing else, we reply, but the determination to assimilate a statement of S. Mark (vi. 20) concerning Herod and John the Baptist, with another and a distinct statement of S. Luke (ix. 7) having reference to Herod and our LORD. S. Luke, speaking of the fame of our SAVIOUR'S miracles at a period subsequent to the Baptist's murder, declares that when Herod 'heard all things that were done by Him' (ἤκουσε τὰ γινόμενα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα), 'he was much perplexed' (διηπόρει). Statements so entirely distinct and diverse from one another as *this* of S. Luke, and *that* (given above) of S. Mark, might surely (one would think) have been let alone. On the contrary. A glance at the foot of the page will show that in the 2nd century S. Mark's words were solicited in all sorts of ways. A persistent determination existed to make him

¹ πολλὰ κατὰ γνῶμην αὐτοῦ διεπράττετο, as Victor of Antioch ('Cat.' p. 128), probably, explains the place. He cites some one else (p. 129) who exhibits ἡπόρει; and who explains it *ut* Herod's difficulty about getting rid of Herodias.

say that Herod having 'heard of many things which THE BAPTIST did,' &c.¹—a strange perversion of the Evangelist's meaning, truly, and only to be accounted for in one way.²

Had this been *all*, however, the matter would have attracted no attention. One such fabrication more or less in the Latin version, which abounds in fabricated readings, is of little moment. But then, the Greek scribes had recourse to a more subtle device for assimilating Mark vi. 20 to Luke ix. 7. They perceived that S. Mark's ἐπολεῖ might be almost identified with S. Luke's διηπόρει, by merely changing two of the letters, viz. by substituting η for ε and ρ for ι. From this there results in Mark vi. 20: 'and having heard many things of him, he was perplexed:' which is very nearly identical with what is found in Luke ix. 7. This fatal substitution (of ἡπόρει for ἐπολεῖ) survives happily only in codices NBL and the Coptic version—all of bad character. But (calamitous to relate) the Critics, having disinterred this long-since-forgotten fabrication, are making vigorous efforts to galvanize it, at the end of fifteen centuries, into ghastly life and activity. We venture to assure them that they will not

¹ καὶ ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ πολλὰ ἃ ἐπολεῖ, καὶ ἡδέως αὐτοῦ ἤκουε, will have been the reading of that lost venerable codex of the Gospels which is chiefly represented at this day by Evann. 13, 69, 124, 346. The same reading is also found in Evann. 28, 122, s^{ss}; Muralto's evst. 6; Curzon's, 78, 13.

Different must have been the reading of that other venerable exemplar which supplied the Latin Church with its earliest text. But of this let the reader judge:—*Et cum audisset illum multa facere, libenter,* &c. (c; also 'Codex Aureus' and γ, both at Stockholm): *et audito eo quod multa faciebat, et libenter,* &c. (g² q): *et audiens illum quia multa faciebat, et libenter,* &c. (b). The reading of Δ is, ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ πολλὰ, ἡδέως αὐτοῦ ἤκουε.

The Peschito Syriac (which is without variety of reading here) in strictness exhibits:—*And many things he was hearing [from] him and doing; and gladly he was hearing him.* The Coptic also renders, *et audiebat multa ab eo.* From all this, it becomes clear that the actual intention of the blundering author of codex B was to connect πολλὰ, not with ἡπόρει, but with ἀκούσας.

² Note, that tokens abound hereabouts of a determination anciently to assimilate the Gospels. Thus, instead of ἐκ νεκρῶν ἡγέρθη (in ver. 14), B and N exhibit ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν—only because these words are found in Lu. ix. 7. A substitutes ἀνέστη (for ἡγέρθη)—only because that word is found in Lu. ix. 8. For ἡγέρθη ἐκ νεκρῶν, C substitutes ἡγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν—only because S. Matth. so writes in ch. xiv. 2. D inserts καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς φυλακὴν into ver. 17—only because of Mtt. xiv. 3 and Lu. iii. 20. In NBL Δ, βαπτίζοντος (for βαπτιστοῦ) stands in ver. 24 only by assimilation with ver. 14. (L is for assimilating ver. 25 likewise.) K Δ Π, the Syr., and copies of the old Latin, transpose ἐνεργούσιν αἱ δυνάμεις (in ver. 14)—only because those words are transposed in Mtt. xiv. 2... If facts like these do not open men's eyes to the danger of following the fashionable guides, it is to be feared that nothing ever will. The foulest blot of all remains to be noticed. Will it be believed that in ver. 22 codices NBL Δ conspire in representing the dancer (whose name is known to have been 'Salome') as another 'Herodias'—Herod's own daughter? This gross perversion of the truth, alike of Scripture and of history—a reading as preposterous as it is revolting, and therefore rejected hitherto by all the editors and all the critics—finds undoubting favour with Drs. Westcott and Hort. Calamitous to relate, it also disfigures the margin of our Revised Version of S. Mark vi. 22, in consequence.

succeed.

succeed. Herod's 'perplexity' did not begin until John had been beheaded, and the fame reached Herod of the miracles of CHRIST. The apocryphal statement, now for the first time thrust into an English copy of the New Testament may be dismissed.

IV. More serious in its consequences, however, than any other source of mischief which can be named, is the process of MUTILATION, to which, from the beginning, the Text of Scripture has been subjected. By the Mutilation of Scripture we do but mean the intentional omission—from whatever cause proceeding—of genuine portions. And the causes of it have been numerous as well as diverse. Often, indeed, there seems to have been at work nothing else but a strange passion for getting rid of whatever portions of the inspired text have seemed to anybody superfluous—or at all events have appeared capable of being removed without manifest injury to the sense. But the estimate of the tasteless 2nd-century critic will not be that of the well-informed reader, furnished with the ordinary instincts of piety and reverence. This barbarous mutilation of the Gospel, by the unceremonious abstraction from it of a multitude of little words, is often attended by no worse consequence than that thereby an extraordinary baldness is imparted to the Evangelic narrative. The removal of so many of the coupling-hooks is apt to cause the curtains of the Tabernacle to hang wondrous ungracefully; but often that is all. Sometimes, however (as might have been confidently anticipated), the result is calamitous in a high degree. Not only is the beauty of the narrative effectually marred, (as by the barbarous excision of *καὶ εὐθέως—μετὰ δακρύων—Κύριε*, from S. Mark ix. 24)¹:—the doctrinal teaching of our SAVIOUR'S discourses in countless places damaged, (as by the omission of *καὶ νηστεία* from verse 29):—absurd expressions attributed to the Holy One which He certainly never uttered, (as by truncating of its last word the phrase *τὸ, εἰ δύνασαι πιστεῦσαι* in verse 23):—but (I.) The narrative is often rendered in a manner unintelligible; or else (II.), The entire point of a precious incident is made to disappear from sight; or else (III.), An imaginary incident is fabricated: or lastly (IV.), Some precious saying of our Divine LORD is ren-

¹ i.e. 'And' is omitted by BLΔ; 'immediately' by NC; 'with tears' by NABCL; 'Lord' by NABCDL.—In S. Mark vi. 16 (viz. 'But when Herod heard thereof, he said [This is] John whom I beheaded. He is risen [from the dead].') the five words in brackets are omitted by our Revisers on the authority of NB(D)LΔ. But ND further omit *ἰωάννην*; CD omit *δ*; NBDL omit *ἐκ*. To enumerate and explain the effects of all the barbarous mutilations which the Gospels alone have sustained at the hands of N of B and of D would fill a number of the 'Quarterly Review.'

dered well-nigh unintelligible. Take a single short example of what has last been offered, from each of the Gospels in turn.

(I.) In S. Matt. xiv. 30, we are invited henceforth to submit to the information concerning Simon Peter, that '*when he saw the wind, he was afraid.*' The sight must have been peculiar, certainly. So, indeed, is the expression. But Simon Peter was as unconscious of the one as S. Matthew of the other. Such curiosities are the peculiar property of codices α B—and the Revisionists. The predicate of the proposition (viz. '*that it was strong,*' contained in the single word *ισχυρόν*) has been wantonly excised. That is all!—although Dr. Hort succeeded in persuading his colleagues to the contrary. A more solemn—a far sadder instance, awaits us in the next Gospel.

(II.) The first three Evangelists are careful to note '*the loud cry*' with which the Redeemer of the world expired. But it was reserved for S. Mark (as Chrysostom pointed out long since) to record the memorable circumstance that *this particular portent* it was, which wrought conviction, in the soul of the Roman soldier whose office it was to be present on this terrible occasion. The man had often witnessed death by crucifixion, and must have been well acquainted with its ordinary phenomena. Never before had he witnessed anything like this. He was stationed where he could see and hear all that happened: '*standing*' (S. Mark says) '*near*' our SAVIOUR,—'*over against Him.*' 'Now, when the centurion saw that it was *after so crying out* (*κράξας*), that He expired' (xv. 39), he uttered the memorable words, '*Truly this man was the SON of GOD!*' 'What chiefly moved him to make that confession of his faith was that our SAVIOUR evidently died *with power.*'¹ But all this is lost in α B L, which literally *stand alone*² in leaving out the central and only important word, *κράξας*. Calamitous to relate, they are followed herein by our Revisionists: who (misled by Dr. Hort) invite us henceforth to read, '*Now when the centurion saw that He so gave up the ghost.*'

(III.) In S. Luke xxiii. 42, by leaving out two little words (*τω* and *κε*), the same blind guides, under the same infelicitous guidance, effectually misrepresent the record concerning the repentant malefactor. Henceforth they would have us believe that '*he said, "JESUS, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom."*' (Dr. Hort was fortunately unable to persuade the Revisionists to follow him in further substituting '*into thy kingdom*' for '*in thy kingdom*'; and so converting, what at

¹ Chrysostom, vii. 825.

² The Coptic represents *ἔτι ἐξέπνευσε*.

present is merely a palpable mistranslation,¹ into what would have become an indelible blot. The record of his discomfiture survives in the margin.) And yet none of the Churches of Christendom have ever doubted that S. Luke's record is, that the dying man 'said unto *JESUS*, LORD, remember me,' &c.

(IV.) In S. John xiv. 4, by eliminating the second *καί* and the second *οἴδατε*, our SAVIOUR is now made to say, 'And whither I go ye know the way'; which is really almost nonsense. What He actually said was, 'And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know'; *in consequence of which* (as we all remember) 'Thomas saith unto Him, LORD, we know not "whither" Thou goest, and how can we know "the way"?' . . . Let these four samples suffice of a style of depravation with which, at the end of 1800 years, it is deliberately proposed to disfigure every page of the everlasting Gospel; and for which, were it tolerated, the Church would have had to thank Drs. Westcott and Hort.

We cannot afford, however, so to dismiss the phenomena thus opened up to the reader's notice. For indeed, this astonishing taste for mutilating and maiming the inspired record, is perhaps the strangest phenomenon in the science of Textual Criticism.

It is in this way that a famous expression in S. Luke vi. 1 has disappeared from codices NBL. The reader may not be displeased to listen to an anecdote which seems to have hitherto escaped the vigilance of the Critics:—

'I once asked my teacher Gregory of Nazianzus' (the words are Jerome's in a letter to Nepotianus) 'to explain to me the meaning of S. Luke's expression *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*,—literally the "second-first sabbath." "I will tell you all about it in church," he replied. 'Eleganter lusit,' says Jerome.² In other words, Gregory of Nazianzus [360] is found to have no more understood the word than Jerome did [370]. Ambrose³ of Milan [370] attempts to explain the difficult expression, but with indifferent success. Epiphanius⁴ of Cyprus [370] does the same; and so does Isidorus⁵ [400], called 'Pelusiota' after the place of his residence in Lower Egypt. Ps.-Cæsarius⁶ also volunteers remarks on the word. [A.D. 400?] It is further explained in the Paschal Chronicle, and by Chrysostom [370]⁷ at Antioch. We venture to assume that a word so attested must at least be entitled to *its place in the Gospel*. Such a body of first-rate positive fourth-century evidence coming from every part of ancient Christendom, added to the significant fact that

¹ Namely, of *ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου*, which is the reading of every known copy but two; besides Origen, Eusebius, Cyril Jer., Chrysostom, &c. Only BL read *ἐν*.

² i. 261.

³ i. 936, 1363.

⁴ i. 158.

⁵ P. 301.

⁶ Ap. Galland. vi. 53.

⁷ vii. 431.

δευτερόπρωτον is found in every codex extant except \aleph B L and half a dozen cursives of suspicious character, ought surely to be regarded as decisive. That an unintelligible word should have got omitted from a few copies, requires no explanation. But it would be inexplicable indeed, that such a singular expression should have established itself universally, if it were actually spurious. This is precisely an occasion for calling to mind the precept *proclivi scriptioni præstat ardua*. Apart from external evidence, it is infinitely more likely that such a peculiar word as this should be genuine, than the contrary. It got excised, however, from manuscripts at a very early date. And, incredible as it may appear, it is a fact, that in consequence of its absence from the mutilated codices above referred to, S. Luke's famous 'second-first Sabbath' has been thrust out by our *Revisers from their Revision*. But in fact, Excision has been practised throughout. By codex B (compared with the received text), no less than 2877 words are omitted in the four Gospels alone: by codex \aleph ,—3455 words: by codex D,—3704 words.¹

As interesting a set of instances of this, as are to be anywhere met with, occurs within the compass of the last three chapters of S. Luke's Gospel, from which about 200 words have been either forcibly ejected by our Revisionists, or else served with a 'notice to quit.' We proceed to specify the chief of these:—

(1) S. Luke xxii. 19, 20. (Account of the Institution of the Sacrament of the LORD'S Supper,—from "which is given for you" to the end,—32 words.)

(2) *ib.* 43, 44. (The Agony in the garden,—26 words.)

(3) xxiii. 17. (The custom of releasing one at the Passover,—8.)

(4) *ib.* 34. (Our LORD'S prayer for His murderers,—12 words.)

(5) *ib.* 38. (The record that the title on the Cross was written in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew,—7 words.)

(6) xxiv. 1. ("and certain with them,"—4 words.)

(7) *ib.* 3. ("of the LORD JESUS,"—3 words.)

(8) *ib.* 6. ("He is not here, but He is risen,"—5 words.)

(9) *ib.* 9. ("from the sepulchre,"—3 words.)

(10) *ib.* 12. (S. Peter's visit to the sepulchre,—22 words.)

(11) *ib.* 36. ("And saith unto them, Peace be with you!"—5.)

(12) *ib.* 40. ("and when He had thus spoken, He showed them His hands and His feet,"—10 words.)

(13) *ib.* 42. ("and of an honeycomb,"—4 words.)

¹ But then, 25 (out of 320) pages of D are lost: D's omissions in the Gospels may therefore be estimated at 4000. Codex A does not admit of comparison, the first 24 chapters of S. Matthew having perished; but, from examining the way it exhibits the other three Gospels, it is found that 650 would about represent the number of words omitted from its text.

- (14) *ib.* 51. ("and was carried up into Heaven,"—5 words.)
- (15) *ib.* 52. ("worshipped Him,"—2 words.)
- (16) *ib.* 53. ("praising and,"—2 words.)

On an attentive survey of the foregoing sixteen instances of unauthorized Omission, it will be perceived that the 1st passage (S. Luke xxii. 19, 20) must have been eliminated from the text because the mention of *two* cups seemed to create a difficulty. The 2nd has certainly been suppressed because the narrative was deemed derogatory to the majesty of GOD Incarnate. The 3rd and 5th were held to be superfluous because the information which they contain has been already conveyed by the parallel passages. The 10th will have been suppressed as apparently inconsistent with the strict letter of S. John xx. 1-10. The 6th and 13th are certainly instances of enforced harmony. Most of the others (the 4th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 12th, 14th, 15th, 16th) seem to have been excised through mere wantonness,—the veriest licentiousness. In the meantime, so far are Drs. Westcott and Hort from accepting the foregoing account of the matter, that they even style the 1st 'a *perverse interpolation*:' in which view of the subject, however, they enjoy the distinction of standing quite alone. With the same 'moral certainty,' they further proceed to shut up within double brackets the 2nd, 4th, 7th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 14th, 15th: while the 3rd, 5th, 6th, 13th, and 16th, they exclude from their text as indisputably spurious matter.

Now, we are not about to abuse our readers' patience by an investigation of the several points raised by the foregoing statement. In fact all should have been passed by in silence, but that unhappily the 'Revision' of our Authorized Version is touched thereby very nearly indeed. So intimate (may we not say, so fatal?) proves to be the sympathy between the labours of Drs. Westcott and Hort and those of our Revisionists, that *whatever the former have shut up within double brackets, the latter are discovered to have branded with a note of suspicion, conceived invariably in the same terms: viz., 'Some ancient authorities omit.'* And further, *whatever those Editors have rejected from their text, these Revisionists have rejected also.* It becomes necessary, therefore, briefly to enquire after the precise amount of manuscript authority which underlies certain of the foregoing changes. And happily this may be done in a few words.

The sole authority for just half of the places above enumerated¹ is one *Greek codex*,—and that, the most depraved of all,—viz. Beza's D. It should further be stated that the only allies discoverable for D are a few copies of the old Latin. What we are

¹ Viz. the 1st, the 7th to 12th inclusive, and the 15th.

saying will seem scarcely credible: but it is a plain fact, of which all may convince themselves who will be at the pains to inspect the critical apparatus at the foot of the pages of Tischendorf's last (8th) edition. Our Revisionists' notion, therefore, of what constitutes 'weighty evidence' is now before the reader. If in his judgment the testimony of *one single manuscript*, (and *that* manuscript the Codex Bezae (D)),—does really invalidate in the slightest degree that of *all other manuscripts and all other Versions* in the world,—then of course, the Greek Text of the Revisionists will in his judgment be a thing to be rejoiced over. But what if he should be of opinion that such testimony, in and by itself, is simply worthless? We shrewdly suspect that the Revisionists' view of what constitutes 'evidence' will be found to end where it began, viz. in the Jerusalem Chamber.

For, when we reach down codex D from the shelf, we are reminded that, within the space of the three chapters of S. Luke's Gospel now under consideration, there are in all no less than 354 words omitted; *of which, 250 are omitted by D alone*. May we be told why, of those 354 words, only 25 are now singled out for actual excision? Within the same compass, no less than 173 words have been added by D to the Textus receptus,—146 substituted,—243 transposed. May we ask how it comes to pass that of those 562 words *not one* has been promoted to their margin by the Revisionists? Return we, however, to our list of the changes which they actually *have* effected.

(1) Now, that ecclesiastical usage and the parallel places would seriously affect such precious words as are found in Luke xxii. 19, 20, was to have been expected. Yet has the type been preserved all along from the beginning with singular exactness: except in one little handful of singularly licentious documents, viz. D^{aff} 1, which *leave all out*;—in be, which substitute verses 17 and 18;—and in Syr^{cu} which, retaining the 10 words of ver. 19, substitutes verses 17, 18 for ver. 20. Enough for the condemnation of D survives in Justin,² Basil,³ Epiphanius,⁴ Theodoret,⁵ Cyril,⁶ Maximus,⁷ Jerome.⁸ But why delay ourselves with a place vouched for by *every known copy of the Gospels* except D? Drs. Westcott and Hort entertain '*no moral doubt that the [32] words [given at foot 1] were absent from the original text of S. Luke;*' in which opinion, happily, *they stand alone*. But why were our Revisers led astray by them?

¹ Τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι, λέγων, Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον, ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον.

² i. 156.

³ ii. 254.

⁴ i. 344.

⁵ iv. 220, 1218.

⁶ In Luc. 664 (Mai, iv. 1105).

⁷ ii. 653.

⁸ 'In Lucā legimus duos calices, quibus discipulis propinavit,' vii. 216.

The next place is entitled to far graver attention, and may on no account be lightly dismissed, seeing that these two verses contain the sole record of that 'Agony in the Garden' which the universal Church has almost erected into an article of the Faith.

(2) That the incident of the ministering Angel, the Agony and bloody sweat of the world's Redeemer (S. Luke xxii. 43, 44), was anciently absent from certain copies of the Gospels, is expressly recorded by Hilary,¹ by Jerome,² and others. Only necessary is it to read the apologetic remarks which Ambrose introduces when he reaches S. Luke xxii. 43,³ to understand what led to this serious mutilation of Scripture,—traces of which survive at this day exclusively in *four* codices, viz. A B B T. Singular to relate, in the Gospel which was read on Maundy Thursday these two verses of S. Luke's Gospel are thrust in between the 39th and the 40th verses of S. Matth. xxvi. Hence, 4 cursive copies, viz. 13, 69, 124, 346 (known to have been derived from a common ancient archetype),⁴ actually exhibit these two verses in that place. But will any unprejudiced person of sound mind entertain a doubt concerning the genuineness of these two verses, witnessed to as they are by the whole body of the manuscripts, uncial as well as cursive, and *by every ancient Version*? If such a thing were possible, it is hoped that the following enumeration of ancient Fathers, who distinctly recognize the place under discussion, must at least be held to be decisive:—viz. Justin M.⁵ and Irenæus⁶ in the 2nd century:—Hippolytus⁷ and Dionysius Alexand.⁸ in the 3rd:—Arius,⁹ Eusebius,¹⁰ Athanasius,¹¹ Ephraem Syr.,¹² Didymus,¹³ Gregory Naz.,¹⁴ Epiphanius,¹⁵ Chrysostom,¹⁶ ps.-Dionysius areop.,¹⁷ in the 4th:—Julian the heretic,¹⁸ Theodorus Mops.,¹⁹ Cyril Alex.,²⁰ Gennadius,²¹ Theodoret,²² and several Oriental Bishops (A.D. 431)²³ in the 5th:—besides ps.-Cæsarius,²⁴ Theodosius Alex.,²⁵ J. Damascene,²⁶ Maximus,²⁷ Theodorus hæret.,²⁸ Leontius Byz.,²⁹

¹ P. 1062.² ii. 747.³ i. 1516.⁴ Abbott's 'Collation of four important Manuscripts,' &c., 1877.⁵ ii. 354.⁶ Pp. 543 and 681.⁷ Contra Noet. c. 18; also ap. Theodoret iv. 132-3.⁸ Ap. Galland. xix.; 'App.' 116, 117.⁹ Ap. Epiph. i. 742, 785.¹⁰ It is § 283 in his sectional system.¹¹ P. 1121.¹² ii. 43.¹³ Pp. 394, 402.¹⁴ i. 551.¹⁵ [i. 742, 785;] ii. 36, 42.¹⁶ v. 263; vii. 791; viii. 377.¹⁷ ii. 39.¹⁸ Ap. Theod. Mops.¹⁹ In loc. bis; ap. Galland. xii. 693; and Mai, 'Script. Vett.' vi. 306.²⁰ Ap. Mai, iii. 389.²¹ Schol. 34.²² i. 692; iv. 271, 429; v. 23.²³ 'Concilia,' iii. 740.²⁴ Ap. Galland. vi. 16, 17, 19.²⁵ Ap. Cosmam, ii. 331.²⁶ i. 544.²⁷ In Dionys. ii. 18, 30.²⁸ Ap. Galland. xii. 693.²⁹ Ibid. 688.

Anastasius Sin.,¹ Photius;² and of the Latins, Hilary,³ Jerome,⁴ Augustine,⁵ Cassian,⁶ Paulinus,⁷ Facundus.⁸ It will be seen that we have been enumerating upwards of thirty famous personages from every part of ancient Christendom, who recognize these verses as part of the Gospel; thirteen of them being as old,—some of them being a great deal older—than our oldest MSS.—Why therefore Drs. Westcott and Hort should insist on shutting up these 26 precious words—this article of the Faith—in double brackets, in token that it is ‘morally certain’ that verses 43 and 44 are of spurious origin, we are at a loss to divine.⁹ We can but ejaculate (in the very words they proceed to disallow),—‘Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.’ But our especial concern is that our Revisionists should have succumbed to such evil counsels, and branded these verses with doubt. For if that be not the purpose of the marginal note which they have set against these verses, we are wholly at a loss to divine what purpose that note can be meant to serve.—We have been so full on this subject, (not half of our references were known to Tischendorf), because of the unspeakable preciousness of the record; and because we desire to see an end at last to expressions of doubt and uncertainty on points which really afford not a shadow of pretence for either. These two verses were excised through mistaken piety by the orthodox,—jealous for the honour of their LORD, and alarmed by the use which the impugnors of His GODhead freely made of them.¹⁰

(4) Next in importance after the preceding, comes the prayer which the SAVIOUR of the World breathed from the Cross on behalf of His murderers (S. Luke xxiii. 34). These twelve precious words,—(‘Then said JESUS, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do,’)—like those twenty-six in verses 43, 44 we have been considering already, Drs. Westcott and Hort enclose within double brackets, in token of the ‘moral certainty’ they entertain that the words are spurious.¹¹ And yet those words are found in every known uncial and in every known

¹ Pp. 108, 1028, 1048.

² Epist. 138.

³ P. 1061.

⁴ ii. 747.

⁵ iv. 901, 902, 1013, 1564.

⁶ P. 373.

⁷ Ap. Galland. ix. 40.

⁸ Ibid. xi. 693.

⁹ Let their own account of the matter be heard:—‘The documentary evidence clearly designates [these verses] as an early Western interpolation, adopted in eclectic texts.’ ‘They can only be a fragment from the traditions, written or oral, which were for a while at least locally current:’ an ‘evangelic tradition,’ therefore, ‘rescued from oblivion by the scribes of the second century.’

¹⁰ Consider the places referred to in Epiphanius.

¹¹ The editors shall speak for themselves concerning this, the first of the ‘Seven last Words:’—‘We cannot doubt that it comes from an extraneous source:’ ‘need not have belonged originally to the book in which it is now included:’ is ‘a Western interpolation.’

cursive copy, except four; besides being found in *every ancient Version*. And *what* (we ask the question with sincere simplicity),—*what* amount of evidence is calculated to inspire undoubting confidence in any given reading, if not such a concurrence of authorities as this? We forbear to insist upon the probabilities of the case. The Divine power and sweetness of the incident shall not be enlarged upon. We introduce no considerations resulting from internal evidence. Let this verse of Scripture stand or fall as it meets with sufficient external testimony, or is clearly forsaken thereby. How then about the *Patristic* evidence,—for this is all that remains unexplored? Only a fraction of it was known to Tischendorf. We find our SAVIOUR'S prayer attested in the 2nd century by Hegesippus¹ and Irenæus;²—in the 3rd, by Origen,³ by the Apostolic Constitutions,⁴ by the Clementine Homilies,⁵ and by the disputation of Archelaus with Manes;⁶—in the 4th, by Eusebius,⁷ by Athanasius,⁸ by Gregory Nyss.,⁹ by Theodorus Herac.,¹⁰ by Basil,¹¹ by Chrysostom,¹² by Ephraem Syr.,¹³ by ps.-Dionysius Areop.,¹⁴ by the Apocryphal 'Acta Pilati,'¹⁵ by the 'Acta Philippi,'¹⁶ and by the Syriac 'Acts of the App.,'¹⁷ by ps.-Ignatius¹⁸ and ps.-Justin;¹⁹—in the 5th, by Theodoret,²⁰ by Cyril,²¹ by Euthérius;²²—in the 6th, by Anastasius Sin.,²³ and by Hesychius;²⁴—in the 7th, by Antiochus mon.,²⁵ by Maximus,²⁶ by Andreas Cret.;²⁷—in the 8th, by Damascene,²⁸ besides ps.-Chrysostom,²⁹ ps.-Amphilochius,³⁰ and the *Opus imperf.*³¹ Add to these (since Latin authorities have been brought to the front), Ambrose,³² Jerome,³³ Augustine,³⁴ and other earlier writers.³⁵ And now we ask, as we asked before, with what show of reason is the brand of suspiciousness set upon these 12 words? Gravely to cite, as if there were anything in it, such counter-evidence as the following to the foregoing torrent of testimony from every part of ancient Christendom:—'B D, 38, 435, a b d and one Egyptian version'—

¹ Ap. Eus.² P. 521.³ ii. 188.⁴ Ap. Gall. iii. 38, 127.⁵ Ib. ii. 714.⁶ Ap. Routh, v. 161.⁷ He places the verses in Can. x.⁸ i. 1120.⁹ iii. 289.¹⁰ Cat. in Ps. iii. 219.¹¹ i. 290.¹² 15 times.¹³ ii. 48, 321, 428; ii. (*syr.*) 233.¹⁴ P. 85.¹⁵ i. 607.¹⁶ Pp. 232, 286.¹⁷ P. 85.¹⁸ Pp. 11, 16. Dr. Wright assigns them to the fourth century.¹⁹ Eph. c. x.²⁰ ii. 166, 168, 226.²¹ Six times.²² Ap. Mai, ii. 197; iii. 392.²³ Ap. Theod. v. 1152.²⁴ Pp. 423, 457.²⁵ Cat. in Ps. i. 768; ii. 663.²⁶ Pp. 1109, 1134.²⁷ i. 374.²⁸ P. 93.²⁹ ii. 67, 747.³⁰ i. 814; ii. 819; v. 735.³¹ P. 88.³² Ap. Chrys. vi. 191.³³ 11 times.³⁴ 12 times.³⁵ More than 60 times.³⁶ Ap. Cypr. (ed. Baluze), &c. &c.

is hardly intelligible. How could our Revisionists insinuate doubts into wavering hearts and unlearned heads, where (as here) they were *bound* to know, that there exists *no doubt at all*?

(5) The record of the same Evangelist (S. Lu. xxiii. 38) that the inscription over our SAVIOUR'S Cross was 'written . . . in letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew,' *disappears entirely* from our 'Revised' version; and this, for no other reason but because the incident is not recognized by BCL, the corrupt Egyptian versions, and Cureton's depraved Syriac. But surely the negative testimony of this little band of suspicious witnesses is entirely outweighed by the positive testimony of \aleph A D Q R with 13 other uncials,—the witness of *the entire body of the cursives*,—the sanction of the Latin, Syriac, Armenian, and Æthiopic versions; besides Eusebius—whose testimony (which is express) has been hitherto strangely overlooked,¹—and Cyril.² Against the threefold plea of Antiquity, Respectability of witnesses, Universality of testimony,—what have our Revisionists to show? They cannot pretend that there has been Assimilation here; for the type of S. John xix. 20 is essentially different, and has retained its distinctive character all down the ages. Nor can they pretend that the condition of the text hereabouts bears traces of having been jealously guarded. We ask the reader's attention to this matter just for a moment. There may be some of the occupants of the Jerusalem Chamber even, to whom what we are about to offer may not be altogether without the grace of novelty.

That the title on the Cross is diversely set down by each of the four Evangelists, all are aware. But perhaps all are not aware that S. Luke's exhibition of the title (in ch. xxiii. 38) is exhibited in four different ways by codices A B C D:—

- A exhibits ΟΥΤΟC ΕCΤΙΝ Ο ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ
- B (with \aleph L and a) exhibits Ο ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ ΟΥΤΟC
- C exhibits Ο ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ (which is Mk. xv. 26).
- D (with e and ff²) exhibits Ο ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ ΟΥΤΟC ΕCΤΙΝ (which is the words of the Evangelist transposed).

We propose to recur to the foregoing specimens of licentiousness by-and-by. For the moment, let it be added that codex X and the Sahidic version conspire in a fifth variety, viz., ΟΥΤΟC ΕCΤΙΝ ΙΗCΟΥC Ο ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ (which is S. Matt. xxvii. 37); while Ambrose³ is found to have used a Latin copy which represented ΙΗCΟΥC Ο ΝΑΖΩΠΑΙΟC Ο ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ (which is S. John xix. 18). We spare the reader any

¹ Eclog. Proph. p. 89.

Vol. 152.—No. 304.

² In Luc. 435 and 718.

2 B

³ i. 1528.

remarks

remarks of our own on all this. He is competent to draw his own painful inferences, and will not fail to make his own damaging reflections. He shall only be further informed that 14 uncials and the whole body of the cursive copies side with codex A in upholding the Textus receptus; that the Vulgate,¹ the Peschito, Cureton's Syriac, the Philoxenian,—besides the Coptic, Armenian, and Æthiopic versions—are all on the same side; lastly, that Origen,² Eusebius, and Gregory of Nyssa³ are in addition consentient witnesses;—and we can hardly be mistaken if we venture to anticipate (1st), that the reader will agree with us that the Text with which we are all best acquainted (as usual) is here deserving of our confidence; and (2ndly), that the Revisionists who assure us 'that they did not esteem it within their province to construct a continuous and complete Greek Text;' (and who were never instructed to construct a new Greek Text at all;) are not justified in the course they have pursued with regard to S. Luke xxiii. 38. 'THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS' is the only idiomatic way of rendering into English the title according to S. Luke, whether the reading of A or of B be adopted; but, in order to make it plain that they reject the Greek of A in favour of B, the Revisionists have gone out of their way. They have instructed the Editors of 'The Greek Testament with the readings adopted by the Revisers of the Authorized Version' to exhibit S. Luke xxiii. 38 as it stands in the mutilated recension of Drs. Westcott and Hort.⁴ And if this, repeated hundreds of times, be not constructing 'a new Greek Text' of the N. T., we have yet to learn what is.

(10) We find it impossible to pass by in silence the treatment which S. Luke xxiv. 12 has experienced at their hands. They have branded with doubt S. Luke's memorable account of S. Peter's visit to the sepulchre. And why? Let the evidence for this precious portion of narrative be first rehearsed. Nineteen uncials then, with A B at their head, supported by every known cursive copy,—all these vouch for the genuineness of the verse in question. The Latin, the Syriac, and the Egyptian versions also contain it. Eusebius,⁵ Gregory of Nyssa,⁶ Cyril,⁷ Severus,⁸ Ammonius,⁹ and others¹⁰ refer to it: while no ancient writer is found to impugn it. Then, why the double brackets of Westcott and Hort? and why the correlative marginal note of

¹ So Sedulius Paschalis, ap. Galland. ix. 595.

² iii. 2.

³ Euseb. 'Ecl. Proph.' p. 89; Greg. Nyss. i. 570.—These last two places have hitherto escaped observation.

⁴ Viz., thus:—*ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπιγραφὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, 'Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος.*

⁵ Ap. Mai, iv. 287, 293.

⁶ i. 364.

⁷ Ap. Mai, ii. 439.

⁸ Ap. Galland. xi. 224.

⁹ Cat. in Joann. p. 453.

¹⁰ Ps.-Chrys. viii. 161-2. Johannes Thessal. ap. Galland. xiii. 189.

our Revisionists? Simply, because D and 5 copies of the old Latin (a b e f u) leave these 22 words out.

(11) On the same sorry evidence—(viz. D and 5 copies of the old Latin)—it is proposed henceforth to omit our SAVIOUR'S greeting to His disciples when He appeared among them in the upper chamber on the evening of the first Easter Day. And yet the precious words are vouched for by 18 uncials (with N A B at their head), and every known cursive copy of the Gospels; by all the Versions; and (as before) by Eusebius¹ and Ambrose,² by Chrysostom³ and Cyril⁴ and Augustine.⁵

(12) The same remarks suggest themselves on a survey of the evidence for S. Luke xxiv. 40:—‘And when He had thus spoken, He shewed them His hands and His feet.’ The words are found in 18 uncials (beginning with N A B), and in every known cursive: in the Latin,⁶ the Syriac, the Egyptian,—in short, in all the ancient Versions. Besides these, ps.-Justin,⁷ Eusebius,⁸ Athanasius,⁹ Ambrose (in Greek),¹⁰ Epiphanius,¹¹ Chrysostom,¹² Cyril,¹³ Theodoret,¹⁴ Ammonius,¹⁵ and J. Damascene¹⁶ quote them. What but the veriest trifling is it, in the face of such a body of evidence, to bring forward the fact that D and 5 copies of the old Latin with Cureton's Syriac omit the words in question?

The foregoing enumeration of instances of Mutilation might be enlarged to almost any extent. Take only three more short but striking specimens before we pass on:—

(a) Thus, the precious verse (S. Matth. xvii. 21) which declares that ‘*this kind [of evil spirit] goeth not out but by prayer and fasting*,’ is expunged by our Revisionists; although it is vouched for by every known uncial but two, every known cursive but one; is witnessed to by the Latin, the Syriac, and the Coptic versions; by Origen, Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, the Opus imperf., the Syriac Clement, and Damascene; by Tertullian, Ambrose, Hilary, Juvenius, Augustine, Maximus Taur., and by the Syriac version of the Canons of Eusebius: above all, by the Universal East, having been read in all the churches of Oriental Christendom on the 10th Sunday after Pentecost, from the earliest period. Why then (our readers will ask) have the Revisionists left those words out? For no other reason, we

¹ Ap. Mai, iv. 293 bis; 294 diserte.

² i. 506, 1541.

³ iii. 91.

⁴ iv. 1108, and Luc. 728 (= Mai, ii. 441).

⁵ iii². 142; viii. 472.

⁶ So Tertullian:—‘*Manus et pedes suos inspiciendos offert*’ (Carn. c. 5). ‘*In-spectui eorum manus et pedes suos offert*’ (Marc. iv. c. 43). Also Jerome i. 712.

⁷ ‘De Resur.’ 240 (quoted by J. Damascene, ii. 762).

⁸ Ap. Mai, iv. 294.

⁹ i. 906, quoted by Epiph. i. 1003.

¹⁰ Ap. Theodoret, iv. 141.

¹¹ i. 49.

¹² i. 510; ii. 408, 418; iii. 91.

¹³ iv. 1108; vi. 23 (Trin.).

Ap. Mai, ii. 442 ter.

¹⁴ iv. 272.

¹⁵ Cat. in Joan. 462, 3.

¹⁶ i. 303.

answer, but because Drs. Westcott and Hort place them among the interpolations which they consider unworthy of being even 'exceptionally retained in association with the true Text.'¹ 'Western and Syrian' is their magisterial sentence.²

(b) The blessed declaration, '*The Son of man is come to save that which was lost*,'—has in like manner been expunged by our Revisionists from S. Matth. xviii. 11; although it is attested by every known uncial and every known cursive *except three*; by the Latin, the Syriac, the Armenian, and the Ethiopic versions; by Origen, Theodorus Heracl., Chrysostom and Jovius the monk; by Tertullian, Ambrose, Hilary, Jerome, pope Damasus and Augustine; above all, by the Universal Eastern Church,—for it has been read in all assemblies of the faithful on the morrow of Pentecost, from the beginning. Why then (the reader will again ask) have the Revisionists expunged this verse? We can only answer as before,—because Drs. Westcott and Hort consign it to the *limbus* of their Appendix; class it among their 'Rejected Readings' of the most hopeless type.³ As before, *all* their sentence is 'Western and Syrian.' They add, 'Interpolated either from Lu. xix. 10, or from an independent source, written or oral.'⁴

(c) In the same way, our LORD's important saying, '*Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of: for the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them*' (S. Lu. ix. 55, 56), has disappeared from our 'Revised' Version; although manuscripts, Versions, Fathers from the *second century* downwards (as Tischendorf admits) witness eloquently in its favour.

V. In conclusion, we propose to advert, just for a moment, to those four several representations of S. Luke's 'Title on the Cross,' which were rehearsed above, viz. at foot of page 355. At such an exhibition of licentiousness, it is the mere instinct of natural piety to exclaim,—But then, could not those men even set down so sacred a record as *that*, correctly? They could, had they been so minded, no doubt, (we answer): but, marvellous to relate, the TRANSPOSITION of words, no matter how significant, sacred, solemn; of short clauses, even of whole sentences of Scripture; was anciently accounted an allowable, even a graceful exercise of the critical faculty.

The thing alluded to is incredible at first sight; being so often done, apparently, without any reason whatever,—or rather in defiance of all reason. Let *candidus lector* be the judge whether we speak truly or not. Whereas S. Luke (xxiv. 41)

¹ Text, pp. 565 and 571.

² Text, p. 572.

³ Append. p. 14.

⁴ Append. p. 14.

says, 'And while they yet believed not for joy, and wondered,' the scribe of codex A (by way of improving upon the Evangelist) transposes his sentence into this, 'And while they yet disbelieved Him, and wondered for joy:'¹ which is almost nonsense, or quite.—But take a more lively example of the phenomenon referred to. Instead of, 'And His disciples plucked the ears of corn, and ate them, (τοὺς στάχνας, καὶ ἤσθιον,) rubbing them in their hands' (S. Luke vi. 1),—B C L R, by *transposing* four Greek words, present us with, 'And His disciples plucked, and ate the ears of corn, (καὶ ἤσθιον τοὺς στάχνας,) rubbing them,' &c. Now this might have been an agreeable occupation for horses, no doubt; but hardly for men. This curiosity, which (happily) proved indigestible to our Revisionists, is swallowed whole by Drs. Westcott and Hort. But to proceed. Then further, these preposterous transpositions are of such perpetual recurrence,—are so utterly useless or else so exceedingly mischievous, *always* so tasteless,—that familiarity with the phenomenon rather increases than lessens our astonishment. What astonishes us most, however, is to find learned men in the year of grace 1881 freely resuscitating these long since forgotten *bêtises* of long since forgotten Critics, and seeking to palm them off upon a busy and a careless age, as so many new revelations. That we may not be thought to have shown undue partiality for the xxiind, xxiiiird, and xxivth chapters of S. Luke's Gospel by selecting our instances of *Mutilation* from those three chapters, we will now look for specimens of *Transposition* in the xixth and xxth chapters of the same Gospel. The reader is invited to collate the text of the oldest uncials, throughout these two chapters, with the received text. He will find that within the compass of 88 consecutive verses,² codices \aleph A B C D Q exhibit no less than 74 instances of Transposition: for 39 of which, D is responsible: \aleph B, for 14: \aleph and \aleph B D, for 4 each: A B and \aleph A B, for 3 each: A, for 2: B, C, Q, \aleph A, and A D, each for 1. In other words, he will find that in no less than 44 of these instances of Transposition, D is implicated: \aleph , in 26: B, in 25: A, in 10: while C and Q are concerned in only one a-piece. It should be added that Drs. Westcott and Hort have adopted *every one of the 25 in which codex B is concerned*—a significant indication of the superstitious reverence in which they hold that demonstrably corrupt and most untrustworthy document.³ Every other

¹ ἔτι δὲ ἀπιστούντων αὐτῷ, καὶ θαυμαζόντων ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς.

² Viz. from ch. xix. 7 to xx. 46.

³ We take leave to point out that, however favourable the estimate Drs. Westcott and Hort may have personally formed of the value and importance of the Vatican

other case of Transposition they have rejected. By their own confession, therefore, 49 out of the 74 (i.e. two-thirds of the entire number) are instances of depravation. We turn with curiosity to the Revised Version; and discover that out of the 25 so retained, the Editors in question were only able to persuade the Revisionists to adopt 8. So that, in the judgment of the Revisionists, 66 out of 74, or *eleven-twelfths*, are instances of licentious tampering with the deposit. O to participate in the verifying faculty which guided the teachers to discern in 25 cases of Transposition out of 74, the genuine work of the Evangelist. O, far more, to have been born with that loftier instinct which enabled the pupils to winnow out from the entire lot exactly 8, and to reject the remaining 66 as nothing worth!

But these, which are fair typical samples of countless other instances of unauthorized Transposition, may not be dismissed without a few words of serious remonstrance. Our contention is that, inasmuch as the effect of such transposition is *incapable of being idiomatically represented in the English language*, (for, in all such cases, the Revised Version retains the rendering of the Authorized,) our Revisionists have violated the spirit as well as the letter of their instructions, in putting forth a *new Greek Text*, and silently introducing into it a countless number of these and similar depravations of Scripture. These textual curiosities (for they are nothing more) are absolutely without use in a *Revision of the English Version*: can achieve no purpose, except to mislead the unwary. This first. Secondly, we respectfully submit that,—strong as no doubt the temptation must have been, to secure the sanction of the New Testament Revisionists for their own private Recension of the Greek, (printed long since, but published only yesterday,)—it is to be regretted that Drs. Westcott and Hort should have yielded thereto. Man's impatience seldom promotes GOD'S Truth. The interests of Textual Criticism would rather have suggested, that the Recension of that accomplished pair of scholars should have been submitted to public inspection in the first instance. The astonishing text which it advocates might have been left with comparative safety to take its chance in the Jerusalem Chamber, after it had

Vatican codex B, nothing can excuse their summary handling, not to say their contemptuous disregard, of all evidence adverse to that of their own two favourite guides. They *pass by* whatever makes against the readings they advocate, with the magisterial announcement,—‘*Syrian*,’ ‘*Western*,’ ‘*Western and Syrian*,’ as the case may be. But we respectfully submit that ‘*Syrian*,’ ‘*Western*,’ ‘*Western and Syrian*,’ as Critical expressions, are without meaning, as well as without use to a student in this difficult department of sacred Science. They supply no information. They are not supported by evidence. They are *Dictation*, not *Criticism*. When at last it is discovered that they do but signify that certain words are omitted by codex B,—they are *circumlocution* also.

undergone

undergone the searching ordeal of competent criticism and been freely ventilated at home and abroad for a decade of years.

VI. Hitherto we have referred almost exclusively to the Gospels. In conclusion, we invite attention to our Revisionists' treatment of 1 Tim. iii. 16—the *crux criticorum*, as Dr. Scrivener styles it. We cannot act more fairly than by inviting a learned member of the revising body to speak on behalf of his brethren. We shall in this way ascertain the amount of acquaintance with the subject enjoyed by some of those who have been so good as to furnish the Church with a new Recension of the Greek of the New Testament. Dr. Roberts says:—

'The English reader will probably be startled to find that the familiar text, "*And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh,*" has been exchanged in the Revised Version for the following, "*And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness; He who was manifested in the flesh.*" A note on the margin states that "the word *God*, in place of *He who*, rests on no sufficient ancient evidence;" and it may be well that, in a passage of so great importance, the reader should be convinced that such is the case. What, then, let us inquire, is the amount of evidence which can be produced in support of the reading "*God*"? This is soon stated. Not one of the early Fathers can be certainly quoted for it. None of the very ancient versions support it. No uncial witnesses to it, with the doubtful exception of A But even granting that the weighty suffrage of the Alexandrian manuscript is in favour of "*God*," far more evidence can be produced in support of "*who*." α and probably ϵ witness to this reading, and it has also powerful testimony from the Versions and Fathers. Moreover, the relative "*who*" is a far more difficult reading than "*God*," and could hardly have been substituted for the latter. On every ground, therefore, we conclude that this interesting and important passage must stand as it has been given in the Revised Version.'¹

And now, having heard Dr. Roberts on behalf of his brother-Revisionists, we request that we may be ourselves listened to in reply. The place of Scripture before us, the reader is assured, presents a memorable instance of the mischief which occasionally resulted to the inspired text from the ancient practice of executing copies of the Scriptures in uncial characters. S. Paul certainly wrote *μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον*. Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ('*Great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifested in the flesh.*') But it requires to be explained at the outset, that the holy Name, when abbreviated in uncials, ΘC ('*GOD*'), is only distinguishable from the relative pronoun

¹ 'Companion to the Revised Version,' &c., by Alex. Roberts, D.D. (2nd edit.), pp. 66-8.

'who'

'who' (OC) by two horizontal strokes,—which in manuscripts of early date it was often the practice to trace so faintly that at present they can scarcely be discerned.¹ Need we go on? An archetypal copy in which one or both of these slight strokes had vanished from the word $\Theta\bar{C}$ ('GOD'), gave rise to the reading OC ('who'),—of which nonsensical substitute, traces survive in *only two*² manuscripts,— \aleph and 17: not, for certain, in *one single* ancient Father,—no, nor for certain in *one single* ancient Version. So transparent, in fact, is the absurdity of writing τὸ μυστήριον ὅς ('the mystery *who*'), that copyists promptly substituted ὃ ('*which*'): thus furnishing another illustration of the well-known property of a fabricated reading, viz. sooner or later inevitably to become the parent of a second. Happily, to this second mistake the sole surviving witness is the Codex Claromontanus, of the 6th century (D): the only patristic evidence in its favour being Gelasius of Cyzicus,³ (whose date is A.D. 476): and the unknown author of a homily in the appendix to Chrysostom.⁴ The Versions—all but the Georgian and the Slavonic, which follow the Received Text—favour it unquestionably; for they are observed one and all to make the relative pronoun agree in gender with the word which represents μυστήριον ('mystery') which immediately precedes it. Over this latter reading, however, we need not linger; seeing that ὃ does not find a single patron at the present day. And yet, it was eagerly upheld during the last century: Wetstein and Sir Isaac Newton being its most strenuous advocates.

It is time to pass under hasty review the direct evidence for the true reading. A and C exhibited $\Theta\bar{C}$ until ink, dirt, and the injurious use of chemicals, obliterated what once was patent. It is too late, by full 150 years, to contend on the negative side of *this* question. F and G, which exhibit $\Theta\bar{C}$ and $\bar{O}\bar{C}$ respectively, were evidently derived from a common archetype in which the horizontal stroke which distinguished Θ from \bar{O} had been so faintly traced as to be scarcely discernible. The supposition that in this place the stroke in question represents *the aspirate*, is certainly inadmissible. *There is no single example of ὅς written $\bar{O}\bar{C}$ in any part of either manuscript.* On the other hand, in the only place where OC represents $\Theta\bar{C}$, it is written $\bar{O}\bar{C}$ in *both*. Prejudice herself may be safely called upon to accept the obvious and only lawful inference.

¹ Of this, any one may convince himself by merely inspecting the volume of codex A which is exposed to view at the British Museum.

² For, of the 3 cursives usually cited for the same reading (17, 73, 181), the second proves (on inquiry at Upsala) to be merely an abridgment of $\Theta\bar{C}$ menius, who certainly read $\Theta\bar{C}$ ός; and the last is non-existent.

³ Concilia, ii. 217 c.

⁴ viii. 214 b.

To come to the point,—Θεός is the reading of *all the uncial copies extant but two* (viz. \aleph which exhibits $\theta\varsigma$, and \mathfrak{D} which exhibits δ), and of all the cursives *but one* (viz. 17). The universal consent of the Lectionaries proves that Θεός has been read in all the assemblies of the faithful from the 4th or 5th century of our era. At what earlier period of her existence is it supposed then that the Church ('the witness and keeper of Holy Writ,') availed herself of her privilege to substitute Θεός for $\theta\varsigma$ or δ ,—whether in error or in fraud? Nothing short of a conspiracy, to which every region of the Eastern Church must have been a party, would account for the phenomenon.

We enquire next for the testimony of the Fathers; and we discover that (1) Gregory of Nyssa quotes Θεός *twenty-two times*:¹ that Θεός is also recognized by his (2) namesake of Nazianzus in two places;² as well as by (3) Didymus of Alexandria.³ (4) Chrysostom quotes 1 Tim. iii. 16 in conformity with the received text at least three times;⁴ and (5) Cyril as often:⁵ (6) Theodoret, four times;⁶ (7) an unknown author of the age of Nestorius (A.D. 330), once:⁷ (8) Severus, Bp. of Antioch (A.D. 512), once.⁸ (9) Macedonius (A.D. 506) patriarch of CP.,⁹ who was absurdly charged with having *invented* the reading, is a witness for Θεός perforce; so is (10) Euthalius, and (11) John Damascene on two occasions.¹⁰ (12) An unknown writer who has been mistaken for Athanasius,¹¹ (13) besides not a few ancient scholiasts, close the list: for we pass

¹ A single quotation is better than many references. Among a multitude of proofs that CHRIST is God, Gregory says: Τιμωθέν δὲ διαβρήδην βοᾷ· ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἰδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι. ii. 693.

² Τοῦτο ἡμῖν τὸ μέγα μυστήριον . . . ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ πτωχεύσας Θεός, ἵνα ἀναστήσῃ τὴν σάρκα. i. 215 a.—Τὸ μέγα μυστήριον; . . . Θεὸς ἄνθρωπος γίνεται. i. 685 b.

³ 'De Trin.' p. 83—where the testimony is express.

⁴ One quotation may suffice:—Τὸ δὲ Θεὸν ὄντα, ἄνθρωπον θελήσαι γενέσθαι καὶ ἀνεσχέσθαι καταβῆναι τοσοῦτον . . . τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἐκπλήξεως γέμον. ὁ δὲ καὶ Παῦλος θαυμάζων ἔλεγεν· καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· ποῖον μέγα; Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί· καὶ πάλιν ἀλλαχοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλων ἐπιλαμβάνεται ὁ Θεός. κ. τ. λ. i. 497.

⁵ The following may suffice:—μέγα γὰρ τότε τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· πεφανέρωται γὰρ ἐν σαρκί Θεὸς ὢν καὶ ὁ Λόγος· ἰδικαιώθη δὲ καὶ ἐν πνεύματι. v. p. ii.; p. 154 c d. In a newly-recovered treatise of Cyril, 1 Tim. iii. 16 is quoted at length with Θεός, followed by a remark on the ἐν αὐτῷ φανερωθεὶς Θεός. This at least is decisive. The place has been hitherto overlooked.

⁶ i. 32; iii. 657; iv. 19, 23.

⁷ Apud Athanasium, Opp. i. 706, where see Garnier's note.

⁸ Καθ' ὃ γὰρ ὑπῆρχε Θεός [sc. ὁ Χριστός] τοῦτον ἤγειρε τὴν ρομοθέτην δοθῆναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι . . . τοιγαροῦν καὶ δεξιμένα τὰ ἔθνη τὸν ρομοθέτην, τὸν ἐν σαρκί φανερωθέντα Θεόν. Cramer's 'Cat.' in Act. iii. 22. The quotation is from the lost work of Severus against Julian of Halicarnassus.

⁹ Galland. xii. 152 e, 153 e, with the notes both of Garnier and Gallandius.

¹⁰ i. 313; ii. 263.

¹¹ Ap. Athanas. ii. 33.

by the testimony of (14) Epiphanius at the 7th Nicene Council (A.D. 787), of (15) Œcumenius, of (16) Theophylact.

It will be observed that neither has anything been said about the many indirect allusions of earlier Fathers to this place of Scripture; and yet some of these are too striking to be overlooked: as when (17) Basil, writing of our SAVIOUR, says αὐτὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί:¹—and (18) Gregory Thaum., καὶ ἔστι Θεὸς ἀληθινὸς ὁ ἄσαρκος ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθεὶς:²—and before him, (19) Hippolytus; οὗτος προελθὼν εἰς κόσμον, Θεὸς ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη:³ and (20) Theodotus the Gnostic, ὁ Σωτὴρ ὠφθη κατιῶν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις:⁴—and (21) Barnabas, Ἰησοῦς . . . ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τύπῳ καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθεὶς:⁵—and earlier still, (22) Ignatius: Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου:—ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεός:—εἰς Θεός ἐστιν ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.⁶ Are we to suppose that none of these primitive writers were on the side of the received Text?

Against this array of testimony, the only evidence which the unwearied industry of 150 years has succeeded in raking together is as follows:—(1) The exploded fable that Macedonius (A.D. 506) invented the reading:⁷ (2) the fact that Epiphanius,—*professing to transcribe*⁸ from an earlier treatise of his own⁹ in which ἐφανερώθη stands *without a nominative*, prefixes ὅς: (3) the statement of an unknown scholiast that, in a certain place where the Greek is lost, Cyril wrote ὅς,—(which is explained by the discovery that in two other places of Cyril's writings the evidence *fluctuates* between ὅς and Θεός): (4) a quotation in an epistle of Euthyrius (it exists only in Latin) where 'qui' is found: (5) a casual reference (in Jerome's commentary on Isaiah) to our LORD, as one 'qui apparuit in carne, justificatus est in spiritu,'—which Bp. Pearson might have written. Lastly, (6) a passage of Theodorus Mops. (quoted at the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 553), where the reading is 'qui,'—which is balanced by the discovery that in another place of his writings quoted at the same Council, the original is translated 'quod.' And this closes the evidence. Will any unprejudiced person, on a review of the premisses, seriously declare that ὅς is the better sustained reading of the two?

For ourselves, we venture to deem it incredible that a reading which (a) is not to be found in more than *two* copies (8 and 17) of S. Paul's Epistles: which (b) is not certainly supported by a single Version: (c) Nor is clearly advocated by a single Father,

¹ iii. 301-2.

² Ap. Phot. 230.

³ Contra Hær. Noct. c. 17.

⁴ Ap. Clem. Al. 973.

⁵ Cap. xii.

⁶ Ad Eph. c. 19, 7; ad Magn. c. 8.

⁷ See Scrivener's 'Introd.' pp. 555-6.

⁸ i. 887 c.

⁹ ii. 74 b.

—can be genuine. It does not at all events admit of question, that until *far* stronger evidence can be produced in its favour, it may on no account be permitted to usurp the place of the commonly received reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16. But the present exhibits in a very striking and instructive way all the characteristic tokens of a depravation of the text. (1st) At an exceedingly early period it resulted in *another* deflection. (2nd) It is without the note of continuity; having died out of the Church's memory well-nigh 1400 years ago. (3rd) It is deficient in universality; having been all along denied the Church's corporate sanction. As a necessary consequence, (4th) It rests at this day on wholly insufficient evidence: Manuscripts, Versions, Fathers being *all* against it. (5th) It carries on its front its own refutation. For, as all must see, ΘC might easily be mistaken for OC: but in order to make OC into ΘC *two horizontal lines must of set purpose be added to the copy.* It is therefore a vast deal *more likely* that ΘC became OC, than that OC became ΘC. (6th) Lastly, it is condemned by internal considerations. "Oς is in truth so grossly improbable—rather, so *impossible*—a reading, that under any circumstances we must have anxiously inquired whether no escape from it was discoverable: whether there exists no way of explaining *how* so patent an absurdity as this (μυστήριον ὅς) *may* have arisen? And on being reminded that the disappearance of two faint horizontal strokes, or *even of one*, would fully account for the impossible reading, (and thus much, at least, all admit,)—should we not have felt that it required an overwhelming consensus of authorities in favour of ὅς, to render such an alternative deserving of serious attention? It is a mere abuse of Bengel's famous axiom to recal it on occasions like the present. We shall be landed in a bathos indeed if we allow *gross improbability* to become a constraining motive with us in revising the sacred Text.

And thus much for the true reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16. We invite our readers to refer back to a Revisionist's estimate of the evidence in favour of Θεός and ὅς respectively, and to contrast it with our own. If he is impressed with the strength of the cause of our opponents,—their mastery of the subject,—and the reasonableness of their contention,—we shall be surprised. May we be permitted to say without offence that, in our humble judgment, if the Church of England at their bidding were to adopt this and thousands of other disfigurements of the sacred page,—depravations with which the Church universal was once well acquainted, but which in her corporate character she has long since unconditionally condemned and abandoned

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—she would deserve to be pointed at with scorn by the rest of Christendom.

And here we make an end.

Those who may have taken up the present article in expectation of being entertained with another of those discussions (of which we suspect the public must be already getting somewhat weary), concerning the degree of ability which the New Testament Revisionists have displayed in their rendering into English of the Greek, will at first experience disappointment. Readers of intelligence, however, who have been at the pains to follow us through the foregoing pages, will be constrained to admit that we have done more faithful service to the cause of Sacred Truth by the course we have been pursuing, than if we had merely multiplied instances of satisfactory or unsatisfactory *Translation*. There is (and this we endeavoured to explain at the outset) a question of prior interest and far graver importance which has to be settled *first*, viz. the degree of confidence which is due to the underlying NEW GREEK TEXT which our Revisionists have constructed. In other words, before discussing their *new Renderings*, we have to examine their *new Readings*. The silence which Scholars have hitherto maintained on this part of the subject is to ourselves scarcely intelligible. But it makes us the more anxious to invite attention to this neglected aspect of the problem; the rather, because we have thoroughly convinced ourselves that the new Greek Text put forth by the Revisionists of our Authorised Version is utterly inadmissible. The Textus receptus has been departed from by them far more than 5000 times, almost invariably *for the worse*.

Effectually to dispose of *all* these multitudinous corruptions would require a bulky treatise. But the reader is requested to observe that, if we are right in the few instances we have culled out from the mass,—*then we are right in all*. And in such case, the structure which the Revisionists have reared collapses 'like the baseless fabric of a vision.'

For no one may imagine that, by undergoing a *further* process of 'Revision,' the 'Revised Version' may after all be rendered trustworthy. The eloquent and excellent Bishop of Derry is 'convinced that the Revision, with all its undeniable merits, will have to be somewhat extensively revised.' And so perhaps are we. But we are further convinced that a prior act of penance to be submitted to by the Revisers would be the restoration of the underlying Greek Text to very nearly—not quite—the state in which they found it when they entered upon their ill-starred undertaking. 'Very nearly—not quite:' for in not a few particulars, the 'Textus receptus' *does* call for Revision, certainly;

certainly; although Revision on entirely different principles from those which are found to have prevailed in the Jerusalem Chamber. To mention a single instance:—When our LORD first sent forth His Twelve Apostles, it was certainly no part of His ministerial commission to them to ‘raise the dead’ (*νεκρὸς ἐγείρετε*, S. Matthew x. 8). Yet is the spurious clause retained by our Revisionists; because it is allowed by those corrupt witnesses—*κ B C D*, and the Latin copies.¹

‘It may be said,’ to quote again from Bishop Alexander’s recent Charge, ‘that there is a want of modesty in dissenting from the conclusions of a two-thirds majority of a body so learned. But the rough process of counting heads imposes unduly on the imagination. One could easily name *eight* in that assembly, whose unanimity would be practically almost decisive; but we have no means of knowing that these did not *form the minority* in resisting the changes which we most regret.’ The Bishop is speaking of the *English* Revision. Having regard to the Greek text exclusively, *we* also (strange to relate) had singled out *exactly eight* from the members of the New Testament company—Divines of undoubted orthodoxy, who for their splendid scholarship and proficiency in the best learning, or else for their refined taste and admirable judgment, might (as we humbly think) have been safely entrusted even with the responsibility of revising the Sacred Text. Under the guidance of Prebendary Scrivener (who among living Englishmen is *facile princeps* in these pursuits) it is scarcely to be anticipated that, WHEN UNANIMOUS, such Divines would ever have materially erred; although it is undeniable that lifelong familiarity with the science of *Textual Criticism*, or at least leisure for prosecuting it with undivided attention, is a requisite for the success of such an undertaking, which we desiderate rather than recognize among English scholars at the present day.

In a future number, we may perhaps enquire into the measure of success which has attended the Revisers’ *Revision of the English* of our Authorized Version of 1611. We have occupied ourselves at this time exclusively with a survey of THE NEW GREEK TEXT, on which their edifice has been reared up. And the circumstance which, in conclusion, we desire to impress upon our Readers, is this,—that the insecurity of that foundation is so alarming, that, except as a concession due to the solemnity of the undertaking just now under review, further

¹ Eusebius, Basil, Chrysostom (*in loc.*), Jerome, Juvenius, omit the words. P. E. Pusey found them in *no* Syriac copy. But the conclusive evidence is supplied by the manuscripts: not more than 1 out of 20 of which know the words.

criticism might reasonably be dispensed with as a thing superfluous. Even could it be proved concerning the superstructure, that '*it had been [ever so] well builded,*'¹ (to adopt another of our Revisionists' unhappy perversions of Scripture,) the fatal objection would remain, viz. that it was not '*founded upon the rock,*'² It has been the ruin of the present undertaking—as far as the Sacred Text is concerned—that a majority of the Revisionist body has been misled throughout by the unsatisfactory decrees and eager advocacy of Drs. Westcott and Hort; who, with the purest intentions and most laudable industry, have constructed a Text demonstrably more remote from the Evangelic verity, than any which has ever yet seen the light. 'The old is good,'³ say the Revisionists: but we venture solemnly to assure them that '*the old is better*;⁴ and that this remark holds every bit as true of their Revision of the Greek throughout, as of their infelicitous exhibition of S. Luke v. 39. To attempt, as they have done, to build the Text of the New Testament on a tissue of unproved assertions and the eccentricities of a single codex of bad character, is about as hopeful a proceeding as would be the attempt to erect an Eddystone lighthouse on the Goodwin Sands.

¹ 'Revised Text' of S. Luke vi. 48.

² 'Authorized Version,' based upon A C D and 12 other uncials, the whole body of the cursives, the Syriac, Latin, and Gothic versions.

³ 'Revised Text' of S. Luke v. 39.

⁴ 'Authorized Version,' based upon A C and 14 other uncials, the whole body of the cursives, and *all* the versions except the Peschito and the Coptic.

ART. II.—*First Annual Report of the Constitutional Union.*
London, 1881.

IN our April number we endeavoured to demonstrate to our readers that the 'Revolutionary Party' in England is not what the optimist journals are so anxious to persuade us that it is, a mere Conservative bogey, but an active and intelligent organization, ably supported in the press, not unrepresented in the Cabinet, aiming at definite political objects, and possessing a knowledge of the methods required to work upon the passions of the people. We urged that in the presence of this real and increasing danger the first need of the Conservative Party was an equal excellence in organization. It is of good augury for the Conservative cause that its local leaders seem clearly to recognize this truth, and, undismayed by the recent defeat of the party, are rousing themselves throughout the country to new and vigorous efforts.

But half our task is still unperformed. It is possible, as we know, to organize a party, and at the same time to organize an hypocrisy; and of the consequences of such strategy we have an instructive example before our eyes. During the period when the Liberal Party were in Opposition they had no positive policy of their own. At the General Election their one idea, suggested by their leader, Lord Hartington, was 'to sink their differences and to unite in turning out the Tories.' For this purpose they represented to the people that every action of the Tory Government was wicked, insane, and unconstitutional. The people responded to their appeal by placing them in power, and they have now, as far as they can, to redeem the pledges given in Opposition. And what do we see? We have only to compare the words of Midlothian, in 1879, with the facts, as they may be dimly descried even through the mists of verbosity at Leeds, in 1881. In 1879 'winged words' flew to Ireland. The Irish were told that the rule of the Tories was unjust and despotic; they were reminded not obscurely of the great results that followed the Clerkenwell explosion; and they were given to understand that the return of the Liberals to power might be signalized by like measures of 'Justice to Ireland.' Upon this hint the Irish acted. They 'agitated' through the Land League; the Land League advised them to 'hold the harvest.' Thereupon the 'chapel-bell' summoned the Liberal Party to the now familiar service of confiscation and surrender, and the new system of governing Ireland gradually disclosed itself. First we had the rejection of the moderate Bill for the preservation of order framed by Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry,

Ministry, as a clumsy Tory instrument; next the construction of a vast measure depriving the Irish landlords of their most valued rights of property; then shouts of triumph and congratulation from Mr. Gladstone's followers over this last instalment of 'Justice to Ireland.' But now, slowly yet surely, Facts are beginning to triumph over Words. We find Mr. Gladstone at Leeds at one moment threatening the organization which was the parent of his own Bill, at another, with almost incredible cruelty, upbraiding for lack of public spirit the class which he has just despoiled; but the conclusion of the matter is that he has been obliged to arrest his chief 'bellringer,' thereby admitting, however tardily, that Force is a remedy, and government a painful duty. So with the Transvaal. In Midlothian Mr. Gladstone 'repudiated' the annexation of that state as having been accomplished by dishonourable means, though in Parliament he had remained dumb while the measure was being sanctioned. When he found himself in a position of greater responsibility, he seemed to forget the words which he had uttered in the fulness of freedom; but the Boers, less polished than Count Karolyi, rose in arms to bring them to his recollection. Three defeats of our troops brought 'within the range of practical politics' demands that have since been formulated in a Convention, which the Boers seem undetermined whether openly to reject or tacitly to evade. As to home affairs the country will remember what was to happen. Trade was to revive with a bound; wages were to be high, and the price of bread low; and thirty-one reforms neglected by the stupid Tories were to be at once taken in hand. Nevertheless the stagnation of trade continues. With regard to the question of employment, we see that Mr. Gladstone and large numbers of the working-classes regard the subject from different points of view. In fulfilment of the promise of the thirty-one reforms, the Government, during a Session of extraordinary length, have contrived to pass *one* large Bill, which, as the Duke of Argyll has told us, was not even mentioned when the newly-formed Cabinet were considering their programme. And the principles of this extemporized Bill were originally of so subversive a nature, that it seemed at one moment as if they would occasion the loss of the measure, and a violent conflict between the two Houses of the Legislature!

Here then we have the results of 'organized hypocrisy;' and more admirable and legitimate materials for discussion at Conservative public meetings it would be impossible for the warmest partizan to desire. Nevertheless we are of opinion that, if the Conservatives, carried away by the excitement of party warfare,
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make it their business simply to expose to the Constituencies the errors of their opponents, if they follow a bad precedent and organize themselves merely to 'turn out the Liberals,' they will betray a lamentable want of political instinct, and, even in the event of a party triumph, will doom themselves to defeat in the immediate future. The only course which, in our opinion, is worthy of Conservative statesmen, and of the party which Lord Beaconsfield led, is to proclaim the outlines of a constructive policy and to defend it boldly before the people. Before the Conservatives can hope to form a strong and stable Government they will have to undeceive the Constituencies. They will have to clear away the mists of illusion, with which Mr. Gladstone and the other Liberal leaders have disguised from the people the true facts of the situation; they will have to show the nation that what is now at stake is nothing less than the safety of the Constitution and the integrity of the Empire; and, above all, they will have to prove to it that these are not mere party phrases, but realities of vital importance to every Englishman possessing a vote.

It is well for us to realize how many forces in the present state of public opinion combine to push the country in the direction of Revolution. In the first place, let us remember what the Whigs said to the Constituencies when they were persuading them to 'turn out the Tories.' Lord Hartington, during his electoral campaign, told the men of North-East Lancashire that he did not wish the Liberals to return to power for the purpose of making 'any great sweeping or revolutionary changes,' but only that they might restore to the country a policy of 'moderation and common-sense.' The Whigs, it was argued, were from their moderate traditions precisely the men to bring about this desirable result. And accordingly a very considerable section of the country voted at the General Election in favour of the Liberals, in the belief that Liberalism was represented by Lord Hartington and the Whigs. The electors had been well warned beforehand that a Liberal Government must inevitably be Radical and not Whig; but warnings coming from a Conservative quarter were of course disregarded. Now, however, they have been more than justified by the event. The 'moderation and common-sense' of the Government have been shown in foreign affairs by the reversal—contrary to all the traditions of English politics—of the policy of their predecessors. Promises of protection, given by one English Government to the natives of Afghanistan, have been repudiated by another, to the dishonour of the English name. Protection of life and property, which had been secured to the inhabitants

of the Transvaal by successive Governors, acting as the representatives of the Queen, has been for all practical purposes withdrawn, and loyal subjects of Her Majesty have not only suffered for their attachment to the British connection, but have been scoffed at as 'adventurers.' And as for home policy, if the Irish Land Bill—upsetting as it does all those arrangements founded on free contract which British subjects have hitherto respected—is not a 'great sweeping and revolutionary change,' we should like to know what measure can deserve that description. What every reflecting man foresaw would happen, has come to pass; the Radicals and not the Whigs are the rulers of the country.

Again it is evident that Public Opinion in itself affords no centre of resistance to the Radical or Revolutionary party. There has long been a superstition that Public Opinion is a steady and regulated force, constantly operating as a check upon our party machinery; but if this was ever the case it is so no longer. Public Opinion, as manifested at the General Election, exhausted itself in a single effort. It projected into the House of Commons a vast party majority, united indeed by the name of Liberal, but in reality divided by a thousand differences, whether the members who compose that majority are regarded as individuals, or as representing sections of opinion in the Constituencies. To keep together the discordant elements of the Liberal party is only possible through a Dictatorship, and accordingly the majority in and out of Parliament has been obliged to surrender its liberty into the hands of Mr. Gladstone. On the other hand, the easy way in which Mr. Gladstone has turned his back, during the past Session, on all the carefully reasoned opinions which he left on record in 1870, shows that he himself is only the eloquent, but pliant, instrument of the organized Radical Agitation which he summoned to his assistance during his wild Midlothian campaign. All this is uncongenial to English feeling. The Whigs and moderate Liberals in Parliament wince under the yoke. The Constituencies view with helpless wonder the situation they have created. Mr. Gladstone is master of the position, but the passage of the Land Bill through the House of Commons must prove to him that he has nothing like active support in the country. Parliament is in fact 'out of touch' with Public Opinion.

It is the same with that part of the press which professes to be the mirror of educated popular sentiment. The 'Times' had once a character for reflecting the 'common-sense' of the country, but if it still performs that function, our national 'common-sense' must be distinguished by a sad want of courage,

courage, foresight, and reflection. Like the Duke of Argyll's jelly-fish, public opinion, as represented by the 'Times,' is mere driftage tossed on the waves of agitation. As a prudent and practical journal, 'ever strong upon the stronger side,' the 'Times' declines to take thought for the future, and is content to make the best of the present. Concession to what appears the strongest force of the moment is certain, it argues, to be for the best. When it turns out to be for the worst, then, says the 'Times,' it is no use to go back upon the past. We need not now recal the astonishing windings and doublings of this paper throughout the Eastern Crisis, the Afghan War, and the General Election. We will only remind our readers that when, at the opening of the past Session, we warned them that the Land Bill, as the product of Agitation, would be of a 'sweeping and revolutionary' nature, the 'Times' laughed the prediction to scorn. Nothing was intended, we were told, but some modifications of the Act of 1870. When, however, a Bill for abolishing freedom of contract, in respect of the tenure of Irish land, made its appearance in the House of Commons, the 'Times' of course found that, revolutionary as it might be, it was what the circumstances required, and must be accepted in its integrity. The House of Lords took a different view of the question and, while allowing the measure to pass for reasons of State, amended it in several important points. Thereupon the 'Times' admitted that the Bill in these points would involve injustice; it admitted that the amendments of the Lords were just and reasonable. Nevertheless, it besought the Peers not to insist upon them, and when they refused to give way, it fell into paroxysms of alarm at their imprudence in provoking a conflict with the inevitable and with Mr. Gladstone. We were sorry to see that it was joined in its unmanly excitement by the 'Standard,' a journal which once professed Conservative opinions, but which has lately shown itself emulous of the fame of a certain Turkish admiral celebrated in one of Mr. Disraeli's earlier speeches. The event must have seemed to these prudent writers a 'wonder' like that recorded by Goldsmith in his 'Mad Dog':

'The man recovered from the bite,
The dog it was that died.'

For the Commons yielded the most important points in dispute, and Lord Carlingford had the grace to confess that the Peers by their prudent firmness had greatly improved the details of the Bill. An incident of this sort shows significantly how ill-founded are the pretensions of the time-serving press,

either to speak as the representatives of the common-sense of the country, or to gauge the extent of popular agitation.

Lastly, we must remember that the Radicals, who are the real managers of the Liberal Party, are masters in the art of *Misrepresentation*. They understand to perfection the method in which a case should be presented to a public meeting. Every one who studies the extra-Parliamentary speeches of Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone must see that they are by no means satisfied with criticizing particular acts of their opponents on the grounds of policy, but that their attacks are always based on large general principles and historical allusions. Thus Mr. Gladstone at Leeds claims the Acts for the Reform of Criminal Procedure in 1820 and the Education Act of 1870, as special achievements of the Liberal Party, though neither of these measures came within the sphere of party conflict, and though the chief credit for our system of Education is not due to either party, but to the National Church. To the Liberals, we are told, nine-tenths of our beneficent legislation is due; the remaining tenth was extorted from the Tories against their will. The Liberals in fact pretend that Party Government is an essential element of the English Constitution, and that under this system we have been gradually advancing since 1688 along the path of Constitutional *Progress*; but they assert that, of the two great parties, one is united to promote activity and improvement, while the other only desires quiet and stagnation; and they conclude that England can never be properly governed except when the Liberals are in power, the only useful function of the Conservative Party being to act as a drag on the enthusiasm of their opponents; so that if by misfortune the Conservative Party should ever govern the country, our affairs will certainly be thrown into confusion. All these common-places of the Liberals are bold misrepresentations of fact. Nevertheless they are necessary to the existence of the Liberal Party, and are accepted as truths by the uninformed masses in the Constituencies.

Such then are the formidable obstacles in public opinion that the Conservative Party will have to overcome before they can hope to regain the confidence of the country:—a great constituent body animated indeed by no positive revolutionary desires, but destitute of political knowledge, credulous, and easily swayed by passion and imagination; a large monied class deficient, not so much in sagacity, as in courage and conviction, and always ready to sacrifice justice to violence for the sake of present ease; a complete system of Radical machinery, prepared at any moment to put the requisite amount of pressure

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on the 'moderate' men, for the purpose of securing concert in the 'Liberal' Party; and eloquent popular orators, capable of stirring up the opinions of the masses in favour of the ideas cherished by the extreme men, who are the soul of the organization. All these forces tend beyond doubt in the direction of Revolution. The only barrier against a gradual Revolution is the Conservative Party. But if the Conservatives are to oppose a successful resistance to the tide of destructive Radicalism, they must clearly recognize the facts of the political situation. We should endeavour to frame our policy, not with a view to mere sectional interests, as if Conservatism were to be regarded in one place as involving only the relations of landlord and tenant, in another those of capital and labour; nor as if it were principally a question between two parties in the Church or between Churchmen and Dissenters; nor even as if the main issue at stake were a commercial one between Free Trade and Protection; but we should consider all these subjects in their bearing on the growth of the English Constitution and the integrity of the British Empire. Till we have thoroughly cleared away all the illusions by which the situation is obscured, we shall not be able to form a clear conception of the state of the battle between parties. We shall therefore proceed to enquire how much truth there is in the Liberal theory of our Party System, and in the Liberal account of the character of the two parties as shown by their past history; what are the real oppositions of party in the present; and what should be the policy of the Conservatives in the immediate future. If any of our readers should complain that, in the first part of our enquiry, we are carrying them too far from the conflicts of the present day, we would ask them to remember that the political forces of our time are of great antiquity, and that the system of misrepresentation, by which the Conservative Party was and is still assailed, is so complete, that the whole question of Party Government requires to be examined *ab ovo*.

In the first place, then, we repeat what we have constantly maintained, that Party Government is not an essential part of the machinery of the English Constitution. It was a necessary consequence of the Revolution of 1688, by which the exercise of the Royal Prerogative passed into the hands of the aristocracy, as the leaders of the Parliament which resettled the succession to the Throne. But the Constitution, in all its essential parts, existed before 1688; and if Government by Prerogative became obsolete through change of circumstances, without any injury to the vital parts of the Constitution, there is nothing in the nature of things to prevent the same fate from overtaking Government

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by Party, if it should prove equally inadequate to provide for the wants of Society, the Constitution, and the Empire. The nature of the English Constitution is complex; it works through a fusion of the conflicting principles of liberty and authority, through the mixed Government of King, Lords, and Commons, and through the union of Church and State. As far as Party Government tends to separate the elements of this union, and to array them against each other as antagonistic forces, it can only work mischief to the English Constitution.

Again it is not true, as the Liberals contend, that the two historical parties, when respectively in possession of power, have acted on opposite Constitutional principles. It is not true that the Conservatives have always shown themselves opposed on principle to the growth of Liberty; it is not true that the Liberals have consistently promoted the development of that principle whenever they have enjoyed the possession of power. The Liberals desire to represent the Conservative Party to the country as the supporters of Absolutism, Oligarchy, and Monopoly; and they support their argument by citing the policy of the Tories in 1715, 1830, and 1846. But if the conduct of the latter on each of these three occasions be fairly examined, it will be seen that the errors which they unquestionably committed arose from an exaggerated attachment to some principle, which in itself was indispensable to the safety of the Constitution, but which, for the time being, had overbalanced some other principle of equal importance. This was the case in 1715. Every one now admits that the Revolution of 1688 was a necessity. The question was whether the necessity had arisen for the English Parliament to exercise the right which it had always asserted of deposing a bad King, thus risking all the well-known and inevitable evils attendant on a breach in the succession to the Crown; or whether the King should be allowed to destroy the chartered liberties of his subjects. There could of course be no doubt as to the answer which Englishmen would give when the problem was presented to them in this way; both parties were agreed upon it; but when the decision was once made, loyalty, personal affection, ecclesiastical passions, and the still recent memories of the Civil War, provoked the Tories to repentance, and forced even the statesmen of the party to make common cause with the extreme zealots, whose principles of 'indefeasible divine right' they afterwards dissected with such merciless scorn. Practically the Tory Party at that period was Jacobite, and, as Jacobitism was incompatible with the Constitution, the party was condemned to impotence till the cause which they had supported was extinguished with
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the Rebellion of 1745. Thus what the Liberals call Tory love of Absolutism, as exemplified in 1715, was nothing but an exaggerated attachment to the Constitutional principle of personal Loyalty, with which the principle of Constitutional Liberty was at that time in sharp collision.

The policy of the Tories in 1830 was determined by their instinctive preference for Experience over Innovation. They believed that the safety of the Constitution depended on the maintenance of Parliamentary Government as it had been established in 1688, and in this belief the Duke of Wellington made the famous speech in which he declined to introduce any measure of reform:—

‘I am thoroughly convinced that England at this moment possesses a Legislature, which answers all the good purposes of a legislature, in a higher degree than any scheme of Government whatever has been found to answer them in any country in the world; that it possesses the confidence of the country; and that its decisions have justly the greatest weight and influence with the people. Nay, my Lords, I will go yet further, and say, that if at this moment I had to form a legislature for any country, particularly for one like this, in the possession of great property of various descriptions, although perhaps I should not form one precisely such as we have, I would endeavour to produce something which would give the same results, namely a representation of the people containing a large body of the property of the country, and in which the great landed proprietors have a preponderating influence.’

Few will be so foolish as to deny that in these considerations there was great weight. Parliamentary Government since the Revolution could boast a great and noble history, and to sweep away at a stroke the system on which it had hitherto been conducted, in favour of a mere experiment, might well seem a policy unsuited to Conservative statesmen. What the Duke did not see was, that the old Parliamentary machinery was no longer equal to the wants of the age. New forces, numbers, money, intellect; new classes, the commercial and the manufacturing, had grown up within the Constitution; and new interests having been established, in some respects apparently antagonistic to those of the landed proprietors, a House of Commons, chiefly constituted by the influence of the aristocracy, failed to perform, in a thoroughly satisfactory manner, its chief function of representation. But only party spirit can be blind to the fact, that the conduct of the Duke of Wellington and his supporters in 1830 was due less to oligarchical selfishness than to what in itself is a safeguard of Constitutional Liberty, veneration for experience.

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Again the Corn Laws of this century, which it is the fashion of the Radicals to describe as the work of aristocratic monopoly, grew out of the exaggeration of a sound principle, respect for national independence and for the agricultural interest, with the prosperity of which that independence is so inseparably connected. With this view the principle of absolute *prohibition* up to a certain point was for the first time introduced into our Corn Laws in 1815. But the Bill of that year, which prohibited the importation of foreign corn till the price of corn reached eighty shillings a quarter, and afterwards removed all restrictions on importation, failed to accomplish the objects for which it was introduced. On the one hand, it did not protect the agricultural interest, for the price of corn within the years 1817 and 1822 actually fluctuated between one hundred and twelve shillings and thirty-eight shillings a quarter. On the other hand, it injured and irritated the manufacturing interests of the country, by artificially increasing the cost of living at a period when every branch of trade was in a state of deep depression. Canning saw the danger of the position, and sought to avert it, in 1827, by his proposal of a sliding scale.

'The general question,' said he in his speech on the Corn Laws (1st of March, 1827), 'is, as to the introduction of foreign corn into this country. It is obvious that the extreme opinion on the one side would be for perpetual unmitigated prohibition. It is obvious that the extreme opinion on the other side would be for perpetual unrestricted importation. *Now I have not yet met with any person who by writing, or in speaking, has maintained absolutely, and without qualification, either of those extreme opinions.*'*

The opportunity was lost: Canning's proposal was qualified in such a way as to maintain the policy of prohibition, and he in consequence gave up his Bill. The Reform Bill became law; power passed into the hands of the commercial classes; and, though the question of the Corn Laws was strangely enough postponed, the opposition to them gained strength, and organized itself in the famous Anti-Corn-Law League. Sir Robert Peel's qualified protectionist policy, which might have succeeded in 1827, was futile in 1842; and in 1846 the Protectionists found themselves struggling in a feeble minority against theories which, nineteen years before, Canning had declared that he had never met with in any speeches or writings. So complete had been the revulsion of opinion, that the victorious Free Traders were able to discredit even moderate opponents,

* Canning's Speeches, vol. vi. p. 118.

who simply sought to retain as much of the old system as was required for national self-defence, by representing them as a selfish oligarchy, resolved for their own purposes to tax the food of the people!

It is untrue, then, that the Conservative Party are opposed on principle to the cause of freedom. Now let us look at the question from the opposite side. If it be true that the Tory Party, on certain occasions, have, out of regard for the principle of Constitutional order and stability, unduly postponed the principle of Constitutional Liberty, it is equally true that the Whig Party, *when in power*, have shown no special enthusiasm to promote that cause. In Opposition, no doubt, the cry of civil and religious Liberty, for which Hampden died in the field and Sidney on the scaffold, has been always in their mouths. But what of their conduct when in office?

The seventy years between the accession of George I. and the promotion to power of the younger Pitt may be called the Golden Age of Whiggism; yet during that period we may look in vain for evidence of any concerted action of the Whig Party to promote Liberal principles. Their first measure after the accession of the House of Hanover was to pass the Act for Septennial Parliaments in the teeth of all their old declarations. On principle they ought to have been against a Standing Army, but Walpole largely increased this. Religious Liberty was one of their particular watchwords; nevertheless Walpole, when in the plenitude of his power, refused to lighten in the smallest degree the disabilities of the Dissenters. So too with Walpole's successors. No man would think of imputing Liberal principle to the Ministries of the Pelhams. Who were the prime authors of the American War? George Grenville, the author of the Stamp Act, and Charles Townsend, who taxed the imports of the colonies. Both were good Whigs. If any man understood the old Whig system of Government it was Burke, and Burke was a staunch opponent of Parliamentary Reform. It is just the same after the first Reform Bill. We are now told that 'Free Trade' is a 'plain Whig principle,' but in 1839 so typical a Whig as Lord Melbourne said that any man who thought of repealing the Corn Laws might be regarded as insane. We see Lord John Russell opposing on the most approved principles of Religious Liberty Sir Robert Peel's Tithe Bill of 1835, and afterwards passing the same measure when himself in office in 1838. We see him coalescing with the Protectionists to turn out Sir Robert Peel on the ground of the despotic character of the Coercion Bill of 1846, but no sooner does he assume the responsibilities of Government, than he has recourse to the
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very measure which in Opposition he had so loftily denounced. Advance a step further, and observe Mr. Gladstone's virtuous indignation at Lord Beaconsfield's perfectly legitimate use of the Royal Prerogative in bringing the Indian troops to Malta; yet this champion of Constitutional freedom had performed, without the faintest misgiving, perhaps the most arbitrary act within recent memory, in abolishing the Purchase System by Royal Warrant over the heads of the House of Lords. When the Tories were last in power, we were wearied to death with complaints about their secret methods of government; but we venture to say that the official reticence of the late Ministry was nothing compared with the taciturnity of Mr. Gladstone and his lieutenants about all that relates to Afghanistan, the Transvaal, and the Treaty of Commerce with France. In the face of these facts it is not too much to say, that the man who contends that the two historical parties have conducted the government of this country on distinct and antagonistic principles must be very ignorant or very disingenuous.

Nothing is easier than to explain the flagrant dereliction of principle by the Whig Party when in power. Government, under our Constitution, is successful so long as it can contrive to adjust the conflicting claims of liberty and authority; it falls when one principle obtains, or is believed to obtain, an undue predominance over the other. The Stuart Government by prerogative fell because it produced a harsh antagonism between liberty and authority. Thereupon, each of the two sections, into which the aristocracy had been divided in consequence of this antagonism, struggled to acquire for itself the control of all the power and patronage which had been previously exercised by the Sovereign. Each was successful at different epochs in obtaining a long monopoly of power, and during those epochs was obliged to govern with due regard to constitutional freedom. But, as there is a natural propensity in Government to restrict the growth of liberty, it has happened that, at certain crises, the Government, being Tory, has failed to make sufficient allowance for the principle of expansion which is inherent in our Constitution. Thereupon the Whigs, being in Opposition, appealing to the popular principle of Liberty, and, putting themselves at the head of the party of movement, have ejected their rivals from power. But once installed in office, and after adapting the machinery of the Constitution to the wants of the age, they have found themselves obliged to govern on those principles, which in Opposition they branded as Tory, but which are in reality sanctioned by Constitutional experience.

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This, however, is only one side of the question, and by no means the most instructive. The long and varied history of the Whig Party teaches us another lesson. It is not unjust to the Whigs to say that their most characteristic watchword is not Liberty but Oligarchy, and that their passion for power has over and over again imperilled the balance of the Constitution and the interests of their country. Tories may to-day ungrudgingly concede, that the power so long and jealously monopolized by Walpole was exercised on the whole to the advantage of the country. Nevertheless it can scarcely be questioned that Walpole's first thought was to secure a permanence of power for himself and his party; nor can the Whigs deny that the honour of England was lowered under his incompetent successors, and was only vindicated when the genius of Chatham lifted the national policy above the petty sphere of faction. And allowing again that the early conduct of George III., in his efforts to extricate himself from the trammels imposed on him by the great Revolution families, afforded some grounds for Burke's splendid vindication of Whig policy, what defence can possibly be offered for Fox's attacks upon the Royal Prerogative in 1784? No change can be detected in these traditions when, after their long exile from office, fortune again smiled upon the Whigs in 1830. It is easy to see that, up to the eve of the overthrow of the Duke of Wellington's Ministry, the Whigs did not grasp the real conditions of the political situation. Nothing could have been more feeble than the motions with which they nibbled at Reform in the House of Commons. When their leaders were admitted into Canning's Ministry in 1827, it was on the understanding that they should abstain from supporting, and if necessary should oppose, any motion in that direction. And Mr. Greville shows in his Memoirs that what they expected from the Reform Bill of 1832 was the destruction of their rivals' influence, and the return of the most aristocratic Parliament (in a Whig sense) that had ever been elected.* Faction influenced them when in Opposition; the Nemesis of Faction pursued them—just as it had done nearly a hundred years before—when in office. The feeble administrations which followed the Reform Bill, so ignominiously dependent on their Radical and Irish wings, so deplorably incapable in their financial policy, recal the government of England by the successors of Walpole. The jealousies and manœuvres of Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston, and the petty intrigues of statesmen during the Crimean War,

* The 'Greville Memoirs,' vol. ii. p. 306.

are scarcely more admirable than the squabbles between Granville and the Pelhams under George II. But the most curious historical parallel is found in recent events, and nothing shows more clearly how deep the roots of oligarchy have struck into our political soil, than the resemblance between the conduct of the Liberal, as distinct from the Radical, leaders, in opposing the national and constitutional policy of Lord Beaconsfield in 1876-1880, and the conduct of the Whigs in opposing the national and constitutional policy of William Pitt in 1793-4.

In 1793, as in 1876, the Whigs were smarting under a recent defeat, and were ready to go all lengths for the purpose of 'turning out the Tories.' At both epochs a great national cause was at stake. In 1793-4 France had threatened our interests and independence by her unjustifiable invasion of Belgium and Holland. Pitt, as everybody now acknowledges, was most anxious to preserve the neutrality of England, but the aggression of France forced him into war, the necessity of which was abundantly demonstrated by the similar conduct of Fox in similar circumstances. Yet Fox under the influence of party spirit had denounced in unmeasured language the policy he was afterwards obliged to adopt; and when, upon his death, the Whigs once more went into Opposition they immediately became 'the friends of every country but their own.' *Mutatis mutandis*, this position was exactly reproduced in the recent crisis of the Eastern Question. For France in 1793 substitute Russia in 1876; for Fox read Mr. Gladstone; place against the policy of Fox after the Peace of Amiens (justifying as it did the previous policy of Pitt) the contentment of the Liberals when in office with the Treaty of Berlin which they execrated in Opposition; match the lamentations of the Whigs over Wellington's victories in the Peninsular War with the accusations of cruelty lately brought by the Radicals against our own soldiers in Afghanistan. In one point alone the parallel unfortunately fails. The Tories conducted their national policy to a triumphant climax in 1815, and preserved the confidence of the nation for fifteen years after that date. Lord Beaconsfield's equally patriotic policy was rewarded by the adverse vote of the Constituencies in 1880. But as history has recorded its verdict in favour of the Tory, or the national party, in the Napoleonic war, so we Conservatives may hope that if we emerge from our present difficulties, when the mists of illusion have passed away, a moderate share of justice, if not of gratitude, may be awarded to our leaders, as the pilots who weathered a not inconsiderable storm.

In all the instances we have cited, we see how the characteristic family

family features of party or oligarchical government are reproduced under every variety of circumstance from generation to generation. We see the great Revolution Families from 1688 to 1830 set up a claim to be a kind of sacred college for the guardianship of the principles of the English Constitution; and we find that this pretension is exactly identical in substance with the present claims of the Liberal leaders that England can only prosper when the Liberal Party are in office. Moreover we observe that in 1784 the Whigs attacked the Constitutional rights of the Sovereign, just as the Radicals attacked them in 1878, and as they attacked the Constitutional rights of the House of Lords during the past Session. Lastly we see that the Whigs, when frustrated in their designs for monopolizing power for their party, pushed their opposition to constitutional authority so far as to endanger the safety of the country during a great national crisis in 1793; and that the same unpatriotic conduct was repeated by the Whig-Liberal-Radical party in 1876, and has been continued by them up to the present moment.

Our argument then has now brought us to a point, at which it is possible to determine what are really the existing conditions of our party system. We have endeavoured to clear away the illusions by which the subject is surrounded. Once more we repeat, that there is no longer any opposition between Whig and Tory; since the old dynastic question which was at the bottom of that division was in reality settled in 1745, and was finally disposed of in 1784. Again, there is no opposition between Liberal and Conservative; for the resettlement of the Constitution, which began with the Reform Bill of 1832, has been now practically completed, and not a single intelligible difference on Constitutional points any longer exists between men of moderate opinions. We will not insult our readers by supposing them to believe that there is a party in favour of immobility in politics, as opposed to another party which is in favour of progress; or that there is a wise and virtuous, arrayed against a stupid and vicious party. The Radicals we know continue to propagate these obsolete superstitions, but we are dealing with facts; and we say that evidence points to the existence of only two political parties in England, the Conservative Party, whose first object is to preserve, by whatever means, the safety of the Constitution and the integrity of the Empire; and the oligarchical party, who make it their chief thought to keep, by whatever means, the Conservatives—or as they prefer to call them ‘the Tories’—out of office, and to keep themselves in. The leaders of this latter party were once the descendants of the great Whig houses, the Wentworths, the Pelhams,

Pelhams, the Cavendishes, and the Russells; these names are still employed to give lustre to the connection; but the Whigs are shadows of a name, and the machinery of oligarchy is no longer worked from Devonshire House, but from the offices of the Three Hundred or Nine Hundred of Leeds and Birmingham.

The third, and the most important element in the political situation, the arbitrator before whom both parties must plead their cause, the Autocrat who holds in his hands the destinies of the Country, is the People of England. Of the thoughts and desires of this mysterious Being we know little, except that, like his prototype, that 'deaf irritable old gentleman, Demus of the Pnyx,' his character is extraordinarily mixed; it seems uncertain whether his mind is bent on Revolution, or whether he appreciates the latent capacities of his Empire. Two things, however, are unquestionable: first, that the two parties regard his character in totally opposite lights; and secondly, that the several policies, with which they will endeavour to secure his favour have, in all their essential elements, been in existence for nearly a hundred years. We say deliberately to the Conservatives that, if they wish to keep in sight the polestar of true Conservative principle, they must look, not to the policy of the Duke of Wellington, or the policy of Sir Robert Peel, but to the policy of Pitt from 1784 to 1801. And because the structure of an organism is best understood when it is examined in its simplest form, we will ask our readers to consider very shortly what the nature of Pitt's policy was.

Pitt was the second of the two great national, as opposed to party, Ministers of the last century. When his father enlisted the Highland regiments for the defence of British interests, he closed up the last remains of the schism between Jacobites and Hanoverians. When he himself undertook an apparently unequal contest against a hostile Parliament as the servant of his Sovereign, it was to defend the just prerogatives of a King of England against the usurpations of a Whig oligarchy. The hearty verdict in his favour pronounced after the dissolution in 1784 showed how completely the instinct of the nation approved the Constitutional attitude he had assumed. Henceforward the questions which pressed upon him for solution were of a national, imperial, and administrative order. He had, in the first place, to settle the relations between the Crown and the great company of merchants by which India was governed; in the second place, to bring into closer union with Great Britain a conquered country, alien to the former both in race and religion; and in the third place, to readjust the finances of a commercial nation of vast expansive capacity, but disordered by the recent loss of
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its most important colonies. This colossal task he was labouring to accomplish when his plans were disarranged by the outbreak of the French Revolution; the passions and antagonisms aroused by that event, the prejudices of his Sovereign and of his countrymen, and his own premature death, caused his great schemes for the consolidation of the Empire to be postponed to a later age.

The fundamental principle, which underlies every act of Pitt's administration, is that in the Constitutional government of a free country it is advisable to allow liberty all the scope that is compatible with the preservation of the interests that constitute imperial society. Herein lies the difference between the policies of Pitt and Fox in their respective India Bills. Fox had sought to establish the supremacy of the Whig party, by grasping the whole of the patronage connected with the government of India. Pitt's view was larger and more national.

'He proposed,' says Lord Stanhope, 'to establish a new department of State, without, however, any new salaries—a "Board of Control," which should divide with the Directors the entire administration of India, but leave the patronage untouched. "It is my idea," said Pitt, "that this should be a Board of political control, and not, as the former (Fox's) was, a Board of political influence."'

So too in his Irish policy. His aim was to draw closer the connection between the two countries by abolishing the selfish system of restriction which had hitherto cramped the productive energies of Ireland. By the Act of Union he designed to consolidate the Empire, and at the same time to make provision for the differences in the religion of the two countries. Thus in his great speech of 1799, after dwelling on the advantages of a single Legislature, and on the possibility of admitting the Catholics at some future time to the same political privileges as Protestants, he proceeded :

'How far in addition to this great and leading consideration, it may also be wise and practicable to accompany the measure by some mode of relieving the lower orders from the pressure of tithes, which in many instances operate at present as a great practical evil, or to make, under proper regulations, and without breaking in on the security of the present Protestant Establishment, an effectual and adequate provision for the Catholic clergy, it is not now necessary to discuss. It is sufficient to say that these and all other subordinate points connected with the same subject are more likely to be per-

* Stanhope's 'Life of Pitt,' vol. i. p. 173.

manently and satisfactorily settled by an united legislature than by any local arrangements.' *

In recalling these words, we have a right to remind our readers that Pitt's traditional policy towards Ireland has never been quite forgotten by the Conservative Party, and that we ourselves, in this 'Review,' consistently advocated, while it was possible, a policy of concurrent Endowment, as opposed to Disestablishment and Disendowment.

With respect to his financial measures, he was so far from acting on any abstract principle, that his first consideration was always *Revenue*. When arranging for the freedom of trade between Ireland and England he stipulated that, if, in consequence of the change, the revenue of Ireland should rise beyond a certain point, the surplus should be contributed to the maintenance of the national fleet. And again, the Treaty of Commerce with France was based on the consideration, that a *reduction* in the Customs duties in *both* countries would increase the amount of the Revenue; he never entertained the notion that all customs duties might be safely repealed, or that two nations could make a treaty advantageous to both on any footing but that of equality.

If the external dangers of the nation, the scruples of the King, and the prejudices of the people, prevented him from giving his principles more than a partial application, that is no reason for depriving them of the name Conservative. Considering, on the one hand, how many of his ideas were afterwards embodied under the pressure of necessity by that very section of his followers which at first resisted them most strongly, and on the other what rash and radical measures have been substituted for his policy of gradual improvement, a philosopher might moralize with effect upon the blindness of the people, and on their insensibility to the virtues of their noblest servants.

As the principles of sound Conservatism are to be sought in Pitt's Government, so the germs of modern Radicalism are discoverable in the policy of the Whigs after Fox's dismissal by George III. The watchword of the old Whigs had been Constitutional Liberty, as defined by the principles of 1688; the new Whigs, embittered by their overthrow in 1784, were ready to take a fresh departure from those brand-new principles of abstract Liberty, which within a very few years the French Revolution threw in their way. That this development was entirely due to oligarchical or party spirit, is obvious from the attitude assumed towards Pitt's Commercial Treaty with France

* Stanhope's 'Life of Pitt,' vol. iii. p. 175.

by Fox, who, so far from supporting the proposal on the cosmopolitan ground afterwards taken by Mr. Cobden, opposed it on the stiffest principles of nationality. 'France,' said he, 'is the natural political enemy of Great Britain. . . . I say again, I contend that France is the natural foe of Great Britain, and that she wishes, by entering into a commercial treaty with us, to tie our hands, and prevent us from engaging in any alliance with other Powers.'* And yet the same Fox wrote to Grey fourteen years later, 'The truth is, I am gone something further in hate to the English Government than you and the rest of my friends are, and certainly further than can with prudence be avowed. The triumph of the French Government over the English does in fact afford me a degree of pleasure which it is very difficult to disguise.'† Henceforward we find that the cause 'for which Hampden perished in the field and Sidney on the scaffold,' is subordinated in the Whig mind to the cosmopolitan, economic, and democratic dispensation, of which Rousseau was the revealer, and Robespierre the first apostle. This position they have of course only occupied under compulsion, for the Whig is above all things aristocratic. But, as the first object of oligarchy is the acquisition of power, while the fundamental requisite for the maintenance of a party is the profession of principle, the Whigs have been forced against their will to adopt the principles of the Radicals. And under whatever shape these principles manifest themselves, disguised and qualified as they may be by English moderation and common-sense, we find them incompatible with the principles of the English Constitution, and in direct antagonism with the policy of Conservatism as defined by Pitt.

Now, then, that we have indicated our belief that the origin of the existing political situation is to be found in the contest between Pitt, as the head of the Conservative or Constitutional party, and Fox, as the head of the oligarchical party professing Radical opinions—(and few, who recognize the identity of the struggle between those statesmen with that between Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone, will venture to dispute the proposition)—let us enquire what are the real oppositions of principle which have continued, since the outbreak of the great French war, to divide Englishmen into two camps. Radicalism and Conservatism are opposed to each other on three vital points, which may be said to cover the entire sphere of Government: 1, as to Representative Institutions; 2, as to Commercial and Colonial Policy; 3, as to Foreign Policy. In

* Stanhope's 'Life of Pitt,' vol. i. p. 329.
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† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 357.

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all these respects, it will be found that the Radical takes the view of Liberty which has prevailed on the Continent since the First French Revolution,—a view, that is to say, which contemplates Man in the abstract, and ignores as far as possible the existing constitution of societies, and the established interests of nations; while the Conservative limits the operation of Liberty by the necessities of the Society of the British Empire.

I. It is obvious that representative institutions ought to be regarded in a twofold aspect, that is to say, as part of the machinery of government, and as a means of discovering the balance of public opinion on the various interests of society. With regard to the first point, the government of England being a limited Monarchy, in which power is shared by the King, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, any method of representation which should so aggrandize the elective branch of the Legislature, as virtually to extinguish the hereditary portions, would be plainly contrary to the principles of the Constitution. Yet to this extreme goal Fox, under the influence of party fanaticism, was ready to proceed. It may be remembered that in 1798 his name was struck off the list of the Privy Council, in consequence of some inflammatory language which he had used, in repeating a toast first proposed by the Duke of Norfolk. This toast ran as follows: 'Give me leave before I sit down to call on you to drink our Sovereign's health:—*The Majesty of the People!*' The phrase thus used shows in the clearest manner how venerable is the tradition, which is to-day being defended with such ardour in the various organs of Radical opinion.

During a part of the past Session, every morning and evening, and every week, the Conservative Opposition in the Commons, and the House of Lords, were threatened under certain hypothetical circumstances with the wrath of 'the People.' We were told with confidence what 'the People' wished; what they thought; what they would do if they were thwarted; as if the writers were the next-door neighbours of 'the People,' and were authorized to give warning to all those malignant sections of the nation who were not 'the People' of the fate that might be in store for them. If we were less frightened than we might have been by those very loud and confident predictions, it was because we too have a belief in the sovereignty of 'the People,' but of a very opposite nature to that of our Radical Mentors. We know that an ancient society, educated by generations of Liberty, will form in outline an organized opinion on its own affairs, and that, when this opinion has been clearly and finally pronounced, it is incumbent on all the branches of the Legislature to recognize it as supreme. But the Radicals insist that

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'the People' is not only the ultimate source of power, but the immediate ruling force in the nation; and by the word 'People' they mean, what Fox meant, the *numerical* majority of the nation, discovered by the results of a General Election. This majority, they say, declares its will to its parliamentary representatives, acting together in party concert, and these again transmit the mandate to their own leaders, who form the Executive Government.

It appears to us that this theory of the Radicals breaks down in two places. In the first place, even if the will of the actual majority were expressed at a General Election, it does not follow that the result would be the cool, deliberate, and irrevocable judgment of the nation, for nothing is more fickle and fluctuating than the people acting *en masse*. But in the second place, it is plain that the deciding force of a General Election may not be the voice of a real majority of the nation. The vast majority of the electorate are non-political, and, while keenly interested in their private or even local affairs, are induced with difficulty to poll at a parliamentary election by the ingenious, but not very noble, arts of party management. Hence it follows that what is called the will of 'the People,' as determined by a General Election, is often only the opinion of a very small minority of the nation, made up of those who propagate their political faith with enthusiasm; those who, for the sake of power, consent to speak for these enthusiasts in Parliament; and the whole electioneering army, who endeavour, for their own reasons, to secure the victory of the party candidate at the poll. And before this brute mechanical Juggernaut the Radicals insist that the three branches of the Legislature must prostrate themselves in blind submission! They appear to be quite unconscious that their attitude affords a singular justification to the arguments of statesmen who, like Canning, opposed Reform on the ground that the system of direct numerical representation would, by transforming Members of Parliament from representatives into delegates, destroy the balance of the Constitution.

'I,' said Canning, in a speech to his Constituents at Liverpool, 'am for the *whole* Constitution. The liberty of the subject as much depends on the maintenance of the Constitutional prerogatives of the Crown, in the acknowledgment of the legitimate power of the other House of Parliament, as it does in upholding that supreme power (for such is the power of the purse in one sense of the word, though not in the sense of the Revolution of 1648), which resides in the democratical part of the Constitution. Whatever beyond its just proportion is gained by one part, would be gained at the expense of the whole;

and the balance is now perhaps as nearly poised as human wisdom can adjust it. I fear to touch that balance, the disturbance of which must bring confusion on the nation.*

Experience has also verified the reasonableness of Canning's second great objection to a change in the mode of election, namely that the Parliaments, constituted by a uniform system of voting, would not so accurately represent the constitution of society, as those which reflected public opinion by more indirect methods:—

'I would have by choice,' said he, in the speech above referred to, 'I would have in the House of Commons great variety of interests, and I would have them find their way there by a great variety of rights of election: satisfied that uniformity of election would produce anything but a just representation of various interests.'†

The unreformed Parliaments contained this variety. It may have been, we think it was, the case, that the landed interest preponderated too greatly in them, and that the manufacturing interest was inadequately represented; but the colonies could make their voice heard; talent found an easy entrance into the Legislature; and the general tone of deliberation was maintained at a higher level by the greater independence of the national representatives. One of the consequences of the Reform of 1832 has been class legislation, because, under our party system, power has of course been concentrated in those classes of the electorate which have the bestowal of the largest number of votes. No one can fail to observe that the character of our national policy between 1832 and 1868—culminating as it did in the triumph of Mr. Cobden's peace-at-any-price principles, signalized by the abandonment of Denmark—was above all things *commercial*. This can be ascribed to nothing but the numerical preponderance of the commercial classes in the electorate between the first and second Reform Bills. The admission of the artizan class to the franchise by the Reform Bill of 1867 was an improvement, in so far as it provided for the representation of fresh interests, but was injurious in so far as it merely swelled the *numbers* of the electorate. Nothing in the late General Election was more fatally significant of the lowering of political morality, than the unblushing manner in which the Liberals bought, by large promises at the expense of the less numerous classes of society, the votes of the farmers, the tradesmen, and the artizans.

That the character of the House of Commons as a deliberative

* Canning's 'Speeches in Liverpool,' vol. i. p. 327.

† Ibid. p. 325.
Assembly

Assembly has altered sadly for the worse, few reflecting men will be found to deny. On this point we shall summon an unexceptionable witness:—

‘There are some people,’ said Mr. Chamberlain, in a speech to his constituents at Birmingham on the 8th of June, ‘who think the time may shortly come when a review of the position and functions of the House of Lords may not be an inappropriate subject for the consideration of the English people; but I venture to say that the urgent question of the moment, to which every reformer should now direct his first attention, is the reform of the procedure of the House of Commons. The House of Commons has ceased to be able to represent or to give effect to the will of the majority of the nation. It has sunk into a great debating society, without power to come to a decision or to register and carry out the mandate of the Constituencies.’

Even therefore from the point of view of a confessed democrat, the House of Commons, as at present constituted, does not represent the interests of the nation. Why is this? Why, for a reason which Mr. Chamberlain does not care to recognize, namely, that political power being absorbed into the constituencies, members of the House of Commons address themselves to their constituents rather than to the House. And as every member wishes to keep himself well in public view, the floods of talk are unceasing. What then is to be the remedy? The *Clôture* of course, replies Mr. Chamberlain. Truly Radical reasoning is prodigious! A House of Commons constituted by a democratic electorate proves talkative. But the *majority* of the electorate has charged the House with a mandate. Therefore, says the President of the Board of Trade, the creator of the English Caucus, the dictator who bids the men of Birmingham ‘vote as they are told, without panic’—therefore the party *majority* in the House of Commons must be empowered to silence the minority! Who can now laugh at the prediction of Canning, that a reform in the constitution of Parliament would endanger the liberties of the people?

We learn that the Ministry during the recess intend to devise a plan for reforming the procedure of the House of Commons. We shall await their proposals with anxiety. As a deliberative body, the House of Commons has of course full power to regulate its proceedings as circumstances require. But it must not be forgotten that that House is also an instrument of Government; the new rules will be proposed to it by the Ministry; and he must be blind indeed who does not perceive that our Parliamentary difficulties do not spring simply out of the factiousness of individuals, but from the nature of our party system. If the existing forms of the House of Commons for the
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protection of the minority were found necessary when the House was practically returned by the aristocracy, much more are they necessary now that it is constituted by democratic Associations and Caucuses. Obstruction is an evil (even though under the late Government there were no greater Obstructors than Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke); but it is not so great an evil as the tyranny of a party majority at the back of a Dictator. We trust that the front bench of the Conservative Party will ponder well before they consent to abridge any of the liberties of Opposition on the plea of the necessities of Government.

II. The partial and incomplete system of representation initiated by the first Reform Bill has gradually transformed the old English traditions of our commercial and colonial policy. No doubt it suits Liberal writers to argue that the change had begun before 1832, and that the policy of the Tory Government from 1820-27 was merely the germ of the grand policy of Liberal Progress and Emancipation developed between 1830 and 1870. Thus the latest Liberal historian, Mr. Walpole, asserts:—

‘Huskisson, adopting the doctrines of Adam Smith, reformed the Commercial system; Canning, rejecting the principles of Castlereagh, reformed the policy of the Foreign Office. . . . These were among the memorable achievements of twelve years of *Progress*.’*

This statement contains a complete misrepresentation of fact. Between the views of the Liberal and anti-Liberal sections of the Tory Party there was essential agreement on one fundamental principle respecting commerce, the colonies, and foreign affairs, which separated them sharply from the Economic Liberals and the Radicals, whose joint influence gradually gained the ascendancy after the first Reform Bill. To all sections of Conservatives the first consideration was the greatness and unity of the State; the first postulate in the Radical creed was the liberty of the Individual. This distinction, and the consequences which flowed from it, are so obvious, that it is difficult to see how they can have been overlooked; but as many Liberal writers and speakers—among them Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cobden—have claimed Canning and Huskisson as members of their party, it is worth while to state plainly how the matter stands.

Huskisson, in ‘adopting the doctrines of Adam Smith,’ was only carrying out the policy of Pitt, who, as we have already

* ‘Introduction to History of England from the year 1815.’ By Spencer Walpole.

said,

said, never dreamed of entirely depriving the Revenue of all the advantages which it derived from foreign importations; indeed Adam Smith himself did not push his doctrines so far as to imagine that a theory of Economics could be made the sole basis of a national policy. He was a staunch defender of the Navigation Laws, on the principle that 'defence is more important than opulence,'* a consideration which Huskisson also always kept in view. The object of the latter was to relax the restrictions of the old jealous and *prohibitive* commercial system, reasoning rightly that free intercourse with other nations *on equal terms* would greatly increase the resources of such a country as England. But the following passages from his speech, proposing the reform of the Commercial system, will show very plainly the motive of his colonial policy. After pointing out the advantages we had derived from our commerce with the States of America, which we had once tried to keep in leading-strings,—

'Contemplate,' he proceeded, 'the possibility of another set of provinces, emancipated from commercial thralldom, but firmly maintaining their political connection; their commercial marine a part of our commercial marine—their seamen a part of our seamen—their population a part of our strength. Consider whether it be not worth while to attempt a course which promises both to those provinces, and to the Mother Country, all the commercial benefits of a free trade, *together with all the political advantages of our continuing part of one great Empire*, and enjoying alike under the sway and protection of the same sovereign, all the rights and privileges of British subjects.'†

And in another place:—

'It is the first and paramount law of every State to provide for its own safety and defence; we will never listen to a theory which, by withdrawing protection from the colonial trade, would render insecure the possessions on which essentially depends the power of Great Britain to retain that high station in the rank of nations, which she owes to her commercial and colonial ascendancy: and least of all will we listen to the representatives of States which evince boundless jealousy of our navigation in peace, and of our maritime ascendancy in case of war; and who tell us distinctly that they are steadily looking to the ulterior object of one day disputing with us the dominion of the seas.'

Now the cheapening policy, which was the direct consequence of the Reform Bill, entirely reversed this principle. It began by bettering the position of the foreigner in our markets, at the

* 'Wealth of Nations.' Book iv. chap. 2, p. 204. 1 vol. edition (1838).

† Huskisson's 'Speeches' I. 312.

expense of the colonist. It ended by opening our markets to all comers, colonist or foreigner alike. The natural consequence of this policy was to grant the colonies self-government, a just and necessary measure under the circumstances, but the ultimate goal of which, in the Radical mind, has always been—separation from the Mother Country. Economists represent the colonies as burdensome to the taxpayer; revolutionists regard them as obstacles to the levelling policy which they desire to initiate at home. All sections of the Liberals therefore for different reasons encourage them to cultivate a feeling of nationality and independence. The feeling expressed itself characteristically in a speech by Mr. Bright in 1865 on Fortifications in Canada:—

‘We are talking folly,’ said he, ‘when we say that the Government of this country would send either ships or men to make an effectual defence of Canada against the United States. I do not object to separation in the least. I believe it would be better for us and better for them.’

It is significant that the ‘Times’ has lately been discoursing in precisely the same sense on the intolerable burden imposed upon us by our South African dependencies. Treated in this way, the colonies have not unnaturally taken us at our word. They tax our goods exactly as if we were aliens and foreigners!

Again, as to the protection of English agriculture. Mr. Cobden, in a speech in the House of Commons on the 25th of August, 1841, quoted Huskisson’s speech on Mr. Poulett Thompson’s motion for the Revision of the Financial System in 1830, as if it made for absolute Free Trade:—

‘It is my distinct conviction,’ said Huskisson, on that occasion, ‘that we cannot maintain the *present* Corn Laws, and at the same time maintain the permanent prosperity and permanent contentment of the country. That these laws may be repealed without injury to our landed interest is my firm belief.’*

But this was by no means to argue that British agriculture could maintain itself against all competition; Huskisson was merely contending, as he had always contended, with perfect justice, that the policy of *prohibition* on the importation of corn was injuring the commercial interests of the country. His views on the subject are fully stated in his speech explaining his conduct with reference to the Corn Duties Bill of June 18, 1827:—

‘It has, I understand, been quoted against me, that I hold the

* Huskisson’s ‘Speeches,’ 3. 555.

opinion that England ought not to depend too largely and too frequently on other countries for its supply of corn. I maintained that doctrine in 1815; I maintain it now. . . . I am anxious to make the country independent of foreigners, commercially as well as politically; for the Committee may rest assured that, so long as it is the interest of foreigners to produce distress in the country and create political discomfiture, so long will they be increasing in their efforts to do so.*

What is there in common between such views and the purely economic doctrine of Mr. Cobden which has prevailed in England since 1846?

'Those who advocate a repeal of the Corn Laws have again and again announced that their object is to exchange the produce of their industry for the productions of all other countries, and that all duties for protection (so called) levied upon articles in the manufacture of which they are engaged should likewise be removed, and a free and unfettered intercourse established between all the countries of the earth, as was clearly the design of nature.'†

And why was Mr. Cobden so confident that England might throw away with impunity an important source of revenue? Here is the answer:—

'Free Trade! What is it? Why, breaking down the barriers that separate nations, those barriers behind which nestle the feelings of pride, revenge, hatred, and jealousy, which every now and then burst their bounds, and deluge whole countries with blood; those feelings which nourish the poison of war and conquest and dominion, which sends forth your warrior chiefs to scatter devastation through other lands, and then calls them back, that they may be enthroned securely in your passions, but only to harass and oppress you at home.‡

And once more, why was Mr. Cobden so confident that his Gospel would meet with universal acceptance? Because, with all his zeal for the liberty of the individual, he utterly failed to comprehend the instincts and feelings of nations.

'It may seem Utopian,' said he at Rochdale, 29th October, 1862, 'but I don't feel sympathy for a great nation, or for those who desire the greatness of a people by the vast extensions of Empire. *What I like to see is the growth, development, and elevation of the individual man.*'§

While we protest against the notion, that those who desire the greatness of their country necessarily desire the perpetual extension of its territory, or undervalue individual liberty, we

* Huskisson's 'Speeches,' 3. 174.

† Cobden's 'Speeches,' 1 vol. ed. p. 3.

‡ Ibid. p. 40.

§ Ibid. p. 467.

ask

ask our readers to notice these words as embodying in a sentence the distinction between the Radical and the Conservative creeds.

III. If such has been the effect on our commercial system of the cheapening policy falsely called by the attractive name of 'Free Trade,' and initiated by the classes admitted to the franchise since 1832, its influence on our foreign policy has been equally revolutionary. 'Canning,' says Mr. Walpole, 'rejecting the *principles* of Castlereagh, reformed the policy of the Foreign Office.' Canning never rejected the principles of Castlereagh; what he did reject, with scorn, as we shall show, was the sentimental and cosmopolitan doctrines of modern Liberalism on foreign affairs. We have over and over again shown in recent articles that the policy maintained by England, during the great French war, was that of Pitt, not of Burke; it was not a policy which refused to make terms with a nation of regicides, but one which was undertaken to resist to the death the aggressive designs, whether of the Republic or of Napoleon, which grew naturally out of the Revolutionary movement. When England put her name to the Treaties of 1815, it was in order that the territorial arrangements then sanctioned might be made the basis of the general peace of Europe, not that she might dictate to other countries the mode in which they should regulate their internal affairs. Her wish was simply to maintain the new equilibrium; and she used her influence, as far as she could, to impress on foreign governments the expediency of her own principles of non-intervention. But between the two extreme camps of Absolutism and Revolution, which divided opinion on the Continent, there could be but a hollow truce. The establishment of the Holy Alliance occasioned frequent interferences on the part of the great central Powers of Europe in the affairs of their neighbours, and constantly threatened the Balance of Power. In England two schools of opinion gradually arose, differing from each other in their ideas as to the manner in which the traditional policy of the country should be applied. On the one side the 'Continental' school, as it was called, represented by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh, viewing with apprehension the Revolutionary forces on the Continent, were inclined to abstain from interfering with the proceedings of their Absolutist allies, even when they could least approve of them. On the other side Canning, though a vehement antagonist of the Revolutionary movement, watched with anxiety the encroachments of the Autocratic Powers. Yet it may be seen from the following extract from a circular, written by Canning after he had become
Foreign

Foreign Secretary, that he in principle completely accepted the main position of Castlereagh.

‘The pervading principles,’ says he in this document, ‘of that intimate union, by which the Emperor of Russia and the King our Master are bound together in common with their other allies, are those established by the Treaty of Vienna, viz. the preservation of the general peace, and the maintenance against all ambition and encroachment of the existing territorial distribution of Europe. To these principles his Majesty has vowed an inviolable fidelity. No temptation that could be held out to his Majesty could induce him to depart from them for any advantage of his own.’

Canning was very far from wishing to oppose Absolutism merely for its own sake, but, considering the preponderance of that force a menace to the general peace, he thought it politic to oppose it actively. ‘England,’ he said, ‘should hold the balance not only between contending nations, but contending principles;’ and as it appeared to him that, through the policy of the Holy Alliance, one set of principles were being weighed down by the other, he thought that the influence of England should be thrown into the opposite scale. Such were the grounds of his policy both in the assistance which he gave to Portugal against Spain, and in his recognition of the independence of the Spanish Colonies; and the difference between his views and those of the sentimentalists, who in our own day are ready to sacrifice the interest of England to their own ideas of justice and morality, may be gathered from a speech he made at Plymouth in 1823:—

‘The language of modern philosophy is widely and diffusively benevolent; it professes the perfection of our species, and the amelioration of the lot of all mankind. Gentlemen, I hope that my heart beats as high for the general interests of humanity, I hope that I have as friendly a disposition towards other nations of the earth, as any one who vaunts his philosophy most highly; but I am contented to confess that, in the conduct of political affairs, the grand object of my contemplation is the interest of England. Not, gentlemen, that the interest of England is an interest which stands isolated and alone. The situation which she holds forbids an exclusive selfishness. Her prosperity must contribute to the prosperity of the surrounding nations, and her stability to the safety of the world. But, intimately connected as we are with the system of Europe, it does not follow that we are therefore called upon to mix ourselves on every occasion with a restless and meddling activity in the concerns of the nations around us. It is on a just balance of conflicting duties, and of rival but sometimes incompatible advantages, that a government must judge when to put forth its strength, and when to husband it for

occasions

occasions yet to come. Our ultimate object must be the peace of the world.*

Compare this announcement of policy, so worthy of a great, proud, and victorious nation, confident in her position and resources, and secure in the balance of her own Constitution, with the course pursued in foreign affairs by any representative statesman after the first Reform Bill. Contrast it with the rashness of Lord Palmerston, who, not less patriotically anxious than Canning for the glory of England, yet threw the whole weight of the national influence on to the Revolutionary side, when that force was evidently paramount on the Continent, and exposed the country to constant humiliation from his meddling in other nations' internal affairs: contrast it with the timidity of Lord Aberdeen drifting into war for want of steady principle and courage to steer through the conflicting currents of public opinion: contrast it with Lord Russell's impotent interference on behalf of Poland; or with Lord Russell's and Lord Palmerston's disgraceful abandonment of Denmark; or with Mr. Cobden's peace-at-any-price sentiments; or lastly with the astonishing vacillations of later Liberal Governments, at one moment consenting to the surrender of the Black Sea Clauses of the Treaty of Paris, at another encouraging the Slavonic nationalities to revolt, and crying 'Hands Off!' to Austria—in view we say of all these facts we may estimate the comparative values of the true Conservative policy which takes its stand on the interest of the Nation, and of the Radical policy which seeks to gratify the love of ease, money, or sentiment in the Individual! If we wish for an illustration under our very eyes of the wisdom of the old Conservative policy, defined by Canning, we have only to look at the present situation in Egypt. To what a pass have English interests been brought by Mr. Gladstone's headlong advocacy of the Revolutionary movement in Turkey, and by his outcry against the Great Military Powers of Central Europe!

If our reasoning has been correct, we are now in a position to form a judgment on the elementary conditions of the existing political situation. It is evident, we think, that we have reached one of those crises to which our free institutions are periodically subject, and in many respects the issue resembles, on a larger scale, that which was decided in 1784. Our machinery of party government is an inheritance from the Revolution of 1688, and from the unreformed Parliamentary system before 1832. Admirably adapted for an instrument of

* Canning's 'Speeches,' vol. vi. p. 421.

government under an aristocratic regime, under the influence of democracy it has undergone a complete transformation. The old constitutional questions, which once divided the two historical parties, have long since lost their vitality. The machinery of party, however, still survives, and is employed for what has always been its main purpose, the acquisition of power. But the aristocratic chiefs, who before, and for some time after, the first Reform Bill directed the strategy of the Whig or Liberal party, have been deposed, and in their place rules a more despotic oligarchy, the Radical Caucus. The men who control this machinery openly profess opinions and strive to initiate policies incompatible with the existence of the Constitution.

On the other side there are the Conservatives. Our party is still suffering from the effects of a crushing defeat and a melancholy bereavement. It has to fight against a Radical majority with smaller numbers than it has mustered in any Parliament since 1832, and it has lost the leader who rallied it when it seemed, a generation ago, to be almost annihilated, guided it with patient sagacity through a long season of adversity to renewed triumphs, and by its support restored the just influence of England in the councils of Europe. Lord Beaconsfield was a Minister of the stamp of Chatham, Pitt, and Canning, a national rather than a party leader. His loss at this moment is little less than calamitous; but we are confident that he has bequeathed his patriotic spirit to those who through an anxious national crisis shared his sympathies and his counsels. The turn of the balance wavering between the Imperial and the Revolutionary policy will be determined by the decision of the Conservative leaders, and according as they act boldly or timidly in the present crisis, this country will rise or decline in the society of nations.

Now it appears to us that the Conservative Party, as at present constituted, must be regarded in a double aspect. In the first place, as opposed to the Radicals, it is a party of defence. Our great watchword is Social Order. We are united for the maintenance of our ancient institutions; the just prerogative of the Sovereign; the liberties of both Houses of Parliament; the connection of Church and State; the security of property; the union of Mother Country and Colonies; in a word for all that constitutes the 'Society of the British Empire.' That there is a strong, resolute, and well-organized party which aims at the dissolution of all these bonds, no reflecting man can fail to perceive. If party illusion has hitherto disguised the truth from many moderate men, the open triumph of Radicalism in Ireland and in the Transvaal makes self-deception in future impossible.

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The Conservative Party must therefore gradually absorb into itself all that sound and influential portion of public opinion in all classes, which desires the maintenance of the existing order of Society, now so visibly threatened by the Radicals. But this purely defensive policy will not be enough. Assume, what may be safely assumed, that the nation is learning in the school of experience, and that the incapacity of the Radicals to govern is preparing the way for the return of the Conservatives to power—what then? We shall be exposed to precisely the same arts of misrepresentation as were before employed against us with such effect; bad seasons, bad trade, difficulties abroad, will all be laid to our account, and unless we can satisfy the mind of the country with a *constructive* policy we shall find our position more difficult to hold than we did in the last Parliament.

It follows then that the Conservatives must for the future be an initiating and constructing party; that is to say, besides defending the principle of Order, we must allow for the expansion of the principle of Liberty which is inherent in the English Constitution. And the question of to-day, as we are sure it would have presented itself to the mind of Pitt, is, How far can we go in the direction of Liberty without destroying the principle of Order?

Our answer must be framed with regard to the interests of our society, both in its internal and its external relations. As to the former, if it were still open to debate whether the Constitution could dispense with such buttresses as the Test and Corporation Acts, no doubt the question would provoke great searchings of heart. But for better or worse that issue has long since been decided. Jews, Roman Catholics, and Protestant Dissenters, have all been relieved of their disabilities; and it is contrary to Conservative tradition to reopen controversies which have been settled by the Legislature. If difficulties on this question still exist, it is right that the nation should understand that they have not been created by Conservative dislike to the principle of liberty, but partly by the outrageous vanity of an individual, who, having first sought to obtain access to Parliament by means that have been shown to be illegal, now claims to enter by taking an oath which he openly derides; and partly by the miserable cowardice of the Government, which has feared to incur unpopularity by dealing with the question in the only manly way, namely by open legislation. The Conservatives have acquiesced in the settlement which has been effected since the Reform Bill of the questions of Parliamentary Representation, municipal self-government, and the freedom of the press: not a man in the party wishes to interfere

fere with these. On the contrary, assuming Government by King, Lords and Commons, and the connection between Church and State, to be inviolable principles of the Constitution, we think that the larger wheels of the system will work the more easily, the more we promote the principles of individual liberty and self-government. On the subject of local government we shall say more hereafter. As to the relations between Church and State, we desire to give as much freedom as possible to all parties which can be fairly comprehended within the Church, and which on their side are ready to render obedience to Law and Constituted Authority; and, recognizing the change which has been effected in the Constitution by the admission into Parliament of representatives not belonging to the Church of England, we would also gladly see as large a share of self-government granted to the Church, as is consistent with her due dependence on the State. In matters of commerce we consider that the very basis of free society is liberty of contract between man and man, and that nothing is so likely to secure the unity of Empire as freedom of intercourse between its various members.

But, as regards our foreign relations, the question assumes an entirely different aspect. It cannot be denied that, by the unrestrained indulgence of our passion for Liberty, we have been led on into a situation in which the commerce and even the independence of the country are threatened with unmistakable danger. The high-water mark of Liberalism was the adoption of Mr. Cobden's policy in 1846. Mr. Cobden's mind was above all things commercial, and this is what made him the leading representative of the classes who were all-powerful in Parliament between 1832 and 1868. He acknowledged, as we have seen, that he had no strong feelings of nationality, that his interests were concentrated on the development of the individual man; and he had a rooted belief that the strongest passion in human nature was the love of money. Hence he argued—and persuaded the country—that if England led the way in abolishing all commercial restrictions, her example would be speedily followed by other nations. Wars of aggression, he thought, would then cease, and the world would be turned into a peaceful fair. On these principles we have been acting, more or less confidently, since Lord Palmerston's death removed from the Liberal Party the last representative of England's old foreign policy; but other nations have by no means done likewise. On the contrary, while we have been extending our trade, they have been increasing their armaments; while we have been committing ourselves to a policy of absolute non-intervention, they

they have been indulging (of course under the noblest professions) 'those feelings, which nourish the poison of war and conquest and dominion' (witness the German aggression on Denmark, the French aggression on Germany, and recently on Tunis, the Russian aggression on Turkey); while we have been taking off the larger part of our taxes on foreign imports, they are found to be now excluding our goods from their markets by prohibitive tariffs. This policy they pursue *as nations*, partly because, as nations, they fear one another, partly because they are jealous of our commercial position, partly because the taxation of foreigners provides a convenient source of revenue for their respective Governments. Hence it is plain that the argument for Free Trade—or rather Free Importation—in so far as it was recommended by the probability of its universal application, has entirely broken down.

It has broken down too at another point. Mr. Cobden's principles were doubtless advocated by himself and others out of pure enthusiasm, and their chief apostle never ceased to argue that their adoption would benefit all classes alike. But no one, who knows human nature, can doubt that the repeal of the Corn Laws was effected in the supposed interest of the classes who then controlled the action of Parliament. While it was at least doubtful whether the agricultural interest would be able to stand against the unrestricted competition of the foreigner, it was certain that the manufacturing interest, even when handicapped with Corn Laws, were able to carry on a large export trade. Enchanted, however, with the prospect of securing the markets of the world, the manufacturing classes overlooked the dangers which threatened the agricultural interest, their steadiest customers, while the shopkeepers, who expected large profits from the development of trade, of course supported the new economic movement. Not a thought was given to the danger that might some day threaten the English manufacturer, from the joint operation of hostile tariffs abroad and class combination at home. For a time, however, the great period of prosperity (the result of many causes besides Free Trade), which followed the repeal of the Corn Laws, fulfilled all expectations and silenced all fears; even the agricultural classes, not yet exposed to the full stress of American competition, shared in the general profits. But after five-and-thirty years of commercial fast living, a great change has come over the situation. The foreigner, largely aided by English capital, has learned to meet us in markets of which we had once almost a monopoly; his own Government steps in to help him with bounties and prohibitive tariffs; and thus the
English

English manufacturer finds the foreign market closed to him by national jealousy, and the home market contracted through agricultural distress.

Let us, then, not deceive ourselves. Dependent on external sources for half, or more than half, of our food supply, we are surrounded by armed nations, who view our commercial position with jealousy, and our extended possessions with covetousness. Our agricultural population, according to the census returns, is declining; our urban populations are on the increase. Our vast and scattered Empire must be defended from the centre with an army, which in numbers is insignificant compared with the forces of the Continent, and of which recent changes, however necessary in principle, have scarcely improved the quality.

Under these circumstances what ought we to do? Giving the Liberal Party full credit for their expressed intention to maintain the Constitution and to defend the Empire as stoutly as the Conservatives, we would ask them how they propose to secure this object. It is obvious that, if we are really in earnest in desiring that England shall keep her place among the great nations, we must be prepared to submit to personal sacrifices. This is a truth that admits of no dispute, for we see that under a Government pledged to peace, retrenchment, and reform, our estimates have reached a sum unprecedented in our history, nor can they be reduced with safety to the nation. The question therefore is, How are we to raise a revenue commensurate with the requirements of our Imperial society?

Now we take it that the Liberal answer to this question will be something of this sort, 'We must persevere in the policy of *laissez faire* which we adopted in 1846. That is to say, we will leave the land, weighted with all, and more than all, the burdens with which it was charged in the days when it enjoyed the protection of the State, to struggle, as it best may, against an inclement climate and the competition of the foreigner. But in order to meet these conditions, in the first place rents must be reduced, in the second place the farmer must improve his methods, and, in the third place, the land laws must be altered so as to give the owner and occupier of the soil the opportunity of increasing its productiveness by the expenditure of capital. To this line of reasoning the answer is short and simple. Rents will of course fall naturally to their market value, but in many parts of England, and on many estates when the property is held in fee-simple, the landlord is unable to obtain tenants on any terms, and the land is going out of cultivation. Such being the case, the prospects of an expansive revenue are not brilliant,

nor will any reform of the laws of entail and primogeniture, or any mere measure securing compensation for improvements to tenants, be likely to fill the coffers of the State. A policy of Stagnation must inevitably lead to a policy of Revolution—legal, no doubt, but still Revolution. For observe the conclusion to which we are necessarily led by the arguments of the Manchester Economists. They say that the difference between our Imports and Exports is to be explained partly by charges for freightage, which represent so much profit to the British ship-owner, partly by the vast amount for which foreign countries stand indebted to English capitalists, and which they pay in goods instead of in money. This consideration would be highly satisfactory if English society, like that of the old Venetian Republic, consisted entirely of carriers and money-lenders. Unfortunately it leaves completely out of sight the English producer. Do the great capitalists of the country, who boast of the vast sums which they have advanced to encourage foreign enterprise, really think that the English workman will continue to regard with equanimity the restriction of his own opportunities of production, through a flood of imports for the benefit of the mere cosmopolitan investor? What moral doubt can there be that our great urban populations, if they become discontented for want of employment, will develop a spirit of Agrarianism and Communism? Should they do so, the machinery for the purpose is already provided by the Revolutionary Party which is working in our midst. How easily a policy of confiscation may be covered by rhetorical phrases, with what readiness a party majority will lend itself to injustice, may be seen by the experience of the Irish Land Bill in the House of Commons.

But again, recognizing the fact that the policy of *laissez faire* can no longer be pursued without disaster to the State, and that for the sake of its own revenue the State must take thought for the industries that feed it, we may adopt what is obviously in favour with the manufacturing populations in the North, a policy of retaliation. Irritated by the prohibitive tariffs of France, the men of Lancashire and Yorkshire propose to bring our neighbours to reason by doubling the wine duties. Of this proposition we have only to say that it is good as far as it goes; but that it will not take us very far. It is certain that the comparatively advantageous position, which the Government now occupies in the commercial negotiations with France, has been gained for it by the Fair-Trade movement in this country, which has caused the French to fear that, if no treaty is concluded, we may depart from our pedantic economic orthodoxy and tax their imports. By all means let us make the most of the advantage which this gives

gives us; we would only ask our manufacturing friends to consider whether it is likely that a fear of a diminution in the profits of the French wine-growers will effect an alteration in the entire commercial policy of France; or, even if we procured by these means some slight modification in the French tariffs, how we could break down the barriers raised against our commerce by Germany, Austria, Russia, and the United States. The truth is that we cannot hope to make Treaties of Commerce upon equal terms, because, acting on abstract economical principles, we have thrown away the position of advantage, the loss of which makes a good bargain all round no longer possible *at present*.

A third course remains; we believe it is the truly Conservative one; the policy of Co-operation. Recognizing at once the error which the Tory Party committed in 1832 in refusing to allow the expansion of political Liberty, and the error which the Liberals committed in developing that principle with too little regard for the national honour and independence, we would urge the Conservatives, without attempting to reverse accomplished settlements, to revert as far as it is possible to the *spirit* of Pitt, Canning, and Huskisson. We should make the Nation, and not the Class or the Individual, the basis of English policy. The Radical labours to produce divisions in Society; to set the tenant against his landlord; the democracy against the aristocracy; the State against the Church. It should be the Conservative object to strengthen society by proving to the people that all the interests of the nation are dependent on each other, and that if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it. Let us appeal to all the constituent parts of the society of the British Empire, to show that they feel with their old poet that 'Freedom is a noble thing,' and that they are prepared each to share in the support of the great fabric which has Liberty for its base. At the present moment all the subjects of Her Majesty do not recognize the necessity of such co-operation. They feel and enjoy the blessing of Liberty, but they fail to appreciate the essential conditions of Society. But is not this to a great extent our own fault? Why do not the Colonies admit our goods to their markets as freely as we admit theirs to ours? Because they recognize that our colonial policy just before and after the first Reform Bill was dictated by selfish motives: because at that period we gave up Huskisson's policy of treating them as if they were English Counties, and treated them, commercially at any rate, as if they were foreigners; because we favoured Baltic timber at the expense of Canadian timber in 1831, as we are now favouring foreign sugar at the expense of colonial sugar;

because we sacrificed the sound policy, initiated by Huskisson in 1825 to encourage the growth of Canadian corn, to the policy of unrestricted importation of foreign corn in 1846.

Let the Conservatives then seek to recover the threads of the older and more patriotic colonial policy. The vision of Huskisson can never be realized now that the colonies enjoy local self-government. But let us show the colonies that we consider them integral parts of the British Empire, the safety and independence of which, in the present threatening aspect of international affairs, is the chief pledge of Constitutional freedom. Our foreign rivals refuse to admit our manufactures; let us turn then to our colonies, the undeveloped corn-lands of the Empire, and apply within the limits of our own society Mr. Cobden's principle of free exchange. At the present moment, no doubt, these young societies treat us as if they were foreign nations; but chiefly dependent as they are on the development of their agricultural resources, we can hardly doubt that if admitted to our markets on better terms than the foreigner, they would promptly abolish the barriers between us. Could such a defensive union once be effected, how many of our anxieties would disappear! No cry could be raised as to dearness of food, for the vast agricultural resources of British North America alone are more than sufficient to provide corn at a cheap price for the population of these islands. On the other hand, the colonies would naturally receive our manufactures in payment for their corn. The British farmer, bewildered at present by the multiplicity of imports, would have time to accommodate his methods to the ascertained wants of society. Capital, unemployed or wasted in rash ventures, would again flow forth to develop the latent resources of countries capable of producing every article of use or luxury now supplied to us by foreigners. Emigration, judiciously directed, might relieve the plethora of our over-crowded districts, without depriving Her Majesty of loyal subjects. The great question of Imperial defence would simplify itself. With every part of our society recruited and invigorated, with the colonies and India holding a double stake in the fortunes of the consolidated Empire, the loyalty and patriotism so recently manifested in Canada and Australia would soon take a practical form, and the burden of taxation for Imperial purposes, now used by the Radicals as an argument for separation, might be more evenly distributed.

We trust that the doctors of the Manchester School will perceive that considerations of this kind cannot be any longer encountered with that air of arrogant superiority which has hitherto distinguished them, and that those who approach the question

question from a national point of view are not to be met with the cuckoo cry of 'Protection!' If the country, as we Conservatives desire, is to advance along the path of Constitutional development, we must introduce some equity into our system of taxation. Everybody, even Mr. Bright, acknowledges, that the agricultural interest must be saved from ruin, but this can only be done if it is relieved from those burdens with which under our present system it is unjustly weighted. From what quarter can we hope then to supply the deficiency in the revenue, which will be caused by the remission of taxation upon land? It is evident that we must have recourse either to direct or indirect taxation. If we adopt the former alternative, and, looking only to the interests of the consumer, determine to raise the required revenue from a single class, it is just that the burden should be shifted to that class of consumers, which derives the most benefit from our present cheapening policy. In this case we should be obliged to fall back on the Income Tax. But to such a policy there would be two grave objections; the first, that all taxation levied on a class must be more or less unjust; the second, and the graver one, that a Revenue so raised would obviously have no capacity of Expansion. The other alternative is to resort to indirect taxation, and to raise increased revenue from the Customs. This policy would be open to neither of the objections urged above. The incidence of moderate Customs' duties would be distributed over the whole community, while a tax upon foreign importations would encourage *native production throughout the whole Empire*, and all the springs of industry being thus recruited, the Revenue would be proportionately increased.

We are confident that, if the masses of the electorate were to realize the truth, that their own welfare both as individuals and classes depended, not on the predominance of this or that party in Parliament, but on the solidity and unity of the Empire, an improvement would be effected in our entire system of representative government. The Radicals maintain that the welfare of England requires the perpetual supremacy of the Liberal Party. But this theory has broken down under the stress of facts. Although the Liberals at present enjoy a greater numerical superiority over their opponents than they have done at any time since the first Reform Bill, and though party discipline has never been more rigidly enforced, yet during the current Session the Imperial business has been at a stand-still. These facts ought to be considered in connection with the great questions of Local Government and the extension of the Franchise, which the Liberals say they are about to bring before the Legislature.

Two propositions are admitted by men of all shades of opinion : the House of Commons, as at present constituted, does not represent the nation ; and it does not do the business of the nation. But the causes which are assigned for these defects, and the remedies that are proposed for them by respective parties, are fundamentally different. The Radicals say that the House of Commons does not sufficiently represent the nation, because the franchise is not sufficiently extended ; their zeal, however, on behalf of the agricultural labourer is not quite disinterested, but is largely due to the belief that every addition to the *numbers* of the electorate must operate in their favour. And for this very reason many Conservatives, dismayed, as is natural, at the treatment they have received from the uneducated masses of their countrymen, are opposed on principle to any extension of the franchise. We do not take this view. True, we regard the principle of mere numerical representation introduced at the first Reform Bill as radically unsound. But the principle having been once adopted, we recognize that it must be inevitably carried under our system of party government up to a certain obvious point. Since household suffrage has been made, in England, the basis of the franchise, the Conservatives, who established that standard, cannot with consistency object to its being applied to its full legitimate extent. Were it certain that the classes whom it is proposed to enfranchise were animated with Revolutionary desires, the case would be different ; but every one must see that the danger, such as it is, will arise from the numbers and the ignorance of the new voters, not from any positive policy which they will seek to enforce. We must encounter the danger with active courage and resources, not with stolid opposition to change. The leaders of the Revolutionary Party will no doubt seek to utilize the English working classes in town and country for their own subversive projects, by appealing to their most sordid instincts ; but it is easier to raise Revolutionary hopes than to satisfy them in such a society as ours ; and in the meantime the Conservatives must organize opinion, and seek to divert the imagination of the people into different channels. We must show the masses of the electorate, who have no lack of natural shrewdness, where their real interests lie, and for this purpose we desire to direct the attention of all Conservatives to the admirable work which is being performed by the Constitutional Union, to whose first Annual Report we have referred at the head of this article. We hope that branches of this Association will be established in all parts of the country to counteract the Radical propaganda. Such strategy will be far better than a vain attempt to withhold
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the franchise from the labourers on the ground of their political ignorance. It should be remembered that the addition of fresh *classes* to the electorate is by no means necessarily prejudicial to Conservative interests, because each class, having special interests of its own, is rather bent on securing these, than on destroying what is common to all. We venture to say that the English Church is at the present moment farther from Disestablishment than it was before the Reform Bill of 1867, when the Dissenting middle classes preponderated in the constituencies.

But there is another point, in connection with the proposed extension of the franchise, which deserves particular consideration from the Conservative Party. All of us ought to aim like Canning at making the House of Commons the 'express image' of the varied interests that constitute the society of the Empire. Any scheme for the extension of the franchise must involve a redistribution of seats. The last remains of the old system of representation will thus disappear. Many small constituencies will be swept away, and it will be more difficult than ever for men of talent and independence to obtain an entrance into the House of Commons. The Radicals will of course seek in a new Reform Bill to secure equal electoral districts: uniformity in the methods of election is their main object. But they will find many difficulties in their way. The present county constituencies we may be sure are not enamoured of the proposed change; the small boroughs will naturally object to be extinguished; the Conservatives will accordingly be strongly supported in opposing any scheme conceived simply in the Radical interest. If then the Radicals fix their attention chiefly on increasing the size and numbers of the constituencies, let the Conservatives occupy themselves rather with the redistribution of seats, and let us press urgently, in the interests of the Empire, for the *representation of the Colonies* in the House of Commons. Assuming that localities alone are in future to be represented there, it is at least expedient that the interests of *all* the localities in the Empire should have their spokesmen in the Imperial Parliament.

If the House of Commons, as at present constituted, fails as a representative assembly, because uniformity of election does not afford opportunity for the representation of the varied interests of the British Empire, it also fails as a legislative body. Its difficulties in this respect arise from two main causes. The first is the obstruction to business, wilful or unintentional, offered by individuals, an evil against which the Legislature alone is competent to devise a satisfactory safeguard. The second
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cause, however, is one that must be dealt with by the nation. The House of Commons has absorbed so many functions, that it occupies itself with much work that might be better done by local bodies. This truth again is now generally admitted, and we will only remind our readers that when the Conservatives were in office we suggested the natural remedy for this Parliamentary paralysis. We repeat now what we said then, that the true principle of our representative government is 'to localize whatever in our affairs is domestic, and to centralize whatever is imperial.*' We find no difficulty in accepting another point in the Liberal programme, the necessity of establishing County Boards. No doubt the respective objects of the Conservatives and of the Radicals in such a Reform would be quite different. The Radicals desire to destroy the influence in the counties of the landed aristocracy. They would like to abolish the Courts of Quarter Sessions. It is needless to say that we desire nothing of the sort. We know that the Courts of Quarter Sessions do the work of the county with admirable efficiency and economy; to destroy such an established institution would be contrary to the genius of English statesmanship. But if the duties of these bodies are to be largely increased, it is necessary that the County Legislatures should be recruited with the principle of representation. We see no reason why County Boards should not be constituted partly on an *ex officio* and partly on an elective basis. For the practical success of bodies thus composed we have the testimony of Mr. John Stuart Mill:—

'In the most recently established of our local representative institutions, the Board of Guardians, the justices of the peace sit *ex officio* along with the elected members, in number limited by law to a third of the whole. In the peculiar constitution of English society, I have no doubt of the beneficial effect of this provision. It secures the presence in these bodies of a more educated class than it would perhaps be practicable to attract thither on any other terms; and while the limitation of the *ex officio* members precludes them from acquiring predominance by mere numerical strength, they as a virtual representation of another class, having sometimes a different interest from the rest, are a check upon the class interests of the farmers or petty shop-keepers who form the bulk of the elected guardians.'†

It is true that Mr. Mill afterwards deprecates the application of the principle to the Courts of Quarter Sessions, the constitution of which he condemns unreservedly, but we fail to discover in his arguments any justification for his logical inconsistency.

* 'Quarterly Review,' April 1878, 'The Crown and the Constitution.'

† Mill on 'Representative Government,' p. 278.

Could we constitute on some such rational and Conservative basis County Parliaments empowered to deal with all business that is really local, we believe that a long step would be taken towards the much-needed re-settlement of our constitutional system. If self-government by means of representative bodies means anything, it must mean that the genuine public opinion of the electors shall make itself felt in the elected Assembly, and the constituencies are far more likely to keep a watch over the conduct of their representatives, when these occupy themselves about matters with which all are acquainted, than at present, when the questions debated in Parliament lie mostly beyond the sphere of their immediate interests.

In these two directions then, the development of the principle of Imperial representation, and the extension of the principle of Local government, we think there is room for the introduction of a genuine Conservative Reform, with a view to the consolidation of the British Empire. The opinions which we have advocated in this article are not now put forward for the first time, or out of complaisance to the new temper which is discovering itself in the constituencies. We abide in Opposition by those principles of Conservatism which we defended when Lord Beaconsfield was in office,* and we again commend them to the consideration of our party. We are quite prepared for the objections with which we shall be encountered. Our Radical critics will proclaim loftily that all schemes for the representation of the Colonies in the Imperial Parliament are 'unpractical,' an argument which with Englishmen is always supposed to be conclusive, but which is often only the cover of indolence or dogmatism. We entreat the Conservatives not to be taken in by declamation of this kind. By a stolid refusal to consider 'ideas,' they will play directly into the hands of the Radicals; they will allow the agitator and the demagogue to head the party of movement, and Conservatism to sink into a habit of apathy and a creed of despair. What are the obstacles to the policy we have suggested? They cannot be said to exist in Nature, for if a scheme of Imperial Representation could seem practicable to Adam Smith a century ago,† much more must it be so in days when distance has been annihilated by steam and electricity. That there are formidable difficulties in the state of opinion we fully acknowledge, but these are precisely of a kind which can be overcome by statesmanship and invention. We shall be told that the Colonies

* 'Quarterly Review' for October 1879; 'Principles at Stake.'

† 'Wealth of Nations,' Book v. chap. 3, pp. 425-431 (1 vol. edition, 1838).

will not care to mix themselves up in the parochial and party squabbles of the House of Commons; but to this we reply that, if the House of Commons is to maintain its position, national necessity will oblige it, as the Great Council of the Realm, to busy itself principally, in the immediate future, with Imperial questions of taxation and defence, in which the Colonies will have a direct interest. And again, if it is urged that local jealousy will forbid the Colonies to strengthen their connection with the Mother-country, we answer that in all the Colonies there is a strong Conservative party, which understands the advantages of the Imperial connection, and that, if relations are established between Conservative centres at home and in our dependencies, a body of opinion will in time be formed sufficiently strong to overpower the selfishness of party spirit.

In the same way we do not doubt that a considerable portion of the Conservative Party may be reluctant to temper the aristocratic constitution of the Courts of Quarter Sessions with the democratic principle of election. They may argue that county business is now well done, and that the experience of local government by elected bodies is not sufficiently encouraging to justify any changes in that direction. To those who reason thus we reply, that the argument from experience is good as far as it goes, but is no better than when it was used on behalf of the unreformed Parliament; and that it will be wiser to adapt the old system of County Government to the changed circumstances of the time, than to wait till it is swept away by a rush of Radical fanaticism. We must look at questions of this kind as part of the whole battle-field of party: At every public meeting we boast ourselves to be the party which is associated for the defence of the Constitution and the consolidation of the Empire. Are these mere rhetorical phrases employed to induce the Constituencies 'to turn out the Liberals'? Or are they the first suggestions of a well-considered policy, which the speakers are prepared to apply when the nation gives them the opportunity? And if so, of what nature is this policy to be?

On this point we think it is time for the Conservative leaders to declare themselves. Signs are not wanting that the Liberal policy of *laissez faire*, which triumphed after 1832, and culminated in 1846, can no longer satisfy the wants of the nation. The idle factory and the uncultivated farm warn us with silent eloquence of its ebbing life, but the action of the Liberal Party itself proclaims still more emphatically that the end is at hand. What is to be said when men, who a generation ago inveighed against all interference of the State in matters of Commerce—even when the question lay between their own
countrymen

countrymen and the foreigner—are now driven by their party necessities to invoke the protection of the State for one class of British subjects against another? The nation is halting between two courses. One of these will lead to the expansion of society by the consolidation of the Empire; the other must end in the disintegration of the Empire through a war of classes. The Revolutionary Party have already beckoned the English people one step along the road that leads to the dissolution of society, while the rapid spread of Communistic principles to Scotland and even to England, and the readiness with which such principles are defended for party purposes by the Liberal press, show that the nation may be committed, in a moment of delusion, to a line of policy from which it will be impossible to retreat. At such a crisis is it well for the Conservative chiefs to keep silence? They have fought a good fight in the defensive position marked out for them by Peel since 1832, and have helped to make the transition from the old aristocratic *régime* to our own more popular form of Government gradual and secure. But the existing situation is one that demands the genius, not of a Peel, but of a Pitt or a Cecil. The aristocracy of England have no longer a monopoly of Parliamentary Government; the State has withdrawn its protection from their agriculture; but they are still the most powerful and popular leaders of society, because their countrymen understand that they have never subordinated the interests of the nation to those of their own order. Let them then boldly enter the lists, and, as spokesmen of the national party, defend before the constituencies a policy of Social Co-operation as opposed to the Radical policy of Class Antagonism. The people of England must choose for themselves as to the manner in which they wish to be governed; but their choice will be wise or foolish according as public opinion is formed by those whose position and education qualify them to lead the nation, or by the party wire-puller, the demagogue, and the Caucus.

ART. III. — *Christian Institutions : Essays on Ecclesiastical Subjects.* By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. London, 1881.

THIS volume, which would under any circumstances have deserved great attention, has been invested with a deep and affecting interest by the event which the whole country has recently had to deplore. Since our last issue, the author of these essays on 'Christian Institutions' has passed away; and it is melancholy to reflect on the evidence they afford that, though far advanced in life, his mental vigour was not perceptibly abated, and his earnest enthusiasm was as active as ever. His physical strength, apparently, had been undermined by his continuous labours; and after the affliction which bereaved him a few years ago of the wife to whom he was so tenderly attached, he seems to have lost some of the elastic energy which sustained his fragile frame. But his death last July fell upon the Church and the Nation with all the severity of a sudden blow; and it was hard to realize that the voice had been silenced which, only a few days before, had been heard in the pulpit of the Abbey, speaking in its most characteristic tones on the Beatitudes which were so dear to him. He was overflowing to the last with the thoughts and interests to which he had devoted his life, and the national sense of his loss was thus intensified. No living Churchman, perhaps, was so familiar and so cherished a figure to men of all ranks, classes, and schools. We do not speak of agreement or disagreement with his opinions. He won the hearts alike of opponents and friends by his exquisitely gracious and winning character, by his transparent simplicity of aim, his unselfish enthusiasm for all that was good and true and pure, and by his delight in claiming a share in every interest and every cause that was dear to the heart of his countrymen. He was friendly to all, and all had a friendly feeling towards him. He was, indeed, the chief representative of a very strongly marked school of opinion. But he rose above and beyond his opinions; and it was the man himself, far more than the work he did, great as in many respects that work was, that the Nation and the Church loved and lamented.

It is, indeed, very striking to recount over how wide a field his literary and personal activity extended. His career in life was practically determined for him by his education at Rugby under Dr. Arnold. The Dean of Llandaff, in the touching funeral sermon he preached in Westminster Abbey, said that if
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Arnold was 'in many respects the hero schoolmaster,' Stanley 'was in every sense the hero scholar.' He inherited from his beloved master not only the singular moral energy, and the concentration of thought on moral interests, by which he was characterized, but the peculiar bent of historical research and historical narrative by which all his literary productions are pervaded. It was Arnold's delight to find in the histories of Greece and Rome the image of the living present, to read ancient histories as if they were modern, and to illustrate modern life at every turn by means of the past. Stanley commenced his life by the intense contemplation of his master's spirit to which his admirable biography of Dr. Arnold bore witness; and that spirit, coloured by his own temperament, and animated by the congenial influences of his own early life, may be traced working itself out in his career from first to last. His next work was 'Sermons and Essays on the Apostolical Age,' to which he recurs more than once in the volume now before us, and which marks his first effort to disengage the institutions and the teaching of primitive Christianity from the accretions which subsequent schools of ecclesiastical thought had attached to it. From the first rise of the Tractarian party at Oxford, Arnold had opposed them with such earnestness as to occasion for some years a breach in his close friendship for Keble—an earnestness inspired, not by dogmatic differences alone, but by the deep convictions of what has since been called the 'historical conscience.' Arnold passed away when the movement was at its height, and for a while there was no champion strong enough to take his place. But the school of thought he founded, with Stanley at its head, patiently carried forward his work among the younger members of the University; and when the storm of ecclesiastical passions had a little subsided, it emerged from the waves, and, amidst the errors and eccentricities incident to the action of human thought, its influence, direct or indirect, has in turn been asserting itself in an ever increasing degree. The purpose of the 'Essays on the Apostolical Age' was further pursued in Stanley's work on the 'Epistles to the Corinthians.' In the Memoir of his father, the Bishop of Norwich, published in 1850, he commemorated a life and an influence which were in full harmony with those of Dr. Arnold, and which gave them a renewed sanction and authority. Appointed Canon of Canterbury at the early age of 36, he responded with the instinct of genius to the venerable associations of the birthplace of Anglo-Saxon Christianity; and in his 'Historical Memorials,' the very stones of the Cathedral seemed to tell the story of the past. But he now undertook a more arduous

arduous task, in which he laid the foundation for much of his more important work in later years. He visited the East, and wrote an account of 'Sinai and Palestine in connection with their History,' which exerted a most powerful influence in giving to sacred scenes that air of living reality which is so essential to the work of modern criticism. His appointment as Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford afforded him the very opportunity which was needed to employ all the knowledge he had thus been acquiring, and all the reflections he had been accumulating, for the purpose of freeing sacred and ecclesiastical history from the conventional dress in which they had been too generally clothed, and assisting his generation to appreciate their real character and life. Milman, indeed, had done admirable work in this direction—work which must always, like that of Gibbon, retain an indestructible value. But Milman lacked the geniality and freshness by which every page of Stanley's writing is pervaded, and which enchains the reader with a living interest in the scenes described to him by so enthusiastic a companion. Stanley, indeed, had in one respect too much of the faculty for throwing himself into the past; for on certain subjects he seemed to take a side as heartily as if he had been a contemporary actor in the events themselves. But even this served to add a personal interest to his narratives, and due allowance is soon made for it by thoughtful readers. His 'Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church,' though unquestionably imperfect in their appreciation of the import of the controversies of the Early Church, are unsurpassed in their vivid description of the scenes and the personages of those times; and they bring into prominence elements in ecclesiastical life which are essential to its due comprehension, but which it is the special temptation of Church historians to overlook. More important, however, and more really congenial to himself, were his 'Lectures on Jewish History.' In them he ceases, for the most part, to be conscious of the presence of those too dogmatic adversaries, against whom it was part of his life's mission to contend. He writes in unbroken, even if incomplete, sympathy with the persons and scenes he is describing, and he has done more than any other English scholar to give to the narratives of the Bible the vivid human interest of an experience akin, even in details, to the circumstances of our own day.

Passing over many minor publications and labours, the work with which his name has been chiefly identified during the last eighteen years exemplifies the same characteristics. As Dean of Westminster he laboured, as he said on his deathbed, to make that institution 'more and more the great centre of religion
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and national life in a truly liberal spirit; and he sought this object by the same method by which he endeavoured throughout his career to revivify and illustrate every other inheritance of the past. He sought to reanimate the Abbey with the living human interests with which through its long history it had been associated, and to make it the speaking memorial of all that had been great, noble, and famous in the life of the English nation. His 'Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey' achieved this object with extraordinary success, so far as a literary work alone could do it; but it was accomplished in even a greater degree by his personal influence. He became as it were the soul of the Abbey, and it lived and breathed by virtue of his presence in it. To an Englishman there could be hardly a greater intellectual treat, or a greater stimulus to patriotic feeling, than to accompany Dean Stanley through the Abbey, and listen to his ever fresh and ever vivid descriptions of the incidents of national life connected with its stones, its tombs, and its monuments. 'Now,' for instance, he would say, as his companions followed him from the tombs of the kings to Henry VII.'s Chapel, 'we pass from the middle ages to the time of the Reformation;' and it almost seemed, under the realistic touches of his descriptions, as if one were living again amidst the scenes and circumstances of past ages of our history, and emerging at each step from one to another. From the now buried stones which belonged to the original Abbey of Edward the Confessor, to the last statue or ornament added by himself, everything seemed to tell its tale of English life, to be hallowed by the past, and to transmit its heritage of noble memories to the care and the emulation of the present age. What he sometimes called his one piece of ritualism serves to illustrate a deeper and more solemn side to this veneration for the chief monument of the past life of England. By the side of the altar there are two statues: one, representing Moses, looks towards the corner of the Abbey which contains the tombs of Statesmen; the other, the statue of David, looks towards Poets' Corner. The association thus suggested is a worthy reminiscence of the spirit in which his master Arnold, and his friend Frederick Maurice, loved to unite the history of their own country with that of the most sacred past, and to see in the narratives of the Bible, even more than in those of Greece or Rome, the principles which had ever been working in the life of England. Westminster Abbey embodied to Dean Stanley in an almost ideal degree that conception of the intimate union of sacred with secular realities, which he was ever striving to promote.

This brief review of his principal labours may at least suffice
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to illustrate the unity which pervaded his career, and which bound together his earliest and his latest years in the same bond of loyal devotion to the influence which first inspired him. It was one of the most touching and gracious features of his life, that it was thus animated throughout by the impulses he derived in boyhood and youth from his father's generous character and his schoolmaster's noble energy, and that, in the best of all senses, the child was thus father of the man. Perhaps, as we shall have occasion afterwards to observe, this was in some measure the source of his weakness as well as of his strength. Perhaps it led to his viewing all subjects and approaching all questions too much from one point of view, and with too exclusive a reference to one standard of judgment. But it is not merely for the purpose of endeavouring to pay some tribute to Dr. Stanley's character and work that we have thus noticed the unity of his career. It is also because such considerations throw great light upon the volume immediately before us, and lend to it a special interest. We are told in the Preface that the volume, 'though not pretending to completeness, forms a connected whole. The Essays touch on a variety of topics, and were written at long intervals of time, but they are united by the common bond which connects the institutions to which they relate.' They are united, however, by another bond—that of the common purpose which pervades them. Written, as the author says, at long intervals of time, they embody the main characteristics of his thought and of his literary labours throughout his career. We do not know that any of his works exhibits so clearly and comprehensively at once the wide range and the limitations, at once the strength and the weakness, of his mind. Within these pages he has concentrated, with admirable skill, the accumulated stores of his multifarious learning in the various fields of Christian antiquity. Nor is it his learning only which gives these essays their interest. He had travelled in almost every Christian country, as well as amidst all the scenes of sacred history; he had enjoyed unequalled advantages in the introductions with which he was furnished, or in the companions of his travel; and there were few aspects of Christian life and worship which he had not witnessed. He was as familiar with Coptic worship in Cairo, or with the worship of the Greek Church in Moscow and St. Petersburg, as with Roman Catholic, Anglican, or Nonconformist services. He was equally at home, or at least equally at ease, in either; and whatever the ceremonies around him, he viewed them with impartial interest. Mahometan worship and religion had been
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equally within the range of his observation, and in the company of the Prince of Wales he had enjoyed the rare privilege of admission to the Mosque at Hebron. In this respect he was perhaps the most cosmopolitan Christian who ever existed, and such a singular combination could only have been possible amidst the facilities of travel afforded by the present age, turned to account by his own rare gifts and opportunities. All this learning and experience he had for years been patiently bringing to bear, as opportunity offered, on the illustration of *Christian Institutions*, and on pointing the moral which his reflections suggested to him. The institutions of which he writes cover the greater part of the range of Christian worship and life. His successive chapters discuss Baptism, the Eucharist, Absolution, Ecclesiastical Vestments, the Basilica, the Clergy, the Pope, the Litany, the Roman Catacombs, the Creed of the Early Christians, the Council and Creed of Constantinople, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. Almost every chapter is full of picturesque descriptions of ancient scenes or foreign ceremonies, and brings out those strange likenesses in things different, and differences in things similar, in which the late Dean took so peculiar a delight. If, as has been said, wit consists in discovering unexpected resemblances, Dr. Stanley's mind was above all things witty. He surprises his reader with a sudden exhibition of the Pope in the garb and character of a Protestant, or of the Puritans in the character of sticklers for the observance of the Canons of the Nicene Council, in opposition to the innovations of Anglican bishops. The service in the Pope's private chapel is described as a relic of the barbaric simplicity of early Christian worship, and the vestments now deemed the most characteristic symbols of clerical functions are exhibited as evidences of the absence of any distinction in primitive times between laity and clergy. The object, and the laudable object, of all these surprises and disillusionings, of all this shaking of familiar notions and associations, is of course to eliminate the substance from the form, and to induce men to abandon their quarrels about shadows and to concentrate their attention upon realities. The degree in which this attempt has succeeded on the one hand and has failed on the other will appear, we hope, in some measure as we proceed. For the moment what we are concerned to point out is, that the general subject of this book, the circumstances of its composition, and the spirit which pervades it, give it the peculiar interest of presenting a kind of summary of the late Dean's views on the most important of the topics which had engaged his attention. Published in the last year of his life, it bears the aspect of his final testament as a Christian historian and

theologian, and appears to embody in itself the chief message which he desired to convey to his generation. The whole man seems to stand before us, uttering once for all, in his most characteristic manner, the thoughts by which he was chiefly animated.

There are two characteristics which can hardly fail to give these Essays an enduring charm. The first is the wealth of historical illustration to which we have already alluded. The second is the exquisite sympathy with the more gentle, affectionate, and innocent aspect of human nature, which overflows from the fresh springs of the writer's heart. In the former of these respects alone, the book ought to do invaluable service. The present century has been distinguished for the flood of light which has been thrown on the past, and on early Christian antiquities among others. The scholars of the two previous centuries were, indeed, the laborious pioneers of these discoveries; and in some respects later writers have but elucidated and established the results of their researches. But a work like the '*Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*,' edited by Dr. Smith and Archdeacon Cheetham, to which reference is made in the Dean's pages, illustrates the extent to which our knowledge of the early life of the Church has been extended, corrected, and concentrated. In works of this kind published at home, and in similar publications abroad, the curious reader may find all the information he can desire about the *Christian Institutions* of the first few centuries. But from the mere size of such works, no less than from the method and style essential to their purpose, they cannot well be read by the public at large. The Dean of Westminster has rendered ordinary readers the great service of popularizing these learned researches, and of describing, in a single interesting volume, the more important scenes and circumstances of early Christian life. These descriptions have a value quite independent of the conclusions which may be drawn from them. In many respects the conclusions deduced by the Dean seem to us strangely partial and narrow. But it cannot fail to be of universal interest, and to exercise a wide and lasting influence upon religious thought and feeling, that general English readers, clergymen and laymen alike, should have thus brought vividly before them the realities, even if only the external realities, of early Christian history. It must needs loosen prejudices and dissipate exaggerated apprehensions, for men to be enabled to see and judge, with their own eyes as it were, what changes have passed over Christian ceremonial since early times, and how much of what is sometimes contended for, as of vital necessity to the very existence of a true Church, was wholly

wholly absent from the Church of the first ages. As the Dean says at the conclusion of his Preface, 'Two conclusions are obvious. First, that which existed in the early ages of the Church cannot be deemed incompatible with its essence in later ages. Secondly, that which did not exist in primitive times cannot be deemed indispensable to the essence of the Church, either late or early.' This is a book which, by virtue of its intrinsic interest, will be read, and read widely; and by the indirect influence of which we are speaking, it is calculated to produce a very great effect upon ecclesiastical controversy, particularly so far as it will affect the minds of the laity. It will, we trust, tend to put many of those controversies on their true level; to show that they are disputes, not about what is essential, but about what is expedient, and that there is no justification for the stiff and rigid views which partizans are apt to maintain, on either one side or the other, of disputed ceremonies. That Christian Institutions, and the Sacraments in particular, possess a substance infinitely deeper than the Dean seemed able to discern in them, we fully believe. But we believe also not less that he will have rendered invaluable service by making the English public familiar with the elastic variety of the ceremonial by which they have been from time to time surrounded.

Take, for instance, a passage in which Dr. Stanley's power of vivid description is well illustrated (pp. 4, 5):—

'Let us conceive ourselves present at those extraordinary scenes, to which no existing ritual of any European Church offers any likeness. There was, as a general rule, but one baptistery in each city, and such baptisteries were apart from the churches. There was but one time of the year when the rite was administered—namely, between Easter and Pentecost. There was but one personage who could administer it—the presiding officer of the community, the Bishop, as the chief Presbyter was called after the first century. There was but one hour for the ceremony; it was midnight. The torches flared through the dark hall as the troops of converts flocked in. The baptistery consisted of an inner and an outer chamber. In the outer chamber stood the candidates for baptism stripped to their shirts, and, turning to the West as the region of sunset, they stretched forth their hands through the dimly-lit chamber, as in a defiant attitude towards the Evil Spirit of darkness, and speaking to him by name, said: "I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy works, and all thy pomp, and all thy service." Then they turned, like a regiment, facing right round to the East, and repeated, in a form, more or less long, the belief in the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, which has grown up into the so-called Apostles' Creed in the West, and the so-called Nicene Creed in the East. They then vanced into the inner chamber. Before them yawned the deep

pool or reservoir; and standing by the deacon, or the deaconess, as the case might be, to arrange that all should be done with decency. The whole troop undressed completely, as if for a bath, and stood up, naked, before the Bishop, who put to each the questions, to which the answer was returned in a loud and distinct voice, as of those who knew what they had undertaken. They then plunged into the water. Both before and after the immersion their bare limbs were rubbed with oil from head to foot; they were then clothed in white gowns, and received, as token of the kindly feeling of their new brotherhood, the kiss of peace, and a taste of honey and milk; and they expressed their new faith by using for the first time the Lord's Prayer.

'These are the outer forms of which, in the Western Churches, almost every particular is altered even in the most material points. Immersion has become the exception and not the rule. Adult baptism, as well as immersion, exists only among the Baptists. The dramatic action of the scene is lost. The anointing, like the bath, is reduced to a few drops of oil in the Roman Church, and in the Protestant Churches has entirely disappeared. What once could only be administered by Bishops is now administered by every clergyman, and throughout the Roman Church by laymen and even by women.'

The Dean proceeds to ask, 'What is the residue of the meaning of Baptism which has survived, and what may we learn from it, and from the changes through which it has passed?' His answer to this question, though in great part true as far as it goes, and conveying exhortations of rare beauty and force, is at the same time strangely and lamentably incomplete. He dwells with all his winning earnestness on the manner in which Baptism typifies the cleanliness and purity required by the Christian religion, on the total change of character and life which the plunge into the water implied, and on the manner in which, by means of this *sacramentum*, 'converts bound themselves by a great oath to follow their Divine Commander wherever He led them.' Nothing can be more effective than his exposure of the manner in which 'the constant opinion of the ancients,' as Wall describes it, of 'the unconditional efficacy and necessity of Baptism' for the salvation even of infants, 'has been happily exchanged for a constant opinion of the moderns' in favour of a more moderate and reasonable view of the obligation of the ordinance. Equally vivid, and especially beautiful, are the comments he makes on the practical supersession of adult baptism by infant baptism. Such statements indeed as that Infant Baptism is a special sense 'the glorification of children' may occasion misunderstanding, and certainly need qualification. But it is impossible to be very critical in the presence of such passages as the following (p. 26):—

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‘When we see what a child is—how helpless, how trusting, how hopeful—the most hardened of men must be softened by its presence, and feel the reverence due to its tender conscience as to its tender limbs. When we remember that before their innocent faces the demons of selfishness, and impurity, and worldliness, and uncharitableness are put to flight; when we hope that for their innocent souls there is a place in a better world, though they are ignorant of those theological problems which rend their elders asunder, this may possibly teach us that it is not “before all things necessary” to know the differences which divide the Churches of the East or West, or the Churches of the North or South. When we think of the sweet repose of a child as it lies in the arms of its nurse, or its pastor at the font, it may recal to us the true attitude of humble trust and confidence which most befits the human soul, whether of saint or philosopher, “Like as a weaned child on its mother’s breast, my soul is even as a weaned child.” . . . The baptism of an infant, as the birth of an infant, would be nothing were it not that it includes within it the hope and the assurance of all that is to follow after. In those feeble cries, in those unconscious movements, there is the first stirring of the giant within—the first dawn of that reasonable soul which will never die, the first budding of

“The seminal form which in the deeps
Of that little chaos sleeps.”’

There is, indeed, one permanent element in baptism—the most permanent and most important of all, as the majority not only of Churchmen but of Christians regard it—on which, strange to say, the Dean omits to dwell. Of the promise it has always been held to convey on the part of the divine Lord who instituted it, of the pledge it affords of the gift of His gracious spiritual influences—in a word, of any other than the natural influences of the Sacrament—the Dean does not speak, and the omission is characteristic of his whole treatment of *Christian Institutions*. He is ever eloquent and admirable in the manner in which he brings out the feelings which they embody, or which they are fitted to evoke, on the part of man; but he is all but silent on the influences they bespeak and exert on the part of Heaven. There is a good as well as an erroneous side in this tendency, and before we conclude we will endeavour to do it justice. For the moment, what we are concerned to point out is the instructive force and clearness with which the Dean illustrates the variability of all the external forms of baptism, with the exception of the sacred words around which they are centred and the elementary sign to which those words are attached, and at the same time the deep human feelings to which, in whatever form, the ceremony appeals. Certainly, it would excite strange suspicions and alarms if a clergyman in
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the present day were to enact such scenes as are depicted in the Dean's account of baptism in the Early Church; and on the other hand there can be no doubt of the justice of his observation, that 'the change from immersion to sprinkling has set aside the most of the Apostolic expressions regarding Baptism, and has altered the very meaning of the word.' The Dean, indeed, exaggerates the case, when he says that the rite of 'immersion was decided by the usage of the whole ancient Church to be essential to the Sacrament of Baptism.' That the practice of affusion was sometimes observed is conclusively proved by representations of the ceremony which have been preserved to us, such as one from the cemetery of Calixtus reproduced at p. 168 of the 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.' Still the change to the mere reminiscence of immersion, which is all but universal in the present day, is extremely striking, and sustains substantially the lesson which the Dean deduces from it.

His chapters on the Eucharist are even more interesting, though also open in a still greater degree to the criticism we have made upon his omissions in respect to the Sacrament of Baptism. He depicts with touching vividness the circumstances of the original Paschal meal at which the Lord's Supper was instituted, and describes with great beauty of expression, though again with grievous incompleteness, some of the feelings which its commemoration must ever arouse. As we are reluctant to deal controversially with the last work of one who has so lately been taken from us, and are rather desirous of calling attention to its excellences than its defects, we shall content ourselves, on this solemn subject, with expressing a profound regret that the Dean should betray so complete a disregard of the most vital element in this ordinance—the Saviour's direct institution of it, and His express command to Christians to continue it—as even to contemplate the possibility of the language which refers to His Body and His Blood being 'dispensed with' (p. 129). He expresses an apprehension lest 'the materialism of the ecclesiastical sacristy, keeping pace with the materialism of the philosophic school, may so undermine the spiritual element of this—almost the only external ordinance of Christianity—as to endanger the ordinance itself.' It is as though he conceived the vitality of the ordinance to be dependent upon the feelings and opinions of Christians rather than upon their obedience to their Master. 'That so fragile an ordinance,' he says, 'should have survived so many shocks, so many superstitions, so many centuries, is in itself a proof of the immense vitality of the religion which it represents—of the prophetic insight of its Founder.' It is strange that in such a connection it should not have occurred

occurred to the Dean to speak of the Divine Authority of its Founder.

But we prefer passing from these reluctant criticisms to the interesting illustrations which the Dean accumulates of the changes which, since primitive times, have passed over the ceremonial observances of the Lord's Supper. We need not dwell on the well-known separation of the Eucharist itself from the Agape, or Love-feast, with which it was at first connected; but it may be well to observe that the solemn ceremony itself, and the common meal with which it was combined, were from the first distinguished far more clearly than the Dean's description would imply. Of more general interest are the subsequent variations in the mode of celebration. Not the least remarkable of these is the change in practice and feeling with respect to the time of day at which the sacred feast is celebrated. In its institution, and in the first age of its observance, it was an evening meal. The name of the Lord's Supper, which it still bears, is a standing memorial of this fact, and the Dean is probably right in saying that one trace of this usage is the employment of candles, lighted or unlighted. The practice of celebrating the Communion in the evening lingered, he says, until the fifth century in Egypt; but as a general rule the time was changed in the second century to an early hour in the morning, perhaps to avoid possible scandals. It is less surprising that the change should have been made, than that a partial reversion to the old practice, for the sake of the obvious convenience of large classes of the community, should in our own day excite such vehement opposition among many High Churchmen. According to the Dean, indeed, it is said that the practice of 'Evening communions' in the Church of England was originated by the High Church party; but at all events the custom of the first age of the Church in this matter is sufficient to show that the hour of celebration can never involve any other questions than those of Church order and expediency. The next point with which the Dean deals is the posture of the guests or recipients. There are four possible positions—kneeling, standing, sitting, or recumbent; and of these four no single Church practises that which certainly was the original one. There can be no question that, in the institution of the Supper, our Lord and His Apostles were reclining on couches. This almost necessarily passed away with the general custom of reclining at meals, and the posture which, as coming nearest to it in spirit, might have been expected to take its place, is that of sitting. This, however, has only been observed in two instances,

instances, which the Dean shows a particular pleasure in bringing into juxtaposition. The instances are those of the Presbyterians (he might have said of Nonconformists in general) and of the Pope. The Presbyterian Churches adopted this posture by way of a return to the old practice; and the Pope seems to have inherited it from ancient times and to have observed it for many centuries. It is a very curious point that it is disputed whether he does so now; and there seems good reason for believing that about the fifteenth century he exchanged the posture for one half sitting, half standing, just as in the procession of Corpus Christi he adopts a posture in which he seems to kneel, but really sits. The note in which the Dean discusses this obscure question is one of the most curious passages in the book, and the Dean is happily able to conclude the discussion by the discovery of another parallel between Popery and Presbyterianism. The Pope, it seems, has been led to modify his original and proper position of sitting by an approach to standing. The Presbyterians, on the other hand, are described as induced by their feelings of reverence to combine a certain degree of flexion of the body with their prescribed attitude of sitting, and the result is that their posture and that of the Pope have approximated to one another. The concluding passage is too characteristic of the Dean's style not to be quoted. He says (p. 231):—

‘This endeavour to combine a prescribed attitude either with convenience or with a change of sentiment is not uncommon. One parallel instance has been often adduced in the case of the Popes themselves. In the great procession on Corpus Christi day, when the Pope is carried in a palanquin round the Piazza of St. Peter, it is generally believed that, whilst he appears to be in a kneeling attitude, the cushions and furniture of the palanquin are so arranged as to enable him to bear the fatigue of the ceremony by sitting, whilst to the spectators he appears to be kneeling. Another parallel is to be found from another point of view, in one of the few other instances in which the posture of sitting has been retained, or rather adopted, namely, in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. There the attitude of sitting was rigidly prescribed. But if we may trust an account of the Scottish sacrament, believed to be as accurate as it is poetic, the posture of the devout Presbyterian peasant as nearly as possible corresponds to that which Rocca, Gerbet, and Benedict XIV. give of the Pope's present attitude—“*innixus*,” “*incurvus inclinatio corpore*,” “*à demi assis*,” “une profonde inclination de corps:”—

“There they sit
 In reverence meet;
 Many an eye to heaven is lifted,
 Meek and very lowly.
 Souls bowed down with reverent fear.

Heavy-headed

Hoary-headed elders moving,
Bear the hallowed bread and wine,
While devoutly still the people
Low in prayer bow the head." *

It is interesting to observe this ancient usage becoming small by degrees and beautifully less, yet still not entirely extinguished: reduced from recumbency to sitting, from the sitting of all to the sitting of a single person, from the sitting of a single person to the doubtful reminiscence of his sitting, by a posture half sitting, half standing.

'The compromise of the Pope's actual posture is a characteristic specimen of that "singular dexterity" which Benedict XIV. attributes to his Master of the Ceremonies, and which has so often marked the proceedings of the Roman Court. To have devised a posture by which, as on the festival of Corpus Christi, the Pope can at once sit and kneel; or—as in the cases mentioned by Pope Benedict XIV.—an arrangement by which the Pope, whilst sitting, "can stretch his legs in the vacant space under the altar;" or, as in the case we have been considering, a position of standing so as to give the appearance of sitting, and sitting so as to give the appearance of standing—is a minute example of the subtle genius of the institution of the Papacy. As the practice itself is a straw, indicating the movement of primitive antiquity, so the modern compromise is a straw, indicating the movement of the Roman Church in later times.'

There is another remarkable fact connected with the posture of standing. It was the usual posture for prayer in the East, the hands being outstretched and open, as in Mussulman devotions at the present day, and as is seen in the representations in the Catacombs. This standing posture still prevails throughout the East; but all traces of it have disappeared throughout the Western Church except—as the Dean again has the pleasure of putting the case—'in the attitude of the officiating minister at the Eucharist, and in the worship of the Presbyterian Churches always.' What renders the general abandonment of this posture the more remarkable is that, as he observes, it was enjoined by the only Canon of the Council of Nice which related to public worship. This Canon prescribed, that on every Sunday, and on every day between Easter and Pentecost, kneeling should be forbidden and standing enjoined. Once more the Dean delights to notice a curious instance of cross purposes in the contest between the Church and the Puritans in the 17th century, on the question whether kneeling at the Sacrament should be enforced. It was the point, says

* From 'Kilmahoe; and other Poems.' By J. C. Shairp.

the Dean, on which the Church most passionately insisted, and which the Puritans most passionately resisted (p. 54):—

'The Church party in this were resisting the usage of ancient Catholic Christendom, and disobeying the Canon of the First Œcumenical Council, to which they professed the most complete adhesion. The Puritans, who rejected the authority of either, were in the most entire conformity with both.'

Another striking change in the observances attached to this ordinance is the omission of the *kiss of peace*. Several passages in the New Testament bear witness to the observance of this practice in Apostolic times, and it prevailed for many centuries afterwards. The article on the subject in the 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities' says that 'the holy kiss originally formed an element of every act of Christian worship. No sacrament, or sacramental function, was deemed complete in its absence.' Even common prayer, without the kiss, was considered to lack something essential to its true character. Tertullian calls it the seal of prayer, and asks, 'What prayer is complete from which the holy kiss is divorced? What kind of sacrifice is that from which men depart without the peace?'—that is, the kiss of peace. At first it was given promiscuously, but rules were gradually introduced prescribing that the men should kiss only the men, and the women the women. This custom, according to the same authority, seems to have been maintained in the Western Church till after the 13th century. But not long afterwards we read of the introduction of a mechanical substitute for the kiss. A small wooden tablet, or metal plate, bearing a representation of the Crucifixion, after being kissed by the priest and deacon, was handed by the latter to the communicants, who all kissed it. The Dean considers that there is a trace of the old custom in the English service in the final benediction, which begins with the words 'The peace of God.' In the Eastern churches it is still in some measure preserved. In the Armenian Church the people simply bow to one another. In the Russian Church, according to the Dean, the clergy kiss each other during the recital of the Nicene Creed, 'to show that charity and orthodoxy should always go together, not, as is too often the case, parted asunder.' But in the Coptic Church, he says, the old custom still remains in full force. 'Travellers now living'—he himself perhaps among them—'have had their faces stroked and been kissed by the Coptic priest, in the cathedral at Cairo, whilst at the same moment everybody else was kissing everybody throughout the church.' Certainly, as he adds, if any primitive Christians had been told that the time would come when this
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sign of Christian brotherhood would be almost proscribed in Christian churches, they would have thought that it must be the result of 'unprecedented persecution, or unprecedented unbelief.' When, indeed, the Dean proceeds to say, that 'it is impossible to imagine the omission of any act more sacred, more significant, more necessary (according to the view which then prevailed) to the edification of the service,' he is guilty of a characteristic piece of exaggeration. The kiss forms no part of the original institution. But certainly there is no point of ceremonial which has been contended for in our days, or at the time of the Reformation, which can be compared with the kiss of peace, either in the authority derived from primitive and long-continued practice, or even in its natural and affecting significance. That it can have been completely set aside, without any sense of loss or any remonstrance, is certainly a striking warning against attaching vital importance to any observances which are not actually parts of divinely appointed ceremonial.

The Dean's account of the changes which have passed over the Liturgies—or the forms of prayer used in the celebration of the Holy Communion—cannot, with advantage, be followed in detail without more criticism than would here be practicable. It is true that the Lord's Prayer from the first occupied a very prominent place in the prayers of Consecration; but when the Dean says it is at least probable that in the earliest times the Prayer of Consecration consisted of nothing else than the Lord's Prayer, and that the Lord's Prayer was not only the one fixed formula, but 'in fact the whole Liturgy properly so called,' he is in conflict with high authorities.* But the variations in its use are of great interest. In the East the whole congregation joined in the Lord's Prayer, thus taking part in the consecration; and accordingly, in the Coptic Church, the Lord's Prayer is the only part of the service which is recited in Arabic—the vulgar tongue. In the Russian Church it is sung by the choir; and the Dean doubtless refers to his own experience when he says that 'of all the impressive effects produced by the magnificent swell of human voices in the Imperial Chapel of the Winter Palace at St. Petersburg, none is greater than the recitation of the Lord's Prayer by the choir without while the consecration goes forward within.' But for the most part the Lord's Prayer has in some measure lost its old place of pre-eminence in the Liturgies. In the Roman Church, as well as in the Eastern, it now follows the Prayer of Consecration. In one Liturgy—the Clementine—it is omitted altogether. In the

* See 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities,' s. vv. Liturgy and Lord's Prayer.
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first English Liturgy of Edward VI. it is introduced after the Prayer of Consecration, but before the administration. In our present Liturgy, although, as the Dean thinks, to give it more dignity, it is twice repeated, it is separated altogether from the Consecration Prayer. But a more striking variation still, in this the most sacred and solemn part of Christian worship, is presented by the difference between East and West in the actual means of consecration. In the Eastern churches, to quote from the 'Dictionary of Antiquities' (*s. v.* Consecration), the Holy Spirit is invoked, after the recitation of the words of institution, to descend upon the elements and make them the Body and Blood of Christ; and this invocation is commonly thought to imply that consecration would be imperfect without it. But in the Western churches the invocation of the Holy Spirit at this part of the Liturgy is generally wanting; and the whole consecrating virtue is attributed by Western Ritualists to the recitation of the words of institution, accompanied by the fitting gestures. In comparison with such a difference as this, how insignificant do the divergences of gesture, posture, and dress appear, over which such bitter passions and such unseemly struggles have arisen!

The real origin of the vestments which have been the subject of so much recent controversy is described by the Dean in a chapter which, with one exception, is the most entertaining in the volume, and in which our enjoyment of the Dean's peculiar gifts is not marred, as in some others, by a sense of his defects as a theologian. He describes, evidently with infinite amusement, the purely secular and common origin of the present official dress of the clergy, whether in the Anglican or in the Roman Church, and he enforces, with the liveliest illustration, the conclusion that 'the dress of the clergy had no distinct intention, symbolical, sacerdotal, sacrificial, or mystical,' but originated simply in 'the fashions common to the whole community of the Roman Empire during the three first centuries.' He begins by dressing up a lay figure at the time of the Christian era, and shows how his various garments have survived in clerical costume. His shirt, *camisia* or chemise, survives in two forms, the alb, so called from its being white, and the dalmatic, so called from Dalmatia, from whence this shape of it was derived—just as certain greatcoats, to quote the Dean's illustration, are now called Ulsters. This shirt, after the invasion of the Northern barbarians, used to be drawn over the fur coat, sheep skin or otter skin, the *pellisse* of the Northern nations; and hence, in the 12th century, arose the barbarous name of *superpellicium* or *surplice*, the 'over fur.' The present
Rector

Rector of St. George's-in-the-East, the Rev. Harry Jones, told an amusing story of the Dean which illustrates this point. He came to preach at St. George's one very cold day, wrapped in a fur coat, and Mr. Jones advised him to keep it on during the service. 'Yes,' said the Dean, 'I think I had better do so; and then my surplice will be a true *superpellicium*.' Another form of the same dress survives in the bishop's *rochet*, which is the little *rock* or coat worn by the mediæval bishops out of doors when they went out hunting. Similarly the *pall* of an archbishop is the relic of the Roman *toga* or *pallium*. It is not so certain as the Dean supposes that *cassock* is derived from *Caracalla*, 'a long overall, which Antoninus Bassianus brought from France, and whence he derived his name,' for it has also been traced to *kás*, skin or hide. But there can be no doubt that chasuble comes from *casula*, 'a slang name used by the Italian labourers for the *capote*, which they called "their little house," as "tile" is—or was a short time ago—used for "hat," and as coat is the same word as "cote" or "cottage";' nor that 'cope' is another form of overcoat—a sort of waterproof; or that the mitre was an ordinary headdress worn by women, and still, according to the Dean, to be seen in the museums of Russia as the cap or turban worn on festive occasions in ancient days by princes and nobles, and even to this day by the peasant women. The division into two points is, he says, 'only the mark of the crease which is the consequence of its having been, like an opera hat, folded and carried under the arm.' The stole, lastly, was a simple handkerchief for common uses. On State occasions such handkerchiefs were used as ribbons, streamers, or scarves, and were hence adopted by the deacons, who had little else to distinguish them. The Dean mentions a curious modern illustration of the way in which the use of such a slight symbol may arise. When Sir James Brooke first returned from Borneo, where the only sign of royalty was to hold a kerchief in the hand, he retained the practice in England.

The process by which these simple garments passed into official use is easily traced. First, the early Christian clergy and laity alike, when they came to their public assemblies, took care that their clothes, though the same as they usually wore, should be especially neat and clean. Next, it was natural that the colours and forms chosen should be of a grave and sober tint. Lastly came the process which may be easily followed in English society during the last two centuries, of common fashions becoming fixed in certain classes at particular moments, and of what was once common to all becoming peculiar to a few. Nothing could be happier than the combination of

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wit and curious historical detail in the following passage (pp. 158-9):—

'Take, for example, the wigs of Bishops. First there was the long flowing hair of the Cavaliers. Then, when this was cut short, came the long flowing wigs in their places. Then these were dropped, except by the learned professions. Then they were dropped by the lawyers, except in Court. Then the clergy laid them aside, with the exception of the Bishops. Then the Bishops laid them aside, with the exception of the Archbishops. Then the last Archbishop laid his wig aside, except on official occasions. And now even the Archbishop has dropped it. But it is easy to see that, had it been retained, it might have passed like the pall into the mystic symbol of the archiepiscopate, patriarchate, or we know not what. Bands again sprang from the broad white collars which fell over the shoulders of the higher and middle classes—whether Cavalier or Puritan—Cromwell and Bunyan, no less than Clarendon and Hammond. Then these were confined to the clergy; then reduced to a single white plait; then divided into two parts; then symbolized to mean the two tables of the law, the two sacraments, or the cloven tongues; then from a supposed connection with Puritanism, or from a sense of inconvenience, ceased to be worn, or worn only by the more old-fashioned of the clergy; so as to be regarded by the younger generation as a symbol of Puritan custom or doctrine. Just so, and with as much reason did the surplice in the Middle Ages, from its position as a frock or pinafore over the fur coat, come to be regarded as an emblem of imputed righteousness over the skins in which were clothed our first parents; just so did the turban or *mitra* when divided by its crease come to be regarded as the cloven tongue; just so did the handkerchief with which the Roman gentry wiped their faces come to be regarded in the fifth century as wings of angels, and in the seventh as the yoke of the Christian life. Just so have the ponchos and waterproofs of the Roman peasants and labourers come in the nineteenth century to be regarded as emblems of Sacrifice, Priesthood, Real Presence, communion with the universal Church, Christian or ecclesiastical virtues.'

This subject, indeed, affords the Dean the most legitimate opportunities for the good-humoured, but at the same time seriously-intentioned, satire which was so congenial to him. It may be abandoned to him without reserve and without compunction, and this essay ought to go a great way towards calming excitement on the subject of clerical vestments. Whether ardent Ritualists are capable of profiting by it may be doubtful. But we are quite sure that, as the facts which the Dean describes in so lively a manner become better known, it will be more and more difficult for Ritualistic enthusiasts to command any intelligent lay following.

But we must pass on to notice one more essay, in which the
Dean's

Dean's peculiar powers of description are at their best, and which, while not less entertaining than the essay on Ecclesiastical Vestments, deals with a more important subject. This is the essay on the Pope. It commences with the observation that 'three hundred years ago there were three official personages of supreme historical interest, of whom one is gone, and two survive, though in a reduced and enfeebled form.' These three were the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, the Pope of Rome, and the Sultan of Constantinople. There could not be a more characteristic instance of the Dean's method. By thus classing the Pope with the Emperor and the Sultan, he has at once fixed the point of view from which that sacred personage is to be regarded, and has stamped upon his whole position the character of combined historical survivalism and of decadence. He proceeds to consider the Pope in six aspects—as the representative of the customs of Christian antiquity; as the representative of the ancient Roman Empire; as an Italian Bishop and Italian Prince; as the 'Pope' or chief oracle of Christendom; as the head of the ecclesiastical profession; as 'an element in the future arrangements of Christendom.' In the first of these capacities the Dean describes him as 'a perfect museum of ecclesiastical curiosities—a mass, if we wish so to regard him, of latent primitive Protestantism,' and the description is abundantly justified. The Dean describes vividly, from his own recollection, the spectacle presented of the public entrance of the Pope into one of the Roman churches, at the time when such processions were allowed by ecclesiastical authority (p. 201):—

'Borne aloft above the surface of the crowd—seen from head to foot—the peacock fans waving behind him—the movement of the hand alone indicating that it is a living person and not a waxen figure—he completely represented the identification of the person with the institution; he gave the impression that there alone was an office which carried the mind back to the times, as Lord Macaulay says, when tigers and camelopards bounded in the Flavian amphitheatre.'

The Dean proceeds to analyse this great personage, beginning with his ordinary dress. He always appears in a white gown; and this white frock is simply the white frock of the early Christians. It is neither the surplice of the Church of England, nor the 'white linen robe' of the Jewish priest, but the common classical dress of all ranks in Roman society. The Pope may thus be regarded as preserving the memory of an age when there was no visible distinction between the clergy and the laity; and he at all events illustrates what we have already noticed, the manner in which

which all ecclesiastical costumes originated in the common dress of the time. His posture at the Holy Communion has already been mentioned; and it similarly recalls, in whole or in part, the posture of the Apostles and early Christians. Another singular reminiscence of the same kind is afforded by the fact that, when the Pope celebrates Mass in his own Cathedral of St. John Lateran, he celebrates it, not on a structure of stone or marble, but on a wooden plank, said to be part of the table on which St. Peter, in the house of Pudens, consecrated the first communion in Rome. This primitive wooden table has been preserved throughout the East, and, as is well known, was restored at the Reformation in most Protestant churches, including the Church of England; and it is extremely curious that we should be indebted to the Popes for furnishing an indisputable proof of its antiquity and catholicity. The Dean, after his wont, turns the fact into a weapon with a double edge. Some persons, he says, have been taught to regard stone altars as identical with Popery; some to regard them as necessary for Christian worship. The Pope, by this usage of the wooden table, equally contradicts both. 'The real change,' he adds, 'from wood to stone was occasioned in the first instance, not by the substitution of the idea of an altar for a table, but by the substitution of a tomb, containing the relics of a martyr, for both altar and table.'

Once more, when the Pope celebrates Mass, he stands, not with his back to the people, nor at the north end of the table, but behind it, with his back to the wall, and facing the congregation. This position, as the Dean observes, is the very reverse of that of the Roman Catholic clergy generally, and of those who would wish especially to imitate them; and he does not omit to add that 'it much more nearly resembles the position of Presbyterian and Nonconformist ministers at the time of the Holy Communion, when they stand at one side of the table, facing the congregation, who are on the other side.' Again, on all occasions when the Pope himself officiates, there is a total absence of instrumental music. This, as we have already said, the Dean characteristically describes as 'a continuation of the barbaric simplicity of the early Christian service.' But here, too, the Dean has an opportunity of indulging his favourite contrast or parallel. He observes that there are two branches only of the Church, outside the Pope's Chapel, in which this rule is still observed—namely, the Eastern churches and some of the Presbyterian churches of Scotland. Alike at Moscow and at Glasgow, there are still places 'where the sound of an organ would be regarded as a blast from the Seven Hills.' The Pope,
in

in short, is on this point a Greek and a Presbyterian. He 'is at one with those who have thrown off his allegiance, and protests against the practice of those who have accepted it.' The last instance which the Dean mentions of the Pope's witness to the simple origin of ecclesiastical symbols is more doubtful. Alone of all great ecclesiastics of his Church, he has no crosier, except a small temporary silver one at ordinations. The simple reason, says the Dean, is that, being borne aloft on the shoulders of his guards, he has no occasion for a walking-stick. The crosier, according to the Dean, following some high authorities, had in its origin not even the significance of the crook of the pastor over his flock. It was simply the walking-stick or staff of the old man. But in the opinion of Mosheim the pastoral staff, which closely resembles the *lituus* borne by the augurs of antiquity, may have been one of those symbols which the early Christians felt at liberty to adopt from paganism, as being accepted tokens of piety and reverence. Nor, if this opinion be rejected, is it by any means certain that the shepherd's crook was not adopted in order to symbolize the pastoral office of the clergy.

Passing to the Pope's character as a successor of the Roman emperors, the Dean justifies the saying of Hobbes, that 'the Pope is the ghost of the deceased Roman empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof.' Thus his proper see and cathedral is the Basilica of St. John 'in the Lateran;' that is, in the Lateran Palace, 'which was the real and only bequest of Constantine to the bishops of Rome.' The chair of state in which he is borne aloft is the ancient palanquin of the Roman nobles or princes. The red slippers which he wears are the red shoes of the Roman emperor. 'The kiss which the faithful imprint on those shoes, is the descendant of the kiss first imprinted on the foot of the Emperor Caligula, who borrowed it from Persia.' The fans which go behind the Pope are also borrowed from the Court of Persia, being the punkahs of the Eastern emperors. Strangest of all, his highest ecclesiastical title is derived from the Roman emperors. The Pope is not called *Summus Sacerdos*, as he would be if his designation were the Latin form of that of the Jewish High Priest. He is *Pontifex Maximus*—the title of the office held by Julius Cæsar, and in virtue of which the Julian Calendar was introduced by him. From him it descended, says the Dean, to the emperors, his successors, and from them to the Popes. There is an obelisk in the Monte Citorio, on one side of which is the original dedication of it by Augustus Cæsar, 'Pontifex Maximus,' to the Sun; on the other side, by Pius VI., *Pontifex Maximus*, to our Lord. A more picturesque illustration

tion of this fact than the following it would be difficult to conceive (p. 208):—

'When Bishop Dupanloup, in a pamphlet on "L'Athéisme et le Péril Social," described the desertion of the Holy Father by the late Emperor of France, it was more appropriate than he thought when he said, "The Grand Pontiff covers his face with his mantle, and says *et tu fili*." It was a grand Pontiff who so covered his face, and who so exclaimed: but that Pontiff was Julius Caesar, to whose office the Pope has directly succeeded.'

We shall only mention one other curious fact from this most curious chapter. It would appear that, by the theory of the Roman Church itself, it is not as Bishop of Rome that the Pope is supposed to acquire the religious sovereignty of the world. He becomes Pope by the election of the Cardinals, and for this purpose he need not be a clergyman at all. 'He may, at the time of his election, be a layman, and, if duly elected, he may as a layman exercise, not, indeed, the functions of a bishop, but the most significant functions which belong to a Pope.' The episcopal consecration must, indeed, follow as soon as is convenient. But the Pope, once elected, is in perfect possession of the headship of the Roman Catholic Church, even although it should so happen that he were never consecrated. In point of fact, three Popes have occupied the chair of St. Peter as laymen. One of these, Adrian V., in 1276, reigned only for twenty-nine days, and died without taking Holy Orders. Yet within that time he had promulgated decrees modifying the whole system of Papal elections, and these decrees have by his successors been held to be invested with all the sacredness of pontifical utterances.

The Dean's view of the possible action of the Pope, 'as an element in the future' of Christendom, is so admirably expressed by himself, that we cannot but quote it in full (pp. 224-5):—

'It is always within the bounds of hope, that a single individual, fully equal to the emergency, who should by chance or Providence find himself in that (or any like) exalted seat, might work wonders—wonders which, humanly speaking, could not be worked, even by a man of equal powers, in a situation less commanding. There is a mediæval tale which has even some foundation in fact, that a certain Pope was once accused before a General Council on a charge of heresy. He was condemned to be burned; but it was found that the sentence could not be legally carried into execution but with the consent of the Pope himself. The assembled Fathers went to the Pope—*venerunt ad Papam*—and presented their humble petition—*et dixerunt, O Papa, judica te cremari*; and the Pope was moved to pity for the inextricable dilemma in which the Fathers were placed. He consented to their prayer. He pronounced judgment on himself—*et dixit*,

dixit, judico me cremari; and his sentence was carried into effect—*et crematus est*—and then in reverential gratitude for so heroic an act of self-denial, he was canonized—*et postea veneratus pro sancto*. Such, although with a more cheerful issue, might be the solution of the entanglement of the Church by some future Pope. We have but to imagine a man of ordinary courage, common sense, honesty, and discernment—a man who should have the grace to perceive that the highest honour which he could confer on the highest seat in the Christian hierarchy, and the highest service he could render to the Christian religion, would be from that lofty eminence to speak out to the whole world the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Such an one, regarding only the facts of history, but in the plenitude of authority which he would have inherited, and “speaking *ex cathedra* in discharge of his office of pastor and doctor of all Christians,” might solemnly pronounce that he, his predecessors, and his successors, were fallible, personally and officially, and might err, as they have erred again and again, both in faith and morals. By so doing, he would not have contradicted the decree of infallibility, more than that decree contradicts the decrees of previous councils and the declarations of previous Popes. By so doing he would incur insult, obloquy, perhaps death. But, like the legendary Pope of whom we have spoken, he would have deserved the crown of sanctity, for he would have shown that quality which above all others belongs to saints in the true sense of the word. He would have risen above the temptations of his situation, his order, his office; he would have relieved the Catholic Church from that which its truest friends feel to be an intolerable burden, and restored it to light and freedom.’

We trust we have given sufficient illustrations of the charm of this fascinating book to induce many of our readers to turn to its pages themselves; and we could not well discuss it much further without entering into theological discussions, in which we should find ourselves in an attitude of opposition to the Dean, which at this moment we desire to avoid. Essays like those on the Eucharistic Sacrifice, the Real Presence, the Body and Blood of Christ, Absolution, or the Creed of the Early Christians, though containing many passages of the greatest beauty in reference to the purely natural aspect of those great realities, exhibit at the same time, too often in a painful degree, the negative side of the Dean's thought and teaching on such subjects. But for the pure and ardent insight with which he discerned many of the nobler aspects of human nature, and with which he appreciated those elements in Christian truth which represented them and corresponded to them, no acknowledgment can be too warm and grateful. In itself, it was an invaluable service to the Church in the present day to exhibit the deep affinities between Christian institutions and truths on the one side, and the deep instincts of a noble and

pure morality on the other. No greater danger can befall a Church, than that its dogmatic truths should be separated in thought from the moral ground on which they live and breathe; and the Dean was constantly labouring to maintain the vital association of the two, however partial might sometimes be his apprehension of it. In his own way he did the same kind of service to our creed which Butler modestly claimed for himself—that of making men feel that ‘after all it is not so certain that there is nothing in it.’ He made it felt that the Church, to say the least, was the noblest institution for fostering morality by pure natural influences which had ever existed. The misfortune was that he could not be content with urging that the Church had at least this value, without also implying that it possessed no more, and that the more mysterious of the traditional doctrines of Christianity were at the best an accidental and unnecessary addition. It is one thing to dwell on the moral element involved in the participation of the sacred elements in the Communion, and it would be well if this aspect of the ordinance could be always enforced with the beautiful and fervent exhortation of the Dean. It is another thing to speak of this moral element as ‘the primary, it is hardly too much to say the sole, meaning of the words on which the institution of the Eucharist is founded.’ We are reminded of the splendid saying of Coleridge respecting the rationalistic view of Christianity—a saying which almost exactly illustrates the strength and the weakness of the Dean’s position. ‘All this means only morality! Ah! how far nearer to the truth would these men have been had they said that morality means all this?’

If we refer, however, in conclusion to one essay which, with the same defects, is in many respects very beautiful—that on the Roman Catacombs—we may perhaps discern in some measure one source of these characteristics in the late Dean’s mind, and may appreciate it with sincere sympathy. He describes the representations which are found preserved in the catacombs, which he happily designates as the Christian Pompeii, and he draws from them a picture of the spirit of early Christian life. The negative tone which we have had to notice is to be discerned in the contrast he thinks he detects, but which it would be easy to show to be unfounded, between the simple and cheerful spirit of ordinary Christian life in those times and the dogmatic and stern tendency of contemporary writers. In point of fact, the ‘love, joy, and peace’ of early Christian life have been repeatedly described by historians who have drawn their impressions of that life from no other sources than those which the Dean deems

so uncongenial to the true Christian spirit. But what we are chiefly concerned to observe is the Dean's interpretation of the two most common and characteristic emblems inscribed on the walls of the Catacombs. The one is the Good Shepherd, carrying the lamb in His arms; the other is the figure of the Vine and the Vintage. That which the Dean first of all discerns in these figures is in each case the joyful and cheerful side of Christianity. 'The popular conception,' he says, 'of our Lord in the early Church was of the strong and joyous youth, of eternal growth, of immortal grace.' It is only in the third place that he speaks of the figure of the shepherd as representing that aspect of Christian belief which teaches 'that the first object of the Christian community was not to repel, but to include, not to condemn, but to save.' Could there be anything more strange than that he should thus put in a secondary position that lesson of the parable of the Good Shepherd, which must have been primarily associated with it in the mind of every Christian who had heard the Gospels read? So, again, bearing in mind our Lord's parable of the Vine, and His use of the fruit of the vine in the supreme ordinance in which He established the New Testament, and assured His followers of communion with His Body and Blood, is it conceivable that this was not the first thought symbolized to the early Christians by that emblem? But the Dean thinks that the first idea it may be supposed to have represented is 'the joyous and festive character of the primitive Christian faith,' and he can only allow that 'there was, *perhaps*, a deeper thought in this figure.' This attraction, visible throughout this volume and in the Dean's whole tone, for the bright, cheerful, and graceful aspect of spiritual and moral truth, may perhaps be associated with one of the most charming characteristics of his own nature, and with some of the happiest circumstances of his position. Few men have ever lived from childhood to age in such an atmosphere of moral and natural sunshine. The brightness of his early home at Alderley; the pure and peaceful atmosphere in which his father and mother moved; a boyhood at school in which all his sympathies were developed to the full, and in which he met with neither check nor discouragement; the unbroken success of his manhood, darkened only towards the close by one sad cloud—all seemed to envelope the late Dean's life with a glow of sunshine, which obscured with its genial haze the moral darkness and sternness of too large a part of our existence, and which consequently veiled from his view that aspect of Christian truth which deals more especially with the sins and weaknesses of humanity. It was not so much his fault as his happiness, that the sphere

of his observation was thus confined. The bright visions of his childhood were prolonged to his last years, and it was out of the freshness of a childlike heart that he delighted in preaching to children, and that he dwelt on the beauties and capacities of Christian innocence, without realizing the bitter experiences and necessities of Christian guilt. But we part from such a character with feelings of gratitude and sympathy predominating over all others; and in reference both to himself and to his teaching, we can but echo the exquisite language in which he concludes this, his last volume, and which embodies the very spirit of his life:—

‘Love one another in spite of differences, in spite of faults, in spite of the excesses of one or the defects of another. Love one another, and make the best of one another, as He loved us, who, for the sake of saving what was good in the human soul, forgot, forgave, put out of sight what was bad—who saw and loved what was good even in the publican Zaccheus, even in the penitent Magdalen, even in the expiring malefactor, even in the heretical Samaritan, even in the Pharisee Nicodemus, even in the heathen soldier, even in the outcast Canaanite. Make the most of what there is good in institutions, in opinions, in communities, in individuals. It is very easy to do the reverse, to make the worst of what there is of evil, absurd, and erroneous. By so doing we shall have no difficulty in making estrangements more wide, and hatreds and strifes more abundant, and errors more extreme. It is very easy to fix our attention only on the weak points of those around us, to magnify them, to irritate them, to aggravate them; and by so doing, we can make the burden of life unendurable, and can destroy our own and others’ happiness and usefulness wherever we go. But this was not the new love wherewith we are to love one another. That love is universal, because in its spirit we overcome evil simply by doing good. We drive out error simply by telling the truth. We strive to look on both sides of the shield of truth. We strive to speak the truth in love, that is, without exaggeration or misrepresentation; concealing nothing, compromising nothing, but with the effort to understand each other, to discover the truth which lies at the bottom of the error; with the determination cordially to love whatever is loveable even in those in whom we cordially detest whatever is detestable. And in proportion as we endeavour to do this, there may be a hope that men will see that there are, after all, some true disciples of Christ left in the world, “because they have love one to another.”’

ART. IV.—1. *Parliamentary Blue Book*—‘*Lighting by Electricity*,’ Aug. 13, 1879.

2. *Exposition Internationale d’Electricité, Paris. Catalogue Général Officiel*, Aug. 11, 1881.

THE two books, the titles of which we have placed at the head of this article, offer one of the most instructive contrasts in the whole development of science.

In the first we have the opinions of all those who were best qualified to speak two years ago on the prospects of the electric light, and we find a universal consensus of opinion among all the scientific witnesses that, although the electric light was no doubt useful in certain special cases, and although it could be used conveniently where single lights of enormous power were required, yet that its economical subdivision was impossible, and that the application of it in numerous small lights for domestic purposes was the dream of the visionary and the enthusiast.

In the second, published exactly two years later, we no longer deal with opinions but with accomplished facts, and we see that the dream of the visionary and the enthusiast has been realized, and that what was impossible two years ago may be seen in daily action at the Exhibition now open in Paris.

The last two years have witnessed one of those extraordinary developments of scientific industry, of which the latest in any way parallel to the present one has been the development of the locomotive and the railway system. For the stimulus which has caused this development we may say unhesitatingly that we have to thank the genius, power and insight of Mr. Edison and of our own countryman Mr. Swan.

The present exhibition in Paris marks an era in the science of electricity. In addition to a great number of other electric inventions, there are collected there, literally, thousands of electric lamps and hundreds of electric generators, representing nearly every kind of electric lighting which has been attempted since Faraday discovered electro-magnetic induction in 1831. In the main building we find various kinds of those large electric lamps with which in one form or another we have been for some time familiar, while the picture galleries and reading-rooms attached are lighted by the subdivided lights of Mr. Edison and of Mr. Swan.

Let us, without going too much into details of machinery, examine the generators and lamps by which the electricity is produced and utilized.

The generators may, broadly speaking, be divided into two great

great classes, those giving 'direct' currents, or currents always flowing in the same direction, and those giving 'alternate' currents, or currents whose direction is being reversed many times in each second. Each kind has its special uses and advantages, and each is adapted to particular kinds of lamps.

The lamps, again, may be divided into two great classes. The first are the 'arc' lamps, where the circuit is broken between two carbon points, and an arc of light is formed between them, produced by the heating of the carbon poles and of the detached particles of carbon forming the arc. The second are the 'incandescent' lamps, where there is no discontinuity in the circuit, but where the light is produced by the heating to whiteness of a fine thread of carbon through which the current is passed. All incandescent lamps can be worked either by the direct or by the alternating current; but the arc lamps must again be subdivided into two classes, namely those which work with the direct, and those which work with the alternating current respectively.

The principle on which all electric generators are founded is the fact discovered by Faraday, that if a wire be moved near the poles of a magnet, so as to move across or 'cut' its 'lines of force,'* there will be a force produced tending to move electricity, or cause a current to flow from one end of the wire to the other. This tendency is called 'Electromotive force.' But as long as the two ends of the wire are separated, the electricity can no more flow round than water can flow round a coil of pipe closed at both ends, however strong an 'aqua-motive' force (to coin a word) is applied to it by a pump.

But if we either connect the two ends of our pipe one to the other, or if we cause them each to dip into the same or into two separate large ponds, we shall have a flow of water along the pipe as long as our pump supplying the 'aqua-motive' force continues to act; and further, if somewhere in the pipe we insert a turbine or other machine, workable by a flow of water, we shall have a motor capable of doing mechanical work; capable, for instance, of turning a grindstone, and causing sparks, giving heat and light, when steel is pressed upon it.

Here, then, we have expended 'energy' or 'mechanical work' at the pump, and have reproduced that work in the form of heat and light at the grindstone. The stream of water has given us a means of conveying energy from one place to another.

The case of electricity is precisely analogous. If we connect

* The directions of lines of force of a magnet may be seen by laying one under a sheet of paper and dusting iron filings on the top: they will then arrange themselves along the lines of force, which will be seen to radiate from the poles.

the ends of our moving wire by a conductor, so as to form a complete circuit, or if we connect them both to that great reservoir of electricity, the Earth, we shall find that a current of electricity will flow along the wire as long as the 'electro-motive force' continues; and further, if we insert in the circuit either an arc or an incandescent lamp, which, like the turbine, offers resistance to the flow, a greater or lesser part of the current will be converted into heat and light at the lamp. But it must be remembered that, when the current is flowing, the magnet resists the motion of the wire, and consequently energy or mechanical work must be expended to move it. This energy passes along the wire in the form of an electric current, and appears as heat and light at the lamp.

Thus we see that the electric wire, like the water-pipe, gives us a means of conveying energy from one place to another, that is, we expend energy in the form of steam power at the electric generator (all forms of which are machines for moving wires past magnets or magnets past wires), and reproduce it, perhaps two or three miles off, in the form of heat and light in the lamp.

Now it need hardly be said that to move one wire past an ordinary magnet at an ordinary speed would not produce a very powerful current. The problem of how to construct a generator which will convert the maximum amount of mechanical into electrical energy, with the minimum amount of waste, has occupied the attention of electricians for nearly forty years, and is now in a fair way of solution.

To obtain the greatest possible current, we require to obtain the greatest possible electro-motive force, for the current is proportional to the electro-motive force. We must also have the minimum of 'electrical resistance' in the moving wire, that is, we must have the latter as short and thick as possible. It must be remembered that the moving wire and the lamp, or lamps, each offer a certain 'resistance' to the current which passes through the circuit, and each convert a certain part of that current into heat, the proportion depending directly on the 'resistances' which they offer respectively. Now while all the heat produced in the lamp tends to increase the light, that produced in the moving wire is absolutely wasted, and only tends to injure the machine.

The first condition, then, for a successful electric generator is to have the ratio of the electric resistance of the moving wire to the electric resistance of the lamps as small as possible. The next condition is to obtain the maximum electro-motive force.

It has been proved by Faraday and others, that *the electro-motive force produced in a wire moving before a magnet is directly proportional*

proportional to the number of lines of force cut by it in a second. This number depends, first, on the strength of the magnet, for the stronger the magnet the more lines of force emanate from it; secondly, on the length of the wire, for the longer it is the more lines of force it will cut; thirdly, on the velocity with which it moves. In constructing a machine, we wish to make the number of lines cut as great as possible. We see that we can do this in three ways. We can make our magnets very powerful, we can cause the wire to move very rapidly, and, lastly, we can increase the length of our wire by having, instead of a single piece, a spiral or coil of a great number of convolutions, all moving together close to the magnet.

With regard to the first condition, powerful magnets may be obtained in two ways. In his excellently constructed machines, which may be seen in the Exhibition, M. de Meritens uses a large number of extremely powerful steel magnets, whose manufacture has been brought to such perfection that each will support about 150 lbs. weight. Most constructors, however, use 'electro-magnets,' which are made of soft iron, and have a quantity of insulated wire wound round them, and which become magnetic only when a current is sent through the wire. These magnets give far greater power than can be obtained by any steel magnets. When they are used for electric generators, the current required to 'excite' them is sometimes produced by means of a smaller generator with steel magnets, as in the early machines of Wilde, and sometimes, as in most modern machines, a portion of the current produced by the machine itself is sent round its own magnets.

The second condition for producing a great electro-motive force is great speed. But the only way to move the same wire again and again rapidly past the pole of a magnet is to attach the wire to the periphery of a wheel, which by means of a steam-engine can be made to revolve rapidly close to the magnet poles.

The speed with which the wire moves is measured by the number of revolutions per minute multiplied by the circumference of the wheel. It may consequently be increased by increasing either the diameter of the wheel, or the speed of revolution, or both. In our opinion, the diameter of the wheel should be the largest allowed by the limits of the size and power of machine required, and the speed of revolution should be increased almost indefinitely. We believe it should only be limited by the strength of the wheel to resist the centrifugal force tending to make it fly to pieces. It is probable that the machines of the immediate future will be made much stronger, and will revolve many times faster than any at present in use.

The third method of increasing the electro-motive force, namely,

namely, that of increasing the length of the moving wire, must only be employed with caution and within due limits, for, if we use many turns of thick wire, part of it will be so far removed from the magnets as to be little affected by them; and if we use thin wire, we increase the 'resistance,' and diminish the current which a given electro-motive force can produce.

The coil of wire passes both poles of the magnet in turn. The electro-motive force, and consequently the current, is in one direction when the wire is passing the N. pole, and in the other, when it is passing the S. pole. In the 'alternate current' machines, these currents are led into the external circuit as they are produced, and the current through the lamp is therefore constantly alternating in direction. In the direct current machines the currents produced in the moving wire are led to what is called a 'commutator,' which consists of a number of copper plates, connected to different parts of the wire, fixed on to the axle of the wheel, and revolving with it. On these plates stationary copper 'contact brushes' press, and receive the current. The plates are so arranged that all the currents produced in alternate or opposed directions are collected in the same sense at the commutator, and consequently all the currents are delivered into the external circuit in the same direction, and the current through the lamp is what is called 'direct.' Both classes of machines have their proper uses, which we shall presently discuss.

The principal direct current machines now in actual commercial use are those of Gramme, Siemens, and Brush, and to these may be added the new Bürgin machine lately introduced into England by Mr. Crompton.* Although it is impossible without diagrams to give any adequate idea of the differences of construction of these machines, their general principles may be summed up in a few words.

They all employ electro-magnets excited by a portion of the current produced as before explained, their chief differences being in the way in which the moving wire is arranged.

In the Siemens machine it is wound on a long reel, not, however, round it, like the cotton on a cotton reel, but from end to end parallel to the axis of revolution, so as to form a kind of cylinder or roller, which in the largest machines may be perhaps 8 inches in diameter and 18 long. The poles of the electro-magnets are made wide and flat; in fact, they are generally cut out of strips of iron boiler-plate, as wide as the moving cylinder

* We hear that Mr. Edison has also constructed a powerful machine, but it has not yet been exhibited in England.

is long. Thus the whole length of the wire moves parallel to itself right across the lines of force emanating from the magnet.

In the Gramme machine the revolving piece consists of a wheel with a flat iron rim, perhaps 3 inches wide, round and round which rim the wire is wound. The method of winding may be seen by taking a strip of whalebone, winding cord or wire round it in a spiral from end to end, and then bending the whalebone so as to form a ring. This ring revolves between the poles of two or four electro-magnets similar to those of the Siemens machine, but not so wide in proportion to their bulk.

These two types of machine are each suitable for producing a single light of great power, of say from three thousand to ten thousand candles; but, as far as we are aware, the makers have not yet succeeded in constructing direct current machines with sufficient electro-motive force to burn more than one or at the most two arcs on one circuit.

The difficulty of giving a high electro-motive force to this type of machine is found in the fact that, the wires being all wound close together in one coil, there is, when a high electro-motive force is used, a great tendency for the electricity to move sideways out from one wire to others lying near it, and this is apt to break through the insulation and destroy the machine.

In the Bürgin machines the wire is wound on iron rings, as in the Gramme; but, instead of being wound on one large ring, it is wound on from six to ten smaller ones. By this means a high electro-motive force can be obtained safely, and the machines now made by Mr. Crompton burn four lights of 2000 candle-power each on one circuit. They are extremely suitable for all purposes where a comparatively small machine is required.*

The commutator, which is used in all direct current machines, deserves special mention. It was invented in Italy in 1860 by Professor Paccinotti and described by him in 1863.† He did not patent it, so it is now common property. Let us consider, for instance, a Gramme machine, having its magnet-poles on the right and left of the ring, and their line of separation vertical. The spiral of wire on the ring is moving upwards past one pole

* They will burn from 40 to 50 incandescent lamps of 16-candle power each, sufficient, for instance, for a moderate-sized country-house. They use about 4½-horse power.

† *‘Nuovo Cimento Giornale di Fisica, di Chimica e delle loro applicazioni alla Farmacia ed alle Arte industriali,’* compilata dai Prof. C. Matteucci, R. Piria (e G. Meneghini). Tom. XIX. Pisa e Torino, 1863, p. 378. This volume of *Il Nuovo Cimento*, containing Prof. Paccinotti's paper and diagrams, has been exposed in the library of the Royal Institution in Albemarle Street ever since its publication in 1863.

and downwards past the opposite pole. The electro-motive forces induced in the spirals on the two halves of the ring are therefore in the same absolute direction, that is, either both downwards or both upwards; for, as the electro-motive force is reversed, either by changing the direction of motion or the polarity of the pole, changing them both reverses it twice, that is, does not alter it at all. Thus in the two halves of the spiral on the ring we have two electro-motive forces in the direction shown by the arrows. We see that though they are in the same absolute direction they are opposed to each other in the ring, and therefore cannot cause a current to circulate round it. Professor Paccinotti's invention consisted in arranging a number of strips of copper all round the axle of the machine and connecting each one to that portion of the spiral on the ring which is immediately opposite to it. Two 'contact-springs' or 'contact-brushes' are placed so as to press respectively on the plates in turn as they come to the positions *a* and *b*. The two currents then, instead of being opposed in the ring, flow out side by side into the contact-brush at *b*, pass through the line-wires and lamp, and return by the other contact-brush at *a*.



Professor Paccinotti's models exhibited in 1864 are now in the Exhibition in Paris, and are almost identical with the direct-current machines which are at present in use.

We now come to the Brush machine; certainly the most powerful direct-current machine at present in the market. The magnets are of the same general type as in the other machines, but the revolving part of the machine consists of a large thick iron wheel, out of the rim of which a number of deep notches are cut. In these notches the wire is wound, forming a number of separate coils.

The chief feature, however, in which it is claimed that the machine of Mr. Brush differs from all others, is the following:—The Brush Company state that 'in all other machines, though only a portion of the moving wire is being acted on by the electro-magnets, the current produced has to pass through the whole of it, namely, both through the portion in which it is being generated and the idle portion which is waiting its turn to come between the magnet poles. All this wire offers resistance and enfeebles the current. In Mr. Brush's machine the Paccinotti commutator is so modified that the idle portion of the wire is always cut out of circuit, and the current only passes through that portion of the wire in which it is being generated.' They consider that this invention enormously increases the efficiency of the machine. Mr. Brush now constructs machines, one

one of which is at present in the Exhibition, which burn on one circuit no less than forty arc lamps, each of the power of from 800 to 1000 candles. The weight of the machine is about two tons, and it takes about 30-horse power to work it. This machine is distinguished not only by the solidity of its construction, but by the amount of finish and ornamentation bestowed on it externally.

There is a real and somewhat curious reason for the extra expense thus incurred, which was recently explained to us by Mr. Brush himself. He says:—

‘I have always found that the only way to ensure that my machine shall always be kept in good order and efficiency, and free from grit and rust, is to make it externally so handsome that the man who has charge of it shall get fond of it, and take such a pride in it that he will clean and polish it from day to day to prevent its appearance from deteriorating.’

Side by side with the ‘Forty-Lighter’ in the Exhibition stands another, exactly similar in size and appearance, but wound with a much thicker and shorter wire, and arranged to use its whole current in burning one gigantic lamp for lighthouse illumination. This lamp is about 5 feet high by 4 feet square. The current is led to it by copper ropes $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, and the carbon rods are *no less than* $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. We have not personally had the opportunity of seeing it in action, but we understand that it gives a light of the power of 150,000 candles.

As showing the rapid strides with which electrical engineering has advanced, the following anecdote may be mentioned. Near the ‘Forty-Lighter’ in the Exhibition stands a three-light machine, having the appearance of a small toy. Mistaking this for a model, we inquired of Mr. Brush whether he had it constructed only for lecture purposes, or whether it was an actual working machine; but we were informed that it had been constructed three or four years ago, in order to see how large a machine it was possible to make; ‘and,’ he added, ‘a very big thing every one thought it in those days, and came long distances to see it.’

Although we are, no doubt, very far as yet from the largest machines that will be made—for probably the big machines of to-day will be the toy models of three years hence—yet with the forty-light machine we have probably reached the useful limit of arc-lighting on one circuit; for it must be remembered, when a number of lamps are on one circuit, that if any accident occurs to the wire, or to any one of the lamps, sufficient to interrupt the current, the whole of the lamps will be extinguished:

guished: for this reason, when a large number of arc lamps are required, it is better to have either several separate machines, or one machine going several separate circuits. Now no satisfactory direct-current machine has yet been constructed to give more than one circuit, for each separate circuit would require a separate commutator and a separate set of contact brushes. As these are by far the most troublesome parts of a machine, it has been as yet found more advantageous, when two circuits are required, to use two separate machines. For the alternating current, however, no commutator is used, and an alternating current machine can be made to give as many circuits as are required.

The principal alternating machines now in the market are the alternating Gramme, the Lontin, the alternating Siemens, and the De Meritens.

In the two first-named machines a number of electro-magnets are fixed radially on an axis, and revolve inside a fixed barrel, to which a number of coils of wire are attached. The electro-magnets are excited by the current of a separate small direct-current machine of any convenient type. In each one of the fixed coils on the barrel alternating currents are induced, and a separate circuit can be led away from each coil. Each coil can be made to feed one or several lamps, according to the power of the machine and the size of the lamps, or several coils can be attached to one large lamp. Large and small lamps can, therefore, be fed simultaneously. The accidental breaking of the wire of any one circuit only extinguishes the lamps on that circuit, and does not in any way affect those which are being fed from the rest of the machine.

In the alternating Siemens, the coils are fixed all round the circumference of a wheel which revolves between two fixed wheels, each carrying a number of small electro-magnets.

In the De Meritens machine the wire is wound on an iron ring, as in the Gramme machine; but the ring, instead of being made in one piece, consists of a number of segments which are bolted together after being wound. This makes the winding a much easier process than when the reel off which the wire is being drawn has to be passed through the ring at each turn. In this machine steel magnets are used, and are set close together radially all round the outside of the ring. In the standard size of the machine there are five rings, each half a metre in diameter, and each ring is surrounded by sixteen horse-shoe magnets. In its action the machine leaves nothing to be desired, as its current is absolutely steady and uniform, and it never seems to get out of order. A five-ring machine is now working the two lighthouses on the South Foreland, and another may be seen in
the

the Exhibition, working the large model lighthouse set up in the middle of the building.* The machine is very economical of horse-power, but is somewhat heavy and expensive (as regards first cost) compared to other machines doing the same amount of work. The five-ring machine weighs two and a half tons.

When it is desired to supply several separate circuits from this machine, or from the alternating Siemens, wires are led from whatever number of coils each circuit is to consist of, and are attached to insulated metal rings fixed on the axle. Springs pressing on these take off the currents to the different external wires. This plan is as convenient as that of fixed coils, for small machines such as are now constructed; but when very large machines are required, they are better made with moving magnets and fixed coils, as they can then be conveniently constructed of gigantic dimensions, and arranged to supply a large number of independent circuits.

Passing now to the lamps, we commence with those suited for 'arc' lighting. In all these lamps there is a steady, though slow, consumption of the carbon rods between which the arc is produced. The points have to be brought in contact to start the current, then separated for $\frac{1}{4}$ inch or so, so as to form the arc, and then they have to be fed forward as they burn away, so as to keep the 'resistance of the arc,' and consequently the quantity of current and the light produced, as nearly constant as possible. On the steadiness and sensitiveness of the feeding machinery depends the steadiness and freedom from flickering of the light.

The general principle of all arc regulator lamps is the following:—Before the lamp is lighted, the carbons are in contact. The current being sent through them, passes on its way through a small electro-magnet, which, pulling a lever, separates the carbons and forms the arc. As soon as the carbons are a little burnt away, the arc, becoming longer, offers more resistance and diminishes the current. The current, which has all this time been passing through the electro-magnet, is no longer able to hold a second lever, which is pulled away from it by a spring. As it flies away it releases a train of wheelwork actuated by the weight of the upper carbon, and the carbons approach; and, the arc getting shorter, the current gets stronger, and the magnet again pulls its lever and stops the wheelwork.

In the old lamps this adjustment used to take place once or twice a minute, and the sudden increments and diminutions of the length of the arc produced those flickerings which were so much complained of in the early days of electric lighting,

* This machine will work 150 Swan lamps.

two years ago. In the best modern regulators, such as those of Mr. Crompton, the adjustment takes place every one or two seconds, and the light is practically steady. When several regulators are placed upon one circuit, an ingenious plan is arranged for preventing the motions of one regulator affecting the rest.

This type of regulator may be arranged for use either with a direct or with an alternating current. It must be noted, however, that with the direct current the positive carbon consumes away about twice as fast as the negative, while with the alternating current the consumptions are of course equal. Owing to the fact that there is a slight difference in the actions of an electro-magnet with direct or alternating currents, the lamps must be specially adjusted for the direct or alternate current; that is, a lamp adjusted to work with the one will not as a rule 'feed' regularly with the other.

In addition to the regulators where the carbons are placed end to end, must be noted the Jablochkoff candle, which consists of two carbon rods placed side by side, and separated by about $\frac{3}{16}$ inch of plaster. The rods are placed vertically, and the arc being established between them at the top, the plaster consumes away with the carbon, and the whole burns away downward like a candle. The candle can only be used with an alternating current, as it is of course necessary that the two carbons should consume at the same rate.

The arc lights give powers of from 500 to 150,000 candles, and are suitable for lighting streets, stations, and large buildings. They are not suitable for domestic lighting; first, because they are not sufficiently subdivided, and the glare of them in a room would be intolerable; and secondly, because skilled labour is required to put in new carbon rods every day.

The great difficulty up to two years ago was to obtain anything like an economical subdivision of the current. The opinion of scientific men was universally against its possibility, as may be seen by reading the evidence of the scientific witnesses examined before the House of Commons early in 1879.* But, as has fortunately happened on several similar occasions, there were inventors then at work who, while we must claim them as being men of science in the highest sense of the word, were yet unscientific enough not to be able to comprehend the clear proofs of the impossibility of what they desired; and at the end of 1879 Mr. Edison in America, and Mr. Swan in England, simultaneously produced practical systems of subdivision.

* Blue Book, 'Lighting by Electricity,' June 13, 1879.

These systems are now both being developed with a speed only limited by the time required to train workmen to a new branch of industry, and to make the commercial arrangements for bringing them within reach of the public. While the system of Mr. Swan is being rapidly adopted in England, in America Mr. Edison is laying down wires and building generating-stations to light the whole of the houses in New York City, having contracted to supply the light by meter at the same price as that formerly paid for gas.

The principle of both Mr. Edison's and Mr. Swan's systems is the same. In each case the lamp consists of a fine filament or thread of carbon, about $\frac{1}{100}$ to $\frac{3}{100}$ inch in diameter and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 inches long, fixed inside a glass globe. The ends of the carbon are connected to metal wires which pass out through the glass and are hermetically sealed into it. Every trace of air is removed from within the globe, which is then sealed. On a suitable current of electricity being sent through the carbon thread, it becomes white-hot and glows, giving about as much light as a gas-jet.

The great difficulty which had to be overcome in making these 'incandescent' lamps was the obtaining of a filament of carbon fine enough to be of sufficiently high resistance and which would last a very long time without disintegration. The method which has been adopted in the construction of all lamps of this class has been to form the filament from some kind or other of tough vegetable fibre, and then to convert it into carbon by heating it to whiteness in a crucible, from which the air is excluded.

In Mr. Edison's lamps, as at present constructed, the carbons are formed from thin strips of bamboo, while Mr. Swan sometimes uses cardboard and sometimes cotton-thread. The carbon filament, in the form of a horse-shoe, has its ends attached to two little blocks of thicker carbon, which in their turn are attached to platinum wires melted into glass tubes. The carbon loop with its end pieces is then put into a glass globe about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch diameter, the neck of which is melted down upon the glass tubes so as to close the whole air-tight. It will be understood that the platinum terminal wires project out through the glass and give a means of connecting the lamp to the line wires supplying the current.

The next process is the removing of the air from the globe, which is done through a small aperture by means of the various improved air-pumps which have been constructed for the purpose by the inventors of the lamps. It was soon found that, however perfect a vacuum was produced by the pump, yet the
first

first time the lamp was used, this vacuum became impaired; the reason being that the carbon itself contained a certain quantity of gas and vapour, which by the heat was driven out into the bulb. The least trace of gas in the globe soon causes the destruction of the carbon. The following process was therefore adopted; while the lamp is still attached to the pump, a current is sent through the filament so as to raise it to as high or to a higher degree of incandescence than will be used in actual work. The gas driven out is at once removed by the pump, and the lamp is sealed while the filament is still hot.

In the Maxim and the Lane Fox lamps the process of manufacture is nearly identical with those of Swan and of Edison, but the filaments are heated by means of an electric current in an atmosphere of oil-gas or coal-gas. This decomposes the gas, and causes carbon to be deposited on the filament; and as, if the filament is not of uniform thickness, the thinnest parts will get hottest, there will be most carbon deposited on those parts, and the thickness will become more nearly uniform. By a proper application of this process, Mr. Lane Fox is enabled to make the resistance of all his lamps exactly equal.

The cost of making an Edison lamp is said to be about two shillings, and it lasts about seven months before the filament breaks down, after which it can be repaired for about one shilling. In case of a lamp breaking down, it can be removed and a new one attached by any servant, for the contact springs inside the chandelier brackets, both in the Swan and Edison systems, are so made that screwing the lamp into its place makes the electrical contacts automatically. The current is turned on and off by a tap exactly similar externally to an ordinary gas-tap. The only difference between lighting an electric light and a gas-jet is, that in the former case it is not necessary to strike a match.

Incandescent lamps can be worked either by the direct or by the alternating current, and, other things being equal, they work best on whichever machines run most uniformly. Mr. Edison has, however, found that when the direct current is used there is a constant, though very slow, transference of carbon from the positive to the negative heel of the horse-shoe filament, and therefore that the lamps ultimately break down close to the positive end of the loop. With the alternating current the wearing away is uniform at both sides, and the lamps last longer.

For domestic lighting it is, of course, necessary to connect a great number of lamps to one pair of wires. To find the best way to do this is a matter of great importance.

One way is to connect the lamps 'in series;' that is, all on one line; so that the whole current passes through every lamp. This requires a very feeble current, only enough to light one lamp, but a very great electro-motive force to drive this current through the whole series. It is open to the fatal objection, that the break-down of any one lamp extinguishes the whole.

Another way is to connect the lamps 'in quantity'; that is, the two wires of the circuit are put side by side, and each lamp forms a little independent channel from one to the other. This requires a great quantity of electricity, as a separate flow goes through each lamp, but a very low electro-motive force, as, owing to the number of channels through which the current is flowing, there is but little resistance to its passage. In fact any number of lamps require only the same electro-motive force as a single one. Here, if one lamp breaks down, the rest are not affected.

The difference between the two systems may be understood from the analogous case of the two ways in which a number of small water-wheels might be driven. Suppose we have fifty wheels. We can represent the connection 'in series' by arranging a flow of water just sufficient to drive one wheel, and by placing the whole fifty one above another from the top to the bottom of a hill. The water will flow from each one to the next below it, and so will drive them all. The quantity of water here corresponds to the quantity of electricity, and the height of the hill to the electro-motive force. Here also we see that if any one wheel becomes choked, so as to stop the flow, all the wheels will stop.

To represent the connection 'in quantity,' we must suppose ourselves to have two channels cut along the side of the hill. The upper one is to carry fifty times as much water as in the previous case, but is only to be 1-50th of the height of the hill above the lower one. The fifty wheels will then all be placed between the two canals, so that fifty separate little flows of water run from the upper canal to the lower, each through one wheel. Here we see that the choking up of one wheel will not affect the rest.

Further, let us suppose that the flow is kept up by means of a pump, raising the water up again as it runs down. We notice that the same horse-power will be required in each case, for in one case we shall have to pump a certain quantity of water to the top of the hill, and in the other to pump fifty times the quantity to 1-50th of the height. Similarly, in the case of electric lighting, to work a certain number of incandescent

descent lamps * takes sensibly the same horse-power, whether they are arranged 'in series' or 'in quantity.'

We see that we could use various systems of connection intermediate between the two we have described. For instance, our two hillside canals could be made with twice the difference of level and half the quantity of water, and the water could flow through twenty-five channels, each working two wheels in series. Combinations of this kind are very frequently used in arranging lamps for domestic lighting.

In all the methods of producing electric light which we have described, the current is supplied as it is produced, by means of an engine continuously working; and this will, no doubt, be the most economical plan when the electricity is supplied on a large scale. In certain cases, however, the form of secondary battery constructed by M. Faure for the storage of electricity will be of very great value. As it has been recently fully described in the '*Times*' by Sir William Thomson, and in our contemporary the '*Edinburgh Review*,'† we will not trouble our readers with a detailed explanation; but they will remember that by means of it a large quantity of electricity can be stored for an indefinite time in leaden plates, and can even be carried about and delivered in houses in the same way as oil or fuel. The great weight of lead required to store any considerable quantity of electricity will, in the present state of the invention, preclude the extended use of it for the latter purpose; but it will, no doubt, be of very great use for purposes such as the following.

In many country-houses there is a steam-engine to do the pumping, which is attended to by the gardener or some other person not giving his whole time to it. If this engine is used for electric lighting by the ordinary means, a man has to be employed to attend to it at night as long as the lights are burning. By the use of the Faure battery, the gardener will be able to fill his water cisterns and his electric cisterns with one heating of the boiler in the morning, leaving supplies of both water and electricity equally ready to be used as required at night after he has left work.

As soon as electricity is supplied to two or more houses

* To prevent misconception, we may here note that arc lamps can only be worked 'in series.' If two are placed 'in quantity,' the whole of the current goes by one or the other and does not divide between them. The reason is that, the conductor being severed in two places, the whole current leaps over the lesser interval of resistance; but in the other case, the conductors being all continuous, it distributes itself through the whole number.

† July, 1881.

from the same machine, it becomes necessary to measure the quantity supplied to each house respectively, in other words, to supply the electricity by meter. Our gas-meter shows us the number of cubic feet supplied in a day; a water-meter shows us the number of gallons; in both cases we measure the quantity supplied. We see that, if we increase the gas or water pressure, more gas will pass in a given time through a pipe of given bore and length, and the strength of the stream will be increased. Again, if we increase the bore of the pipe and so diminish its resistance, the strength of the stream will be increased. In the case of gas, we can measure the pressure and the quantity of gas delivered, but we have no means of measuring the resistance of the pipe or the strength of the stream. In the case of electricity, however, we can measure each or all of these four quantities, namely pressure or electro-motive force, quantity, current, and resistance; and, as these are all connected one with the other by perfectly simple and well-known laws, we need only measure two,* and then we can deduce the others from them.

The units are derived from theoretical considerations which we will not now touch on. We will simply give their names and a rough idea of their physical magnitudes. Their actual values are such as to connect them exactly with the metrical system now used in all scientific measurements, and in commerce on the Continent. The definitions which we are giving are the revised ones adopted by the Congress of Electricians which met in Paris on September 15 of this year.

Our first unit is the unit of electro-motive force, corresponding to the unit of water pressure or 'aqua-motive' force. It is called the *Volt*. One cell of the batteries commonly used for electric bells has an electro-motive force of about one volt; 60 to 70 volts are required to maintain satisfactorily an arc between carbon poles.

The unit of electrical resistance is called the *Ohm*. It is represented by the resistance of a column of mercury of one square millimetre in section, at a temperature of 0° C., and of a length which is known to be between $104\frac{1}{2}$ and $105\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres, and which is to be accurately redetermined immediately by an international Commission appointed at the late Congress.

A mile of No. 16 copper bell-wire has a resistance of about 14 ohms. The Atlantic cable has a resistance of about 7600 ohms. The resistance of the arc between carbon poles varies from perhaps 2 ohms for a large lamp with thick carbons, to

* One of these two being either electro-motive force or resistance.

7 or 8 ohms for a small lamp. A Swan incandescent lamp, when cold, has a resistance of about 80 to 50 ohms, according to the size of the lamp. When hot, the resistance is reduced by about one half.

The unit of current is called the *Ampère*.* It is the current that one volt can send through one ohm. Two volts would send two ampères through one ohm, or one volt would send half an ampère through two ohms. Thus an electro-motive force of 60 volts would send a current of 10 ampères through an arc having a resistance of 6 ohms. This is about the condition which exists in the Brush lamps at Charing Cross Station. The Swan lamps require from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ ampère, according to size.†

The unit of quantity is called the *Coulomb*. It is the quantity of electricity conveyed in one second by a current of one ampère. Hence one of the Charing Cross lamps using a current of 10 ampères consumes $60 \times 60 \times 10 = 36,000$ coulombs per hour.

One-horse power of energy can maintain a current of one ampère through a resistance of 746 ohms; or it can maintain a current of about $27\cdot3\frac{1}{2}$ ampères through one ohm. It would just maintain 10 of the smaller Swan lamps. A current of 10 ampères through an arc of 6 ohms' resistance, which is used in the Brush lamps at Charing Cross, is equivalent to a current of one ampère through $6 \times 10 \times 10 = 600$ ohms, and thus takes a little less than 6-7ths of a horse-power, and this is found to be the case in practice.

The quantity of horse-power consumed in the form of electricity in each house can then be measured, if we have a means of recording the strength of current at each instant, and the time during which it was turned on, the electro-motive force of the generating machine being kept constant. One class of current meters record in this manner. They consist of a pencil moved up and down by the current, rising higher when the current is stronger, this is, when more lamps are turned on, and falling to the bottom of the scale when the current is

* This is the same as the unit of current hitherto called the *Weber* in England; the name was changed in deference to the wishes of the German members of the Congress, who had been in the habit of using the word 'Weber' in a different sense, and hence feared confusion.

† It must be remembered that the amount of heat produced in the lamp and used in the steam-engine is as the square of the current; i.e. 2 ampères produce and require for their generation 4 times the heat that one does.

‡ $27\cdot3 = \sqrt{746}$ nearly; the formula being, horse-power = $\frac{C^2 r}{746}$, where C is the current in ampères and r the resistance in ohms.

interrupted.

interrupted. This pencil presses on paper wound on a drum, which is made to revolve round a vertical axis by clockwork. It thus traces a wavy or sinuous line. The total current used in the house is proportional to the area of the paper below the wavy line.

Another class of meters measure simply in coulombs the total quantity of electricity which has passed through. A small known fraction of the current, say $\frac{1}{1000}$ or $\frac{1}{10000}$ of it, is sent through an apparatus, consisting of two copper plates immersed in a solution of sulphate of copper. Copper is deposited from the solution on one of the plates, which is weighed at intervals. Its gain in weight is proportional to the total quantity of electricity which has passed through. This also, when the electro-motive force is kept constant, is proportional to the total quantity of work produced by the steam-engine which has been expended in the house.*

To make this clearer, let us consider the parallel case of a company supplying motive power to a number of workshops, by pumping water to an elevated cistern, and leading pipes from the cistern to a water-engine in each workshop. As long as the height of the cistern, that is, as long as the pressure or 'aqua-motive force,' is kept constant, the quantities of mechanical work (previously expended in raising the water) used in each workshop respectively will be correctly given by meters showing the total quantity of water which passes through all the water-engines in that shop; but if the pressure or aqua-motive force is increased by using a more elevated cistern, then a given quantity of water would require more work to raise it, and would be able to do more work in descending through the water-engine; in fact it

* The mechanical work, W , in foot-pounds, expended in sending Q coulombs of electricity through a circuit by means of an electro-motive force of E volts, is $W = \frac{550}{746} E Q$. Hence one of the Charing Cross lamps (p. 453), using 10 coulombs

per second, with an electro-motive force of 60 volts, uses $\frac{550}{746} \times 60 \times 10 = 442$

foot-pounds of energy per second. As another instance, let us suppose that in a particular house we have been burning 20 Edison lamps for about 6 hours a night for a week. Each lamp uses about $\frac{1}{2}$ of a coulomb per second, and thus at the end of the week our meter would show that we had used in all about 3 million coulombs. The electro-motive force of Mr. Edison's machines being

110 volts, we should have used in all $\frac{550}{746} \times 110 \times 3,000,000 = 243$ million foot-

pounds of energy. Now one horse-power develops 1,980,000 foot-pounds per hour, and we may consider that for every horse-power developed in the lamps about $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of coal per hour are burnt in the furnaces of the steam-engine. Our meter therefore shows us that our 20 lamps have in their week's work used $\frac{243,000,000}{1,980,000} \times 3\frac{1}{2} = 409$ lbs. of the coal burnt in the furnaces of the Company's engine.

might

might be possible to send it through twice the number of water-engines by placing two 'in series.' Similarly, if we double our electro-motive force, lamps of double resistance, or two lamps in series, might be used, thus giving double the light, while only the same number of coulombs of electricity passes through the meter. It is therefore necessary, when a company is supplying electricity by meter, that they should keep the electro-motive force in their street mains as constant as possible.

With regard to the extended use of electric light in houses, two questions are constantly asked. First, can the glare be got rid of? Second, what is the cost as compared to gas? Now there is nothing whatever in the nature of the electric light to cause the glare that is so often objected to: the only reason of the glare is, that persons who are accustomed to have in their drawing-rooms perhaps 40- or 50-candle power gaslight are not satisfied unless, when they substitute an electric light, they can show a great superiority in the illumination as compared to that given by the gas; they therefore remove their 50-candle gaslight, and substitute 700- or 800-candle power electric light. There is then naturally a glare, which is extremely trying both to the eyesight and to ladies' complexions. When, however, people will be content to substitute for their 50-candle power gaslight 80- to 90-candle power electric light, they will find that they have a beautiful soft light, which, if the shape of the lamps is hidden by a shade, it is impossible to distinguish from gas, except that it is steady and does not vitiate the air. We had lately an opportunity of seeing the incandescent light in actual use in the drawing-room of a country-house which was lighted by thirty Swan lamps. They were unshaded, and hung equidistant from one another all round the room, about two feet from the walls, and one foot from the ceiling. There was no glare and no consciousness of any particular lamp, but it was possible to read comfortably in any chair in any position in the room.

We now come to the question of expense. With regard to street lighting, where the arc is used, it is already, light for light, unquestionably cheaper to light by electricity than by gas, as may be seen by noting the prices paid for the lighting of the City of London, where, taking one company with another, the annual charge is about the same as that previously made by the gas companies, and the quantity of light about four times as much as that given by the gas, while the electric light companies are all paying good dividends. Sir Wm. Thomson has given it in evidence before the House of Commons,* that the

* Blue Book, Aug. 13, 1879.

quantity of gas, which, if burnt directly, will maintain a light of 12-candle power, will, if burnt in a gas-engine, develop just 1-horse power, and, if employed to turn a generator, will produce a current of electricity which is able to maintain an arc of 1600-candle power. The same engine, if used to supply the present incandescent lamps, would give with the same quantity of gas about 160-candle power.

To the cost of the electric light must, however, be added the charge for interest on the plant and profit to the inventors, and, in the case of the arc lamps, the cost of the carbons consumed. To this again must be added those various items for attendance, &c., which will be much greater for electricity than for gas, so long as, but no longer than, electricity is produced on a very small scale, and gas on a very large one. In fact, to estimate what will shortly be the relative cost of lighting a house by gas and by electricity, we ought, if we estimate the cost of the electricity at its present price, to estimate the cost of the gas, not at what it now costs, but at what it would cost if each consumer had to erect and maintain private gas-works in his own back yard. In a year or two's time, when the electric-light mains are laid in every street in London, we shall find that the actual relative cost of gas and electricity is not far off the numbers which we have given above.

At the present time Mr. Edison is engaged in laying down nearly 500 miles of electric-light mains in New York City, and he has undertaken to light every house by means of his incandescent lamps, and to charge to the consumers exactly the same as they have up till now been paying to the gas company. The inhabitants will therefore, without extra expense, obtain a light which does not vitiate or heat the air, and with which paint and decoration will last at least three times as long as when gas is burned in the rooms.

We have stated that the heat consumed in developing 1-horse power of energy, will, when employed to produce light, give the following quantities, according to the method of its employment:—

Gas burnt directly	12 candles.
Gas burnt in a gas-engine	} an arc lamp 1600 "
working an electric	
generator supplying ..	
	10 incandescent lamps .. 160 "

The whole explanation of these great differences is to be found in the different temperatures at which the heat is employed in the three cases. A quantity of heat, however large, if employed at the temperature of a hot-water pipe, produces no light

light at all. The same quantity employed in making a poker red hot would give a little light. Now, the light of a gas-flame is produced by the heating to whiteness of the particles of carbon in the gas, but the temperature of a gas-flame, as compared to that of an electric light, is extremely low, and therefore the light is extremely uneconomical. The temperature of the carbon filament in the Swan and Edison lamps is very much higher than that of the carbon in the gas-flame, and consequently the light is much more economical, while the temperature of the electric arc is so enormous, that the relative heat-economies of it and the gas are expressed by the ratio of 1600 to 12.

The reason that the incandescent lamps are so much less economical than the arc lamps, is that they have to be worked at a much lower temperature. It is found that, as the carbons are at present constructed, any considerable increase of temperature causes the speedy destruction of the filament. As the construction of the filaments improves, the lamps will be able to be worked at a higher temperature, and be so much the more efficient.

We may, however, even now confidently look forward to the time in the immediate future when gas-lamps for lighting purposes will be as obsolete as wooden torches, when every street in London will be lighted as brightly as Cheapside is at present, and when in every house the incandescent lamp will be substituted for the gas-jet.

As soon as gas is no longer required for illumination, the companies, no longer having to refine it, will be able to supply it for fuel at a very small fraction of its present price; and while the substitution of electricity for gas as an illuminant will give us light, health, and coolness in our rooms, the substitution of gas and coke for raw coal as fuel will remove the cloud of smoke which hangs over London, and make the November fogs a thing of the past, which we shall describe to our children as a tradition of what were literally 'the dark ages.'

ART. V.—*The Works of Alexander Pope*. New edition. Including several hundred unpublished Letters, and other new materials. Collected in part by the late Right Hon. John Wilson Croker. With Introductions and Notes by Rev. Whitwell Elwin, and William John Courthope, M.A. Vol. III.—Poetry. With Illustrations. London, 1881.

WE welcome with pleasure this new volume of the most valuable edition of Pope's works that has yet appeared. No student of Pope, no one, indeed, who takes an interest in our literature, can fail to regret that Mr. Elwin has been compelled to relinquish the work which he had begun so well, and for which he was so specially fitted. Whether we look to the vast acquaintance with the storehouse of our literature that he possesses, or to the critical insight and scrupulous accuracy which he brought to his task, Mr. Elwin's is a hand that we can ill spare in the work of interpreting one of the master-poets of England. In what he has already accomplished, he has thrown upon the work and character of Pope a flood of light, to which even those who may differ most decidedly from some of his criticisms are forced to confess themselves indebted: and we can only trust that the resources which are no longer to be employed on Pope may not be left without utilisation in other fields; that, though he desires change of labour, Mr. Elwin will not withhold from us the stores he has to dispense.

But while we part with Mr. Elwin with no common regret, this does not diminish our readiness to welcome his successor. Mr. Courthope has brought to the completion of the task the attributes of wide literary knowledge and sympathy, a delicate literary insight, and a graceful and lucid style. He has rightly deemed that it was not inconsistent with the highest respect for his predecessor, to follow his own judgment, to apply his own critical faculty to the vexed questions as to Pope's career and works, and to make his part of the task not a slavish imitation, but an independent contribution to the whole. It would have been easy for Mr. Courthope to have adopted all Mr. Elwin's opinions, to have committed himself to all his views, to have measured Pope entirely by his predecessor's standard. He would thus have preserved a semblance of uniformity: but he would have done so by sacrificing the real value of the work. We were confident, from what we knew of his work, that Mr. Courthope would fall into no such error, and the result shows that, in remembering what was due to himself, he has paid the best token of respect to Mr. Elwin, and has best consulted the fame of Pope. We congratulate him on
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the production of a commentary, which earns for him the indisputable right to rank high amongst the thinned ranks of English scholars in the best sense of the word: and we heartily wish him success in what remains of the work.

The contents of the present volume consist mainly of the Epistles, and the Imitations of Dr. Donne and of Horace, which together make up the so-called Moral Essays and Satires. So complicated and disorderly was the sequence of Pope's writings, so many new arrangements were constantly suggesting themselves to him, and so entwined is one with another, that no entirely satisfactory plan is open to any editor. Mr. Courthope has not felt himself able to discard the title of 'Moral Essays,' which was adopted, in Warburton's authorized edition, instead of the earlier title of 'Ethic Epistles': but at the same time he has grouped with these poems, and for very obvious reasons of convenience, several Epistles which, though they have no connection with the Moral Essays, and though they belong to a different class of the poet's writings, and to a different period in the development of his genius, were in some of the earlier editions placed with the Ethic Epistles by Pope himself. He has followed also, as is incumbent on any editor, the arrangement which makes the 'Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot' the Prologue to the Satires, and the poem originally entitled 'MDCCXXXVIII.' the Epilogue to these. We find introduced into the volume such poems as the Epistle in which Pope dedicated to Lord Oxford the posthumous edition of Parnell's poems, which was written some time before the Moral Essays and Satires; and such imitations as that of the First Ode of the Fourth Book of Horace, which, although its publication belongs to the period, has no likeness to the rest, and is an attempt in a manner for which Pope's genius was unsuited. But, on the whole, the contents of the volume have a rough homogeneity; and no other selection could be made from Pope's poems at once so typical of his character and so distinctive of all that is most marked in his genius. Whatever else there is of value in the work of Pope, however highly we may rate the Homeric translations and the more imaginative poems of his earlier years, yet it is by these Moral Essays and Satires that his place in the bed-roll of English poets must be decided. Never was the glowing fervour of his eloquence so bright; nowhere else are the marvels of his lucid diction so magical; never has he adapted means to ends with such consummate skill.

Amongst the Epistles, using the word in the sense of the editor, as applied to the 'Moral Essays,' few will disagree with the verdict by which Mr. Courthope places highest the third,
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addressed to Lord Bathurst, 'On the Use of Riches.' Opinions will differ as to the alteration which converted this, which was originally an Epistle, into a Dialogue, where the poet's friend is made to bear a part unsuited to his wit, a change of which Bathurst himself humorously complained. Of the Imitations of Horace, Mr. Courthope thinks that the finest is the imitation of the First Epistle of Horace's second book, in which the dexterity of the poet's satire, and the inimitable delicacy of his art, are shown in a manner that it would be hardly possible to surpass. But the palm for satiric excellence is naturally assigned to the 'Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot;' and if we were to name any piece as second, where that Epistle is so conspicuously first, we should be inclined to give this place to the Dialogues which form the Epilogue to the Satires.

Mr. Courthope has endeavoured, in this volume, to hold the balance between previous commentators and critics, in judging Pope's work at that period of his life in which his genius is at its flood-tide. He is not insensible to the difficulty of this task—to judge of poems in which Pope 'is by turns philosophical like Persius, autobiographical like Horace, an assailant of social corruption like Juvenal, and a scourge of literary pretenders like Boileau.' But he has not shrunk from dealing freely with the theories of previous critics. On the fierce controversy started by Bowles, Mr. Courthope spends little time. That controversy was not without its value; but it had in it something of stage effect; the rockets are already spent, the theories are ranged before us like curious weapons of another period; and we gladly hail an epoch in criticism, which has got beyond a discussion of what is, or is not, poetry, and which seeks to tell us rather wherein the excellence of Pope's poetry consists. From Mr. Elwin's general view of Pope's character and genius, Mr. Courthope often differs, but always with the respect due to a judgment so competent and to a learning so wide. With De Quincey he deals not more severely than the wayward hair-splitting of De Quincey's criticisms deserves. To Mr. Leslie Stephen's 'Essay on Pope' he pays a well-deserved compliment, though, for our part, we think the inconsistencies and incompleteness of Mr. Stephen's criticism, and the narrow point of view which he chooses for his estimate of his author, might well have justified stern retaliation from an editor. But Mr. Courthope rightly deems that, above and beyond the various estimates of critics, there is a Supreme Court of Appeal for Pope: and that, whatever may be said of the shallowness of his philosophy, his poetical position is assured: that the secret of his poetry's success 'is the

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same as that of good oratory, of good painting, and of excellence in every art: and its justification is its acceptance by the general sense of the world, "*semper, ubique, ab omnibus.*"

But it has not only fallen to Mr. Courthope's lot to pass judgment on the highest development of Pope's genius; he has had another task more intricate and more laborious. It is on the poems in this volume that almost all the most vexed questions arise as to the poet's character and literary dealings. Pope appears here certainly in some of his most discreditable aspects. In his later years his self-absorption became more complete, his vanity more sensitive, his craving for literary fame, and inordinate graspings of literary parsimony, more intense. No scrap of verse that might increase the bulk of his fame was neglected, however much honour, good taste, and even his own most tender feelings, would have dictated otherwise. But his excuse was also greater. The tortures of the enfeebled frame became more constant and more racking. The death of friends was leaving him day by day more lonely: the political position of those for whom he cared became ever more and more hopeless. Dulness seemed to triumph more completely: the little company, that had upheld the opposite flag so bravely, was becoming thinned by misfortune, and disease, and death. The one tie which for Pope was all pure and unsullied was broken by his mother's death. If religion ever had a strong hold over him, it must have been loosened by the influence of Bolingbroke, and by the teaching of his specious word-philosophy. Lastly, his weakest vanities were fed by the ever-ready and self-seeking adulation of Warburton. In his later years, if Pope sinned much, we must remember that he was also hardly tried.

Mr. Courthope has not shirked the difficulty that met him here. There is not one of the vexed questions of these later years with which he does not deal, and deal exhaustively. On the whole, we think his conclusions will be generally accepted: and all the more so because he seeks in no way to whitewash the poet's memory at the expense of candour or of truth. Even where he dissents from those who have pursued Pope most severely, he often adopts a theory which does not absolve the guilt of the poet, though it sometimes provides an excuse, and enables us at once to explain, and in some degree to pardon, the weaknesses and eccentricities of genius. Thus, and thus only, could he hope to befriend Pope's fame: not by denying facts that are too strong for evasion or gainsaying.

But the most serious part of the labours of a new editor lay in the elucidation of the difficulties with which the *Satires* and *Epistles* abound. The study of all *Satire* is one of perplexity
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on account of its personal and temporary character, and also in consequence of the doubt that exists as to the sincerity of the satirist. Mr. Courthope justly remarks:—

‘The study of Satire is full in an almost equal proportion of fascination and difficulty. A satirical poet draws his materials, not from the lasting forms and images of the unseen world, but from the actions, manners, and fashions, of his own passing age. As a master of expression, he preserves in his verse the life of the past in a state of suspended animation, and the reader, who possesses a perfect key to his meaning, may therefore hope to recover the image of a vanished society, as it appeared to the mind of a poet, claiming in a special sense to represent Truth. But to arrive at the exact meaning of the satirist is a matter of difficulty, since the effect of his portrait is produced by a thousand shades and touches of personal allusion, the significance of which has been obscured by the lapse of time. And even supposing that the sense of his text is fully grasped, there is still a doubt how far his satire itself is just. All satirists have been doomed to suffer from a suspicion that their moral zeal is not so disinterested as they pretend. Juvenal’s descriptions of vice are thought to be exaggerated for the sake of poetical effect. Horace was accused of indulging his love of ridicule; Boileau had to defend himself from the charge of envy. It is at least a question whether the indictment, brought against the satirist by his contemporaries, is not as well founded as that which he himself brings against his age.’

This difficulty is greater in the Satires of Pope than in those of any poet of the kind; first, on account of his innumerable references to persons and personal concerns; secondly, on account of the mystifying methods he adopted in these allusions, such as fictitious names, asterisks, blanks, equivocating notes, and the like; and thirdly, on account of the constant references to himself in his Satires, and of the mystery which continues to envelope his character and all his actions. With regard to the first two points little need be said. Nobody can read the Third Moral Essay, for example, without encountering over and over again fictitious names or the mention of persons who have long since passed out of public remembrance, yet who still interest the imagination from their connection with Pope. The difficulty of explaining the full meaning of such references in the text may be understood from the complaints made by Swift on the subject during Pope’s own lifetime.

‘Your poem on the “Use of Riches,” Swift remonstrates, ‘has been just printed here, and we have no objection but the obscurity of several passages by our ignorance in facts and persons, which makes us lose abundance of the satire. Had the printer given me notice, I would have honestly printed the names at length where I happened to know them, and writ explanatory notes, which, however,

ever, would have been but few, for my long absence hath made me ignorant of what passes out of the scene where I am.'

And again he writes to Alderman Barber, 8th August, 1738 :—

'I very much like Mr. Pope's last poem "MDCCXXXVIII.," called "Dialogue II.," but I live so obscurely, and know so little of what passes in London, that I cannot know the names of persons and things by initial letters.'

As to the third point, we must recollect the autobiographical or apologetic character of a large number of Pope's Satires; notably the 'Epistle to Arbuthnot,' the 'First and Second Imitations of Horace,' the 'Imitation of the Second Epistle of the Second Book' and the 'Epilogue to the Satires.' Johnson explains the pleasure which Pope took in imitation by the facility with which he found parallels between his own times and those of the Romans under Augustus; but his real motive was the opportunity afforded him, while apparently imitating Horace, of calling attention to his own affairs. In illustration of this point we may refer to two characteristic passages in the 'Imitations of Horace.' The Roman poet, in the first Satire of the Second Book, praises his predecessor Lucilius, as '*uni æquus virtuti atque ejus amicis*:' Pope in his Imitation appropriates this merit to *himself*; and, just in the same way, in the next Imitation he applies all that Horace says about the simplicity and moderation of the rustic Ofella to his own way of living. So too the keynote of the 'Epilogue to the Satires' is Self-assertion :—

'O sacred weapon left for Truth's defence,
Sole dread of Folly, Vice, and Insolence !
To all but Heaven-directed hands denied,
The Muse may give thee, but the Gods must guide :
Reverent I touch thee, but with honest zeal ;
To rouse the watchmen of the public weal,
To Virtue's work provoke the tardy Hall,
And goad the prelate slumbering in his stall.
Ye tinsel Insects ! whom a Court maintains
That counts your beauties only by your stains,
Spin all your cobwebs o'er the eye of day !
The Muse's wing shall brush you all away :
All his Grace preaches, all his Lordships sings,
All that makes saints of queens, and gods of kings,
All, all but Truth, drops dead-born from the press,
Like the last Gazette or the last Address.'

Against these protestations of the poet we have to set the constant charges of malignity, injustice, and ingratitude, which were brought against him by his enemies, and the unfortunately

numerous instances in which irresistible circumstantial evidence convicts him of fraud or duplicity.

The business therefore of an Editor of Pope's Satires is, in the first place, to make the meaning of the text clear, and secondly to determine as accurately as possible the proportion of truth and falsehood in the poet's judgments on his age. Hitherto the former of these tasks has for various reasons been very imperfectly performed. Warburton had of course full information as to Pope's meaning in the Satires, but it would clearly have been contrary to his interest, as a man expecting high preferment in the Church, to have entered into minute explanations of passages affecting the reputation of influential persons. He therefore contented himself with pompous reflections on the morality of the Satires, and left the personal allusions unexplained. But he not only slurred over references which it might have been personally inconvenient to him to explain; he deliberately, and of set purpose, as Mr. Courthope shows, 'perverted and misinterpreted the sense of the poems which had been entrusted to his care.' One flagrant instance of this is given in regard to the lines on Queen Caroline, in the 'Epilogue to the Satires.'

'Hang the sad verse on Carolina's urn,
And hail her passage to the realms of rest,
All parts performed, and *all* her children blest.'

The satiric reference to the fact that the Queen did *not* forgive the Prince of Wales on her deathbed, is perfectly clear; and Pope, in all the editions published in his lifetime, left the lines to tell their own story without a note. Warburton appended, in the edition of 1751, a note to which Pope's name is affixed, speaking with praise of the Queen. To this he added a further note of his own, with a quotation from one of Pope's letters still more respectful to her memory. Warburton's note was a deliberate misrepresentation of Pope's meaning, for the sake of furthering the editor's own interest with the court; and we have little hesitation in accepting Mr. Courthope's additional inference, that the note professing to be Pope's was a deliberate manufacture.

But Warburton's sins did not end here. With gratuitous rancour, he made himself a party to a quarrel between the Allens (the patrons procured for him by Pope) and Martha Blount, and endeavoured to deprive the latter of the honour, most indubitably hers, of being the 'lady' to whom the Epistle 'On the Characters of Women' was addressed. In spite of the plainest evidence in the poem itself, Warburton asserts, to gratify this vicarious spite, that the Epistle is
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addressed to 'an imaginary lady.' Meanness such as this would scarcely be credible were the evidence not so convincing. But he goes further still. To mislead in respect of references to the dead, to explain away compliments to the living, to make the function of an editor serve the purposes of private ambition,—all this was bad enough. The present edition shows that Warburton did worse. He stooped to avenge his private enmities, by fastening satirical references in Pope on heads for which they were not intended. Of this Mr. Courthope exhibits convincing proofs in such a typical case as that of Edwards, who in his 'Canons of Criticism' had dealt severely with Warburton's edition of Shakspeare, and to whom, on that account, Warburton appropriated one of the satiric references in the 'Dunciad.'

It was upon the deceptive guidance of such an editor as this, that the criticisms of a long line of succeeding commentators were based. Common opinion, indeed, imputed to Warburton much general misrepresentation. But the belief in his untrustworthiness did not lead to any very strenuous efforts to correct his errors. Warton, who began the task with far higher qualifications than Warburton, and who was quite aware of his predecessor's deficiencies, yet hung back from the labour of elucidation. Mr. Courthope gives an instance of laxity and carelessness on the part of Warton, so marked as to be amusing. In the verses beginning at line 220 of the 'Imitation of Horace's Second Epistle of the Second Book,' the recipient of flattery by a servile chaplain is referred to as 'Most dirty D——.' Warton had indications before him sufficient to have guided him to the Duke of Devonshire, as the peer referred to; but, too indolent or too careless to pursue the track, he prefers to waste a paragraph with irrelevant observations on the obscurity of personal satire, and with references to possible identifications of the allusions in *La Bruyère*!

Bowles, who followed Warton, seems to have conceived a strong dislike to Pope, and expends the chief part of his labour on elaborating theories damaging to the poet's character; while the text in his hands remains much in the same state as he had received it from Warton and Warburton. Roscoe, on the other hand, occupies himself almost exclusively with rebuilding all that part of the temple of Pope's fame which Bowles had pulled down: so that,—to sum up,—in the eighty years that followed Pope's death, no attempt was made by any of his editors to put the reader in possession of a clue to his original meaning. The first step to supply the deficiency was taken by Mr. Carruthers, whose edition, published in 1854, gives more valuable

And again, in the satire on Timon's villa, though the most striking part is the description of the music in the chapel and at the dinner-table, which was without doubt suggested by what Pope had actually heard at Canons, yet many other of the details, which seem to be equally real, were inapplicable to Chandos' house, the humorous stroke at the 'soft Dean' being borrowed from a paper in the 'Guardian,' and the sneer at the building, as a 'laboured quarry above ground,' being the repetition of a phrase which Pope had previously applied to Blenheim in a letter to Martha Blount.

The most striking example, however, of this mixture of the real and the ideal, is found in the characters of Cotta and his Son, in the Third Moral Essay. Spence, the author of the 'Anecdotes,' who, like most people of the time, imagined that Pope had always particular persons in view in his different characters, once asked Pope if these were not intended for the first and second Dukes of Newcastle, and he says that Pope spoke of both in such a manner as not absolutely to contradict the notion. But, in the first place, the characters of Cotta and his Son do not correspond with these supposed originals, for the second Duke was not the son of the first, nor is there much in the description of the poetical persons which closely resembles what is known of either of the two Dukes. On the other hand, it is evident that if there had ever been two persons alive in Pope's time, with such strongly marked characters as Cotta and Curio, they would certainly have been identified by their contemporaries. It is evident that the two characters were in the main poetical, nor is it difficult to separate what is ideal in them from what is real. There can be no doubt, from the MS., which Warburton preserves, that the Miser's house was Wimpole, though the history of the successive possessors of Wimpole does not correspond with that of the imaginary Cotta and Curio. But in the first edition of the poem the lines that now stand

'Tis George and Liberty that crowns the cup,
And zeal for that great House which eats him up,'

stood

'Tis the dear Prince (*Sir John*) that crowns the cup,
And zeal for his great House which eats him up.'

This gives the clue to Pope's meaning. His imagination had no doubt been struck by the difference in the characters and the fortunes of the various owners of Wimpole. The apostrophe to 'Sir John' is addressed to Sir John Cutler, its first master, who, like Cotta, was, or was supposed to be, a great miser,

miser, who was also remarkable for his loyalty to the Stuarts, and whose character, for all poetical purposes, formed a sufficient foundation for that of Cotta. The estate afterwards came into the hands of the Newcastle family, who were ardent Whigs. From them it passed by marriage to Lord Oxford, who was a hopeless spendthrift. These are the leading features in the character of Curio. Hence, the apostrophe quoted above becomes intelligible. 'Sir John' would have been likely to turn in his grave, could he have known that toasts were being drunk out of his cups to a Hanoverian King, while his property, which he had so carefully amassed, was being squandered by the indolent good-nature of the latest owner.

Amidst such turnings and twistings it must necessarily have been hard to throw light on all the obscurities of the text. But this was not the only obstacle that met Mr. Croker, or with which Mr. Elwin and Mr. Courthope have had to deal. All the obscurity, inherent in Pope's writings, had been further involved by the deliberate misinterpretations of Warburton, and by the carelessness which allowed succeeding editors to be misled by the very falsifications which they had reason to suspect. To clear this away, it was necessary to begin afresh; to set aside almost entirely the authority of Warburton; and to start upon a new course. It was too late for direct testimony to help in elucidation. Another method must be pursued. Editions must be compared. Evidence from remote sources must be sought for, to corroborate or to disprove a conjecture. The various methods pursued by the poet must be studied, and reasons must be sought for his selection of this or that method in a special case. Wide reading, a retentive memory, a thorough knowledge of the social and political history of the time, must all be laid under contribution. The power of arranging, balancing, and testing evidence, as well as that of drawing from the evidence a logical and unbiassed inference, must be exerted at every turn. And lastly, if the edition was to be a complete one, all the unpublished sources of information must be carefully ransacked. Thus only could the light be thrown upon Pope's Satires, which is necessary in order to let them speak with all their force, and lay open all their interest to the reader.

These are severe requirements; but it is not too much to say that the present edition, and the volume which is now added to it, fulfil them. Mr. Courthope has the results of Mr. Croker's long and careful enquiries to present to us. He has had the advantage of the mature learning with which Mr. Elwin opened the ground, and showed where the pitfalls lay, and how untrustworthy the accepted commentators were. He has also had a

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still more important source of information as to Pope's meaning, through Mr. Elwin's kindness, in a transcript of the MSS. of some of the Moral Essays and Satires, called in this edition the Chauncy MS. These MSS., having been given by Pope to Jonathan Richardson, son of the painter, came into the possession of Dr. Chauncy,—a London physician, and a noted book-collector, who died in 1777—in whose family they have since remained. They furnish the most interesting clues to the personal references in the 'Third Moral Essay,' the 'Epistle to Arbuthnot,' and the 'First Imitation of Horace.' And, in addition to all, Mr. Courthope has sought information from the countless works that elucidate the secret history of the time; and he has preferred in each case to exercise his own judgment rather than to trust to the most positive assertions of the earlier editors, when unsupported by adequate proof. The result allows us to read the Essays and the Satires with an interest that they have never had before.

It is worth while to cite a few of the typical passages, on which much-needed light has for the first time been thrown by the joint labours of which this volume gives the fruit. In the 'Imitations of Horace,' Book I. Epistle 1, the lines occur:—

'Barnard in spirit, sense, and truth abounds;
Pray then, what wants he? Fourscore thousand pounds;
A pension in such harness for a slave,
As Bug now has, and Dorimant would have.
Barnard, thou art a cit, with all thy worth;
But Bug, and D*1, their honours, and so forth.'

On this Warton characteristically remarks: 'It cannot now be discovered to whom these names belong.' But Mr. Croker is able to detect, from the Marlborough correspondence, that 'Bug' was intended for the Duke of Kent, whose common nickname this was, and whose fitness for the Garter which he obtained was canvassed by others as well as Pope. 'Dorimant,' or 'D*1,' is more difficult of interpretation; but here also Mr. Croker was not baffled. He conjectures that it was the stepson of Pope's enemy, Lady Deloraine; the D*1 would thus stand for the first syllable of the name, and that name would be further indicated, after one of Pope's methods, by the corresponding number of syllables in the *alias* of Dorimant. That the young Earl was dissatisfied with the Court, is proved: that the dissatisfaction arose from the disappointment which he suffered in his ambition after the 'harness' of the Bath, seems probable. A new light is thus thrown, not on the satire only, but on the meaning which would be attached to the passage by
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the fashionable society of the day. Mr. Courthope adds to the strength of the proof by new illustrations of his own.

Another passage, on which care and knowledge have thrown new light, is at vv. 71, 72, of the First Dialogue of the 'Epilogue':—

'The gracious dew of pulpit eloquence,
And all the well-whipt cream of courtly sense,
That first was H——vy's, F——'s next, and then
The S——te's, and then H——vy's once again.'

This passage has remained hitherto unexplained; Mr. Croker points out its meaning. 'The gracious dew of pulpit eloquence' refers to a flattering sermon on Queen Caroline, preached by Dr. Alured Clarke. 'The well-whipt cream of courtly sense' belongs to Lord Hervey, whom Pope suspected of having written Henry Fox's encomiastic speech introducing the Address in Parliament, which Address, being adopted, became the Senate's, and which Lord Hervey finally embodied in the celebrated epitaph on the Queen in Latin and English. In connection with this passage Mr. Croker corrects a mistake of Bowles. Pope writes in his Second Dialogue:—

'And how did, pray, the florid youth offend,
Whose speech you took, and gave it to a friend?'

Upon which Bowles observed: 'The florid youth' is Lord Hervey, alluding to his painting himself. But Mr. Croker justly remarks—

'Certainly not. The friend could not have asked how Hervey had offended Pope, nor would "florid" convey a just idea of Hervey's pallid aspect even when mended with paint. The "florid youth" was young Henry Fox.'

Mr. Courthope again confirms Mr. Croker's conjecture by citing an ironical correction, printed amongst the 'Errata' in the folios of 1738, which, like the above passage, assigned the priority of invention to Fox, and denied it to Hervey. It is not easy to exaggerate the amount of labour involved in gathering together indications so slight and yet so valuable as these.

Many other instances of allusions which are now first interpreted might easily be given; but the process of proof is often too long to be represented properly in a quotation. The Chauncy MS. has supplied Mr. Courthope with most valuable hints. For instance, in the Third Moral Essay, the line

'Shall then *Uxorio* if the stakes he sweep,' &c.,

stands in the MS.—

'Shall then good B—— if the stakes he sweep.'

Here

Here the word to be filled up is evidently a dissyllable, and no doubt can exist as to the person intended, for we find in Mr. Croker's preface to Lord Hervey's 'Memoirs,' 'Lord Bristol was a distinguished patron of the turf;' and again:—'The whole correspondence between Lord and Lady Bristol during their occasional separations from their marriage in 1695 to 1737 has been preserved, and it exhibits a series of love-letters by almost every post of a passionate fondness that would seem excessive after a few months' matrimony.' From these two passages we gather the significance of the name Uxorio, and of the reference to the sweepstakes. In the next couplet, 'soft Adonis' is seen to be Lord Hervey, Lord Bristol's son, for the MS. reads 'his soft *heir*.' Old Narses, in the same Epistle, is found to be Lord Cadogan, Marlborough's successor as Commander-in-Chief. So too, a few lines lower down, Harpax is identified as the Earl of Selkirk. The couplet in the text

'They might (were Harpax not too wise to spend)
Give Harpax' self the blessing of a friend,'

appears in the Chauncy MS.

'They might, could S——k be so mad to spend,
Give S——k's self the blessing of a friend.'

In the 'Epistle to Arbuthnot' the couplet

'Three things another's modest wishes bound,
My friendship, and a prologue, and ten pound,'

applies to Theobald; while 'Pitholeon' (ver. 49) is found to be Welsted. The allusions to the 'parson much bemused with beer,' and the 'maudlin poetess' in vers. 15, 16, of the 'Epistle to Arbuthnot,' are also explained.

Again, Pope says in his 'Epistle to Bathurst' that riches might

'Find some doctor that would save the life
Of wretched Shylock, spite of Shylock's wife.'

We now learn for the first time, from the reading in the Chauncy MS., that Shylock is the husband of Pope's enemy, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, elsewhere referred to as 'Worldly,' and indicated by that name in this passage. The same MS. enables Mr. Courthope to show that, in the 'Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot,' the famous character of Bufo, i.e. Lord Halifax, 'proud as Apollo on his forked hill,' was originally intended for Bubb Dodington; the previous verse standing in the MS. as

'But left to B——b the whole Parnassian state.'

'Prating Balbus,' in the same Epistle, is shown at once by
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the MS. notes of Lord Orrery, and by the Chauncy MS., to be Lord Dupplin, afterwards Lord Kinnoul, once the object of Swift's friendship, and later, of his execration.

There are other instances in abundance, where Mr. Courthope's memory and wide reading have stood him in good stead. In the 'Imitation of Horace, First Epistle of the First Book' (v. 130),

'Some with fat bucks on childless dotards fawn,'

he explains the allusion by citing some curious verses from Sir C. H. Williams's satire called 'Peter and Lord Quidam,' and he is able thus to identify the fortune-hunter satirized, as Lord Sydney Beauclerk. To his own ingenuity Mr. Courthope is also indebted for the very probable and well-supported conjecture, which takes the famous line in the 'Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot,'

'To please a mistress, one aspersed his life,'

to refer (as far as the first half of the verse is concerned) to Teresa Blount. In the 'Imitation of the First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace' occur the lines (vv. 308, 309):

'Clattering their sticks before ten lines are spoke,
Call for the farce, the bear, or the *black-joke*.'

The '*black-joke*,' so far as we are aware, has never been previously explained, but Mr. Courthope points out that:—

"The Coal-black Joke" was the name of a song so excessively indecent that it can hardly have been called for on the stage. The tune was, however, very popular. It is found as the air to one of the songs in "The Beggar's Wedding," a ballad opera which was performed in 1730. What the people called for was therefore, in all probability, the tune called "The Coal-black Joke."

The line (235), in the same Epistle,

'Verse prays for peace, or sings down Pope and Turk,'

is explained by Mr. Courthope's citation (for which he is indebted to one of his correspondents) of a hymn inserted at the end of the Psalms, in Queen Anne's Prayer-book of 1703:—

'Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear word,
From Turk and Pope, defend us, Lord.'

Similarly, in the line (78) of the Second Moral Essay 'On the Characters of Women,'

'Cæsar and *Tall-boy*, Charles and Charlemagne,'

what is otherwise utterly meaningless is invested for the first time

time with living interest by a quotation from Colley Cibber's life, from which it appears that the character of Tall-boy in the 'Jovial Crew' was accepted as a type of low comedy.

Mr. Courthope has contributed several valuable notes illustrative of manners and customs. Thus, in illustration of the couplet (251) in the Second Moral Essay—

'That charm shall grow, while what fatigues the Ring
Flaunts, and goes down, an unregarded thing'—

Mr. Courthope remarks :—

'The "Ring" was a clump of trees—near that part of Hyde Park at present covered by the Serpentine—round which the carriages of the fashionable world used to drive. The following description by a contemporary writer, while illustrating Pope's meaning, will also show how closely the manners of our ancestors resembled our own. "When the spring advances, and the summer comes on, as it usually does before the rising of Parliament, which keeps the quality in town, they grow weary of their winter diversions, and we see most of them assembling on a fine evening, either at the Ring in Hyde Park, or in the Mall at St. James's; and it is not unusual for them to come from the Ring to walk in the Mall. The Ring in Hyde Park is shaded by fine lofty trees, and the dust laid by water-carts,"' &c.

On the lines (45, 46) in the 'Imitation of the First Satire of Horace':—

'Each mortal has his pleasure: none deny
Scarsdale his bottle, Darty his ham-pie'—

Mr. Courthope has an amusing note :—

'Charles Dartineuf, or Dartiquenave, was Surveyor of the King's Gardens, and Paymaster of the Board of Works. His character is frequently noticed by writers of the period, among others by Swift in his "Journal to Stella." See note to verse 77 of Moral Essay, i. He was supposed to be a natural son of Charles II. He died in May, 1738. I have found in a cookery book published in 1730, a receipt for a "Westphalia Ham Pie," which will illustrate the meaning of the text, and which is worth preserving, both for its own sake and for Darty's. "First boil your ham, but not too much; take off the skin, and pare off all the rust and outside, and take out all the bones; cut some hacks in it in the inside, and season it with pepper, cloves, mace, and ginger, and wash the top with the yolk of an egg, and season and strow over some thyme and parsley minced; make a coffin, and put in your ham in the middle, put some forced meat round, and round that partridges, chickens, and pigeons, and some forced meat between; season all; but lay over some hard yolks of eggs, artichoke bottoms quartered, and chesnuts blanched; lay scalded lettuce or asparagus scalded in short bunches; put over butter, and close it and bake it; cut it up and take out the fat, put in some good
gravy,

gravy, and shake it together, and put over it a ragoust of pallats and sweetbreads, cockscombs, morelles, truffles, and mushrooms, and serve it away hot to the table; garnish with the cover cut." The book, from which this ingenious idea is extracted, was written by Charles Carter, cook to the Duke of Argyll, and is said on the title page, to have been "approved by divers of the prime nobility, and by several masters of the art and mystery of cooking," of whom Darty was doubtless one.'

None but an editor, who has the needful enthusiasm for his work, could have given us elucidations, of which these are only a few, so needful, so interesting, and at the same time so hard of attainment.

In addition to the many new explanations of casual references which make this volume so useful to the student of Pope, Mr. Courthope deals exhaustively with some of the most crucial questions with regard to the poet, and brings to their settlement fresh material of no little importance. One of the most celebrated of these is the mystery with regard to the publication of the well-known character of Atossa, in the Second Moral Essay, 'On the Characters of Women.' Like the characters of Philomede and Chloe, it was not published with the Epistle until Warburton's edition of 1751, although inserted in the edition printed and revised for the poet before his death in 1744, and given to the world in a folio sheet printed in 1746. With regard to these lines a question of vital importance to Pope's reputation arises, inasmuch as an apparently authenticated report exists, to the effect that he published the lines after having received from the Duchess of Marlborough, who was beyond doubt the original of the portrait, 1000*l.* for their suppression. First started by Warton, this report has received additional confirmation from more than one quarter since Warton's edition. To the previous evidence, Mr. Courthope now adds the testimony of the Duchess of Portland, as transcribed by Mr. Elwin from one of the note-books in which the Duchess entered memoranda, and which are preserved at Longleat. This new evidence, however, assigns 3000*l.* as the hush-money, instead of the sum previously named. It is clear how heavily this story bears on the poet's character. But Mr. Courthope, while he brings forward this apparent confirmation of the story, shows that its value is weakened, first, by the fact that the Duchess is a prejudiced witness; secondly, by the great discrepancy between the story told in her note-book and that which she seems to have told Warton; and lastly, by the fact that between the date at which Pope is said to have received the money and the date at which the Duchess made the entry in her
note-book,

note-book, many years elapsed, and that, in the interval, the verses had been published in a folio sheet, with a footnote, evidently written by an enemy, giving an account of the reputed transaction. Mr. Courthope shows the insuperable difficulties that there are in the way of accepting the story in its full details: in other words, of supposing that Pope should have had the ruinous audacity to publish, as he clearly intended doing, during the Duchess's life, a character which he had been paid, and paid with the knowledge of witnesses, to suppress. It seems incredible that even his self-deceiving complacency should have enabled him to suppose that evidence so damning could be set aside. Mr. Courthope accepts three points as authenticated: first, that Pope did receive 1000*l.* from the Duchess; secondly, that the character was originally meant for her; and thirdly, that he intended to publish it during her life. But he believes that the money was paid, not specifically for the suppression of this character, which the Duchess would not allow to have any resemblance to herself, but as part of a general bargain to obtain security for her husband's memory and for herself, from the poet's pen.

This theory gains strong confirmation from some material of the greatest interest, which Mr. Courthope publishes for the first time. Amongst the papers of Warburton which Mr. Croker obtained, there is a page of cancelled proof, containing vv. 279-298 of the 'Essay on Man,' so altered as to make the satire on the Duke of Marlborough much more pointed. The new verses, thus fitted into the old, run as follows:—

'In hearts of Kings or arms of Queens who lay
(How happy!), those to ruin, these betray,
Mark by what wretched steps great * * grows,
From dirt and sea-weed as proud Venice rose;
One equal course how Guilt and Greatness ran,
And all that raised the Hero sunk the Man.
Now Europe's Laurels on his brows behold,
But stained with blood, or ill-exchanged for gold:
What wonder triumphs never turned his brain,
Filled with mean fear to lose, mean joy to gain.
Hence see him modest, free from pride or show;
Some Vices were too high, but none too low.
Go then, indulge thy age in Wealth and Ease,
Stretched on the spoils of plundered palaces:
Alas! what *wealth*, which no one act of fame
E'er taught to shine, or sanctified from shame!
Alas! what *ease*, those furies of thy life,
Ambition, Av'rice, and the imperious Wife,
The trophied Arches, storied Halls invade,
And haunt their slumbers in the pompous shade.

No joy, no pleasure from successes past,
 Timid, and therefore treacherous, to the last.
 Hear him, in accents of a pining ghost,
 Sigh, with his captive, for his offspring lost.
 Behold him loaded with unreverenced years,
 Bathed in unmeaning, unrepentant tears,
 Dead, by regardless Vet'rans borne on high,
 Dry pomps, and obsequies without a sigh.
 Who now his fame or fortune shall prolong?
 In vain his consort bribes for venal song.
 No son, nor grandson, shall the line sustain,

In vain a nation's zeal, a senate's cares.
 "Madness and Lust" (said God) "be you his heirs;
 O'er his vast heaps, in drunkenness of pride,
 Go wallow, Harpies, and your prey divide!"
 Alas! not dazzled with his noontide ray,
 Compute the morn and evening of his day:
 The whole amount of that enormous Fame
 A Tale! that blends the Glory with the Shame!

Mr. Courthope shows, most conclusively, that Pope must have deliberately intended to publish the altered verses, the existence of which was long known in and beyond his circle, although they are now published for the first time; and he makes the very warrantable inference, that the Duchess had by the influence of common friends prevailed on Pope to suppress the character of the Duke as early as 1735. In 1741, however, Pope began to wish to publish the lines on Atossa, and, being then on terms of friendship with the Duchess of Marlborough, he read them to her as the character of the Duchess of Buckingham, in order, no doubt, to see whether it would be possible to deceive her. On her side the Duchess seems to have said nothing to Pope at the time, but she doubtless thought it would be expedient to take precautions against his malice, and it is suggested that she empowered Hooke, the writer of the 'Roman History,' to make a bargain in general terms with Pope, engaging him to suppress all references in his satire to the Duke and herself. Pope for some reason, probably for the sake of Martha Blount, took the money, but mentally excepted the verses on Atossa from the bargain, intending to publish them as the character of the Duchess of Buckingham, a device whereby he hoped to contrive that the world should see the satire, without any injury being done to the Duchess of Marlborough. Mr. Courthope faces the facts: all that he can do is to invent a theory which will reasonably explain the conduct of Pope. He does this with a fulness which it is impossible to represent in a quotation; and, as we think, with complete success. It adds some further interest to the account,

account, that Mr. Courthope traces in the anonymous folio sheet of 1746, which exposes Pope's conduct, the hand of his former friend Bolingbroke; and thus deepens the stain of the malignity which, for a very petty injury, inspired in Bolingbroke the desire to blacken the poet's fame.

With regard to the general spirit of the Satires, the editor points out that their truth and justice are not to be measured by the assertions either of the poet or of his enemies.

'In Pope, then, we have to do with a remarkably complex character. It will not do simply to brand him as a hypocrite, for the essence of hypocrisy consists in unreality; but behind the falsities of Pope there is an eagerness and intensity which gives them a human interest, and makes us feel that, in his poetry, we are in contact with the nature of the man himself. To separate that moral nature into its various elements, so as to decide how much is deliberately false, how much may be accepted as true, and how much is self-deception, we ought, following his own rule, to examine his

"Proper character,
His fable, subject, scope in every page,
Religion, country, genius of his age."

'On this principle much of the inconsistency in his conduct will be found to correspond with the union of opposite conditions in his nature: the piercing intelligence and artistic power, lodged in the sickly and deformed frame; the vivid perception of the ridiculous in others, joined to the most sensitive consciousness of his own defects; the passionate desire for fame, aggravated by a fear of being suspected by his countrymen on account of his religion; the conflicting qualities of benevolence and self-love; the predominance of intellectual instinct; the deficiency of moral principle.'

Many of Pope's most characteristic, and unfortunately also his least creditable, qualities exhibit themselves in the account which he gives to the public of the manner in which his Satires came to be published. A remarkable instance of his disingenuousness is found in his Advertisement to the 'Epistle to Arbuthnot.' He gives the reader to understand that this Epistle had been written 'by snatches' long before the date of its publication, and that indeed he had no intention of publishing it till he was attacked in the 'Verses to the Imitator of Horace' and the 'Epistle to a Doctor of Divinity,' when he thought that the best answer would be 'to put the last hand to the Epistle.' But Mr. Courthope shows that the only parts of the Epistle which were certainly written before 1733 were vv. 151-214, comprising the satire on the small critics and the character of Atticus, and vv. 406-419, being the pathetic lines at the end of the Epistle; to which may be probably added the
vv. 231-248,

vv. 231-248, containing the character of Bufo. These lines might, as Mr. Courthope says, be removed without materially impairing the construction of the rest of the Epistle (323 lines!), which is evidently a connected composition, and which appears from internal evidence to have been written as a direct answer to the attacks of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and of Lord Hervey.

With regard to the character of Atticus, Pope's statement is that it was written in 'great heat,' in consequence of information, received from Lord Warwick in 1715, of Addison's intrigues against Pope's reputation, and that it was immediately forwarded to Addison himself. Pope's enemies always asserted that the character was written after Addison's death; but Mr. Courthope thinks from the evidence that it is probable the lines were really written, as Pope says, during his rival's lifetime, but that the story of Addison's underhand conduct was fabricated by the poet at a later date, and that the lines were never sent to Addison at all, Pope having invented the fable in order to impress the public with an idea of his own manly conduct in the quarrel.

His love of mystification and intrigue is conspicuous in his equivocating method of defence against the charge that the character of Timon was meant for the Duke of Chandos. Equivocation, indeed, was as much part of his artistic method as of his moral code. A curious instance of this is seen in the couplet in the 'Epistle to Bolingbroke':

'This, this the saving doctrine, preached to all,
From low St. James's up to high St. Paul,'

on which Mr. Courthope has the following note:

'These lines are pregnant with the equivocation in which Pope delighted. In the first place they have an obvious local meaning, including all "London's voice" between the East and West Ends, the voice of the Court and the City. They have an equally obvious application to the two parties in the Church. St. James's, the great stepping-stone to preferment in the Church, had had a succession of "Low" Rectors, Tenison, Wake, Clarke, and Secker; while St. Paul's was the great stronghold of the High Church party, the Dean at this time being Francis Hare, the chief opponent of Hoadley in the Bangorian controversy, and the staunch champion of Church Authority. There is, I think, a third meaning in the word "low." Pope thought that "low St. James's" would be applied by many to St. James's Court, in which case they would find a pointed allusion to the love of money which was a notorious feature in the characters both of the King and the Queen. "Low St. James's" would then be equivalent to "the mean Court."'

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In the first Dialogue of what is now called the 'Epilogue to the Satires' almost every line has a double meaning, and that he acted on this equivocating principle deliberately, may be seen from what he says in vv. 45-50 of that Dialogue:

'If any ask you, "Who's the man so near
His prince, that writes in verse, and has his ear?"
Why answer, Lyttelton, and I'll engage
The worthy youth shall ne'er be in a rage.
But were his verses vile, his whisper base,
You'd quickly find him in Lord Fanny's case.'

Two characteristic examples of his ambiguous satire are seen in the characters of Atossa and Bufo, to both of which we have already referred. We find from the Chauncy MS. that the character of Bufo was originally intended to apply to Dodington; yet afterwards this application was dexterously neutralized, and the whole character transferred to Halifax, by the addition of the four lines about Dryden. In the same way, Atossa without doubt was at the outset meant for the Duchess of Marlborough, but there is strong reason to suppose that the character would have been published as that of the Duchess of Buckingham, and in several lines in the authorized text we seem to trace an insertion made to render the character more completely applicable to that Duchess. So too the concluding lines of the Satire called '1740' may apply either to the Prince of Wales or to the Pretender. This evidence shows that we must be slow in accepting either Pope's assertions about himself, his friends, and his enemies, or his elaborate portraits of his contemporaries, as exact representations of Truth.

Another point to be considered in these Satires is their party spirit. Pope belonged to the Opposition, and the Epilogue to the Satires, in which he makes the strongest protestations of his independence and public spirit, was written to advance the cause of the Prince of Wales's party against that of the King. From the charges which he brings against the Ministerial faction we must therefore deduct the usual amount of rhetoric in which an Opposition indulges at the expense of a Government. Party spirit too, mingled with poetic instinct, should be taken into account in appreciating the Satire of the Third Moral Essay. Mr. Courthope points out that, under the veil of didactic morality, this Essay is in reality a bitter attack upon the monied interest, which was in general devoted to the Whig party. All the persons named in the early part of the poem are Whigs, and Pope does not hesitate, when it suits him, to pervert truth for the purpose of blackening their characters. A notable

instance of this is seen in his Satire on 'Vulture' Hopkins, and the account he gives of that person's Will (see note to verse 85, Third Moral Essay). His portrait of Cutler is still more unjust (note to verse 315, Third Moral Essay); and in this case the motive can only have been love of poetic effect, as Sir John, who had been long dead, was a Tory.

These are the main deductions which we must make from Pope's claims to be a completely truthful satirist. But when all is said, a large foundation of truth remains in his satire. It is impossible to believe that the ardent protestations he makes of his innocence and public spirit, are the utterances of deliberate hypocrisy. So far as they are not in exact accordance with truth, they proceed from self-deception, and, with an intense and poetical nature like Pope's, they stand for the expression of what he actually thought at the time that he wrote. From his enemies he had received many and just grounds of provocation, and the libels on his person, his morals, and his family, were certainly of a kind to excite fierce resentment. Nor is the picture he gives of his times altogether the result of his own perverted vision.

'Whatever benefits,' observes Mr. Courthope, 'accrued to England from the accession of the House of Hanover, it cannot be denied that the Revolution was attended with great injustice and oppression to a large portion of the nation, and that to a Catholic like Pope the Brunswick dynasty was identified with the revival of the Penal Laws, with double taxes, and harsh restrictions of personal liberty. The quarrels in the Royal Family, of which the poet was evidently most minutely informed, were a proper subject for party satire. The tone of the Church, Erastian and almost secular, especially in the Whig prelates, who owed their advancement to political interest, was certainly such as to invite stricture; while, the spiritual standard being low, the moral code of society was correspondingly debased. Gross sycophancy prevailed in the Court circles, and afforded an effective foil to Pope's constant profession of his own integrity and independence. Besides, the corruption of the monied interest, which had been encouraged by the Whigs as a means of maintaining the political balance against the landed aristocracy; the South Sea Bubble; the venal nature of Walpole's government, and its debasing influence on literature; all presented a fair theme to a moralist of Pope's party and character.'

Mr. Courthope states that he has attempted to place both the poetry and the character of Pope before the reader without reserve or palliation. We think that he is right in having done so, even in Pope's own interest. Apart from the question of moral truth and justice, it cannot be disputed that the Satires

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of Pope, characterized as they are by the unrivalled minuteness and finish of his style, present a wonderful picture of a past age of English society, and that in the 'amber' of his verse even the meanest of his foes—the 'grubs and straws and worms' of the eighteenth century—have a living interest for us. The actors of that vanished time rise again before the imagination, seen, no doubt, through a medium of personal and party feeling, but still living realities: we are able to observe and track the subtle intelligence of the poet, proceeding by dark underground ways of mystery and intrigue; and to follow him through the various methods of his art, noting his exquisite selection of language, the extent of his obligations to previous and sometimes forgotten poets, and the admirable skill with which he appropriates to his own style whatever he borrows from the thoughts of others. In all this we have a remarkable study of human nature. The extraordinary picture of a man possessing so much elevation of feeling and so many fine qualities, so charitable and benevolent, so zealous a friend and so excellent a son, and at the same time devoured by such a passion of self-love as to involve himself, in pursuit of his ends, in inextricable tangles of falsehood, evasion, and treachery; makes us feel that the concluding couplet of Pope's character of Addison is far more applicable to himself.

"Who but must laugh, if such a man there be?
Who would not weep, if Atticus were he?"

This, we expect, will in the end be the predominant feeling of Englishmen about this great poet. But the gratitude, that is justly due to him for the intellectual pleasure which his works will always continue to provide for his countrymen, must after all prevail, and now that Pope himself, with all his meaner passions and weaknesses has passed from our scene, we feel that the balance of judgment upon him will be decided by that part of him which is immortal.

ART. VI.—*Histoire du Luxe, Privé et Public, depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'à nos Jours* (*History of Luxury, Private and Public, from Antiquity down to our Time*). Par H. Baudrillart, Membre de l'Institut. Deuxième Edition. Quatre Tomes. Paris, 1880.

THIS book, purporting to be a history of luxury, is a history of manners and morals, modes of life and customs, arts, industry, commerce and civilization, in all ages and all quarters of the world. The steps by which every race, nation, or people of note advanced from rudeness to refinement, or by which so many of them have retrograded to corruption or decay, are accurately traced. The amount of learning, ancient and modern, laboriously amassed and judiciously applied, is immense; and the author, far from fancying that he has done enough when he has supplied the materials for reflection, pauses at frequent intervals to suggest inferences or draw conclusions; so that, by the time we have mastered his work, we are not only made familiar with the progress of luxury, but with the economical theories relating to it, the modes of treatment to which it has been subjected by legislators, the fierce diatribes it has provoked from the pulpit, and the curious speculations into which it has seduced philosophers.

What is luxury? Is it an evil or a good? Is it to be relatively or positively considered or judged? Where are we to draw the line between necessities, comforts, and superfluities? 'Le Superflu, chose très-nécessaire,' is the well-known expression of Voltaire, and Senior lays down that a carriage is a decency to a woman of fashion, a necessary to a physician, and a luxury to a tradesman.* These seeming paradoxes may turn out very like truths, when we make due allowance for the influence of custom and fashion, when we bear in mind what a complex artificial creature is man as moulded by society; and if any doubts exist on this point, they will be dissipated by the illustrations of human nature, the startling examples of follies and caprice, extravagance and ostentation, with which M. Baudrillart's pages are filled to overflowing. Indeed, according to him, there has been no such thing as a natural, simple, unsophisticated man or woman since our first parents.

* 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' art. *Political Economy*. It has been said of a physician that he must begin where many professional men leave off—with a carriage and a wife. 'By necessities I understand not only the commodities which are indispensably necessary for the support of life, but whatever the custom of the country renders it indecent for creditable people even of the lowest class to be without. All other things I call luxuries.'—*Adam Smith*.

‘How often has not the human race been represented as passing step by step from the necessary to the useful, from the useful to the superfluous? Now, the primitive facts contradict this. They attest that the superfluous has more than ever preceded the useful, and that very often also the abuse has preceded the reasonable use. Let us endeavour to fix, to describe by some traits, what may be termed the elements of luxury amongst these primitive populations. We can even now indicate the result. It may be stated thus: The primitive man obeys the same instincts as the more cultivated. He is found vain, sensual, and as refined as he is permitted to be by the imperfect state of his means.’

* * * *

‘Nudity adorns before clothing itself: pride is born before modesty.’

Primitive, Oriental, and Grecian Luxury, form the subjects of the first volume: Roman and Byzantine, of the second: the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, of the third: Modern Luxury, of the fourth. The utmost we can attempt is a summary or selection of the salient points and most remarkable passages of each.

We may pass rapidly over the chapters in which, reverting to his theory of the indigenous instinctive quality of luxury, the author accumulates instances to show that the rudest tribes and races, however sunk in ignorance and filth, are invariably found adorning or disfiguring their persons in some way, and even undergoing prolonged torture, to gratify their vanity. Thus, no later back than 1874, an English traveller, Dr. Comrie, came upon an indigenous people in New Guinea who did not know the use of iron, and were repulsively dirty, but had plenty of ornaments, or what they regarded in that light. Rousseau's doctrine, that disfigurement and distortion, in compliance with fashion or with the view of beautifying, are the fruit of civilization, is demonstrably unsound. The ladies of London and Paris, with their compressed waists and ears pierced for rings, have been surpassed by the Esquimaux, who have a hole made in each cheek to introduce a stone ornament, and by the Cochin-Chinese, who perforate and blacken their teeth. The supreme distinction in some African tribes consists in a species of stock or gorget formed of large shells. ‘So much for the *naturel* of these savages! Our most ridiculous fashions are less so than those by which they are enslaved. As to the vanity of the toilet, the famous Brummel himself, that type of a dandy, enveloped in the folds of his immense cravat artistically tied, was less infatuated than our painted savage with his gorget of shells!’ This is confirmed by the most recent work of authority on the Prehistoric Times: ‘We see in all countries, in all latitudes,
in

in the man at least as much as in the woman, the passion for adornment. Civilization has singularly increased this passion: but it assuredly existed already in the times we are narrating; and the ornaments of every kind, of every form, of every substance, show what it was in man at the dawn of his existence upon earth.*

M. Baudrillart includes under the term *luxe* all the pomps and vanities, all the displays of grandeur and magnificence, all the creations of labour and capital, which have not utility for their well-defined object—in a word, unproductive expenditure of every kind. Funeral ceremonies, tombs, and monuments, are comprehended, as well as banquets and palaces. Entering the East by Egypt, he points to the pyramids as examples of the most extravagant waste of life and treasure, and to the temples (which may be reconstructed to the mind's eye from the ruins) as throwing, for grandness of conception, Versailles and the Escorial, St. Peter's and St. Paul's, into the shade. The temple of Karnak, which Mr. Fergusson terms 'the noblest effort of architectural magnificence ever produced by the mind of man,' is computed to have been four times as large as Notre Dame; with a hall supported by a hundred and thirty-four columns as big as the column Vendôme and as high as the Obelisk. The 'Labyrinth,' which Herodotus mentions as the principal wonder of Egypt, was an edifice of two stories, containing 1500 rooms in each. 'The upper chambers,' he says, 'I myself passed through and saw, and found them to excel all human productions.' He was not admitted into the lower, which contained the sepulchres of the kings who built the Labyrinth, and those of the sacred crocodiles. The monarchs of the Pharaonic dynasties, by their passion for building combined with boundless munificence, so vividly recal the founder of Versailles, that M. Renan speaks of them as so many prototypes of Louis Quatorze. These Egyptian autocrats also resembled the Grand Monarque in their profound indifference to the poverty and misery they entailed on their people. 'Egypt was then, as now, the land of the doomed *fellah*, time immemorially employed in carrying stones upon his back, condemned to excessive toil in all shapes.' The pyramids and temples were all equally the product of compulsory labour.

That the Egyptians had arrived at an advanced stage of civilization is proved by the position of their women, who enjoyed an amount of independence rarely permitted to women in

* 'Les Premiers Hommes et Les Temps Préhistoriques.' Par Le Marquis de Nadaillac. Paris, 1881. Vol. i., p. 113.

the East. It would seem from a story told by Herodotus that they did not invariably make the best use of it. A Pharaoh who had lost his sight was told that the recovery of it depended on his finding a faithful wife. He addressed himself first to his own, then to others, and when, after a prolonged period of blindness, his eyes were at last unsealed by his meeting with the object of his search, he assembled the numerous dames who had been wanting in the healing virtue and caused the whole of them to be burned. The history of Potiphar's wife is repeated almost literally in the famous papyrus of 'The Two Brothers.'

From Egypt we are taken to Nineveh, the Nineveh of Sardanapalus, who died the death of an imperial epicure, after dictating the inscription for his tomb: 'Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyndaraxus, built Anchiale and Tarsus in one day: eat, drink, and lust: the rest is nothing.' Strabo states that Nineveh was sixty miles in circumference. In describing its buildings and speculating upon its habits, Sir A. H. Layard* has exhibited the same sort of ingenuity which is displayed by a Cuvier or a Professor Owen when he arrives at the construction of an extinct animal from the study of a bone.* The broad result, founded on his explorations, is that the Ninevites had made considerable progress in the decorative arts, although in public buildings and in most other respects they ranked considerably below Babylon, where Oriental magnificence reached its culminating point. The extent of the city may have been exaggerated by the ancient historians, but their account of the vastness of the buildings and the amount of precious metals lavished on the decorations is confirmed by modern discoverers.

Nitocris, the spouse of Nebuchadnezzar, is described by M. Baudrillart as the soul of his works, and to her is attributed the design of the lake named after her, which served the double purpose of a fortification and a dam against the Euphrates when in flood. The famous hanging gardens are also attributed to female influence, to the longing of a Median princess, born in a more elevated region, for the coolness and shade of her native mountains. There were five of these gardens, about four English acres each, on terraces supported by columns and covered with mould thick enough for the largest trees to take root in it. One of the columns was hollow, and contained an hydraulic machine to raise the required quantity of water. In fact, the art of gardening, with all its modern appliances, including irrigation and the transplantation of grown trees, was practised in Babylon as effectively as in the Bois de Boulogne or Hyde Park.

* 'Nineveh and its Remains.' By A. H. Layard, 1846. * 'Monuments of Nineveh,' 1849-53. 'Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon,' 1853.

The simplest form of worship in the open air was enjoined by Zoroaster; temples and images were expressly forbidden: whatever luxury therefore prevailed in Iran, the nucleus of the Persian Empire, was in opposition to the religious spirit instead of being, as in the other countries we have been surveying, an emanation from it. The luxury of the empire, the empire of Xerxes and Darius, retained the mundane character; and we are again reminded of Louis Quatorze, when we are told that the household of the Persian monarch comprised fifteen thousand persons, and that the sole duty of a number of high officers was to make his bed. Two immense buildings were occupied by the queens and concubines. The royal table was supplied with the choicest eatables and drinkables for which certain localities were renowned. The water came from the Choaspes, and when his majesty was on the move between the cities which shared his presence, it was transported in silver vessels from the temple of Jupiter Ammon in the Libyan desert: the wine was brought from Chalybon in Syria: the cheese from *Æolis*. The glory of Persian architecture and decorative art was the palace of Persepolis, built by Darius, with its marble staircase which ten horsemen could mount abreast, and its clusters of columns which were compared to forests of lotus and palm-trees.

We learn from Herodotus that of all days in the year, the one which the Persian celebrated most was his birthday, when the richer class caused an ox, a horse, a camel, and an ass to be baked whole, and so served up to them: 'They eat little solid food, but abundance of dessert, which is set on table a few dishes at a time. They are very fond of wine and drink it in large quantities.' It is also their general practice to deliberate upon affairs of weight when they are drunk; and then, on the morrow, when they are sober, the decision to which they came the night before is put before them, and if it is then approved of, they act on it; if not, they set it aside. Sometimes they are sober at their first deliberation, but in this case they always reconsider the matter under the influence of wine.' In a note on this passage Sir Henry Rawlinson states that 'at the present day among the *bons vivants* of Persia, it is usual to sit for hours before dinner, drinking wine and eating dried fruits, such as filberts, almonds, pistachios, melon-seeds, &c. A party, indeed, often sits down at seven o'clock and the dinner is not brought in till eleven.'*

* 'The History of Herodotus; a New English Version,' &c. By George Rawlinson, M.A. Assisted by Col. Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir J. G. Wilkinson, F.R.S. Book I.

'As rich as Cræsus' has passed into a proverb, and the traditional belief in his wealth is confirmed by history. After a sacrifice to the Delphic god of a vast number of costly articles, he melted down a quantity of gold into 117 ingots of $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 talents each, besides causing a lion to be made in refined gold, weighing ten talents, and a female figure of the same material four feet and a half high. These, with two enormous bowls, one of gold and one of silver, were all sent to Delphi and deposited in the temple.*

The paintings of antiquity, the masterpieces of Apelles and Zeuxis, are only known to us by description, and yet, from what has been recorded of them, we give the painters credit for having attained the highest qualities of their art. By a parity of reasoning we may assume from the literary monuments of India that, three thousand years ago, she had attained to well-nigh the highest point to which luxury can be carried by splendour, refinement, and taste. In the Indian poem, the '*Ramayana*,' dated thirteen hundred years before the Christian era, the author, describing the people of the Deccan under a feigned name, as Gulliver described the English court under the guise of the Lilliputian, speaks of the wonders of the vast city of the Troglodytes, adorned with plantations and gardens, crowded with palaces resplendent with jewels in flowery shades, and animated by the presence of nobles attired in the richest vestments and crowned with garlands. 'Not far from thence rose the grand and vast dwellings of the chiefs of the Vanaras, dwellings like white clouds, likewise ornamented with splendid garlands, full of precious stones and riches, and containing treasures still more valuable, bevy of beautiful women!'

These ladies were attired in the silks, embroidered muslins, and cachemires, which are at present so highly prized by their sisters of the West. But the position of the fair sex is somewhat difficult to define. Manon (700 B.C.), severe as he generally is towards them, enjoins, 'Do not strike a woman even with a flower, if she had committed a thousand faults.' The following apostrophe is placed in the mouth of one of the *dramatis personæ* in the '*Ramayana*': 'At thy aspect, we dream of modesty, of splendour, of happiness, of glory. We think of Lakchmi the spouse of Vishnu, or of Rati, the laughing companion of love. Which of these divinities art thou, O woman with the seducing girdle?' On the other hand, we must remember the *bayadères* or dancing girls, and there were provinces from which women were objects of export, as now or

* '*Herodotus*,' book i. c. 50.

recently,

recently, from Circassia. M. Baudrillart states that King Djanaka, amongst presents to a neighbouring prince, sent a thousand female slaves with rich necklaces or collars.

The religious spirit found expression in the most imposing and variegated forms. The most ancient pagodas, constructed when Brahmanism was at its best, are profusely ornamented with sculptured images of remarkable elegance:—

‘All commentary grows pale before the magnificent ruins of the temples of Ellora, which more than any other ruins confuse the human imagination. At the sight of these astounding edifices, which appear to date from an epoch anterior to Brahmanical civilization, the development of the plastic arts and of public religious luxury amongst the Hindoos receives the most striking attestation in the magnificence of these temples, in the infinite diversity of their details, and the minute variety of the carvings.’

Chinese civilization is one of the oldest in the world. Successive changes of dynasty have had little or no effect upon the manners and ways of life of the people, which would seem to have been stereotyped from the commencement of the empire; and, if we may trust Montesquieu, they have undergone five or six of the revolutionary changes which are commonly subversive of customs and institutions in the West. He says that the three first dynasties lasted longest because they were wisely governed, and that in general all of them began well. Good and bad emperors alternated as in Rome. China had her Trajan and her Antonines, as well as her Tiberius, her Caligula, and her Elagabalus. It is from the history of these last that we learn the nature and excess of the luxury which prevailed amongst them. Thus, Chean Sing, who reigned eleven hundred years before the Christian era, was famous for his cruelties and debaucheries, which were shared and encouraged by a wife or concubine named Ta-Ki. He built a palace of marble and kept a public table, which was the scene of drunken orgies, frequently terminating in crime. The greater vassals rose against him and, like another Sardanapalus, finding resistance vain, he caused a funeral pile to be constructed and threw himself upon it attired in his richest robes.

The Chinese are a stationary race; with them it is literally only ‘le premier pas qui coûte,’ for they never take the second. They have invention without imagination. Ingenious and industrious, they never aim at progress or improvement, and if they had been let alone, if the intruding spirit of European enterprise had not penetrated the barrier, they would fain have kept their country hermetically sealed against the foreigner to
this

this hour. Most of the arts of life, many of the most important discoveries, including printing and gunpowder, were known to them when what are now the most advanced nations were in their infancy; and it is startling to think that merely by working out their own ideas, or giving them to be worked out by others, the Chinese might have changed the history of the world. There were two articles of luxury, however, which they were unable to keep to themselves, porcelain and silk. Specimens of China ware were brought to Europe by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, but the ceramic art, as since practised at Sèvres, Dresden, and Worcester, was unknown or neglected in Europe prior to the eighteenth. The manufacture of porcelain in China is dated a century before the Christian era, and it is recorded that about A.D. 1000 an emperor, some days after his accession to the throne, was respectfully requested to indicate the colour of the vessels destined for his use. He wrote by way of rescript: 'In future let them give the porcelain the azure tint of the sky after rain, such as it appears between the clouds.' The artisans succeeded in carrying out his wish, and the sky-blue porcelain fetched fabulous prices whilst it lasted.

The Roman writers speak of silk as a product of India, and it was unknown in Europe, except as an imported and rare article, prior to the sixth century; but the Chinese claim for an empress, named Siling-Chi, who lived B.C. 2650, the discovery of the art of breeding and domesticating silkworms, that of winding off their cocoons, and the fabrication of stuffs of silk. She was deified as the discoverer in the threefold capacity, and down to our time, according to M. Baudrillart, the Chinese empresses, attended by their maids of honour, have been in the habit of offering annual sacrifices to Siling-Chi, and have deemed it a duty to rear silkworms. The export of the seeds of the mulberry-tree and the eggs of the worm was prohibited under pain of death, and the prohibitory law was rigidly observed for ages, till a Chinese princess betrothed to a king of Khotan, unwilling to dispense with silk, contrived to smuggle some of the seeds and eggs across the frontier in her hair. But the secret did not reach Europe till A.D. 552, when two monks of the Order of St. Basil made a present to Justinian of some of the seeds and eggs, which they brought from China in the hollow of their pilgrim staves.

Besides silk and porcelain, we are indebted to the Chinese for tea. Their bills of fare are varied and comprehensive, but none of their choicest dishes have found favour at European tables; not even the famous birds'-nest soup, so highly esteemed amongst them that not long since a rich widow was giving
4000*l.*

4000*l.* a year for an island to ensure a constant supply of the delicacy.

M. Baudrillart places the Chinese, as regards both art and cookery, below the Japanese, who in many points resemble them; but, far from being stationary, there is no country which has undergone within living memory so many sweeping changes as Japan, and we must revert to its previous history for illustrations of its characteristic luxury, civil and religious, as displayed by the Mikado, in whom the sovereign and pontiff were combined. Treated as a god, this personage was not allowed to touch the ground with his feet, and on public days he was bound to sit crowned and immovable. The slightest movement was supposed to portend the worst calamity. At his hours of repast, twelve tables were laid out, magnificently served. He chose one, to which the dishes of all the rest were removed, and he dined to the sound of a deafening crash of music. All the plate with which he was served was broken to pieces on the spot. His garments were worn by no one after him; whoever wore one of them would have found it as fatal as the shirt of Nessus. He was allowed twelve wives, one of whom took precedence as a queen. These ladies had magnificent robes, woven of gold and silver, so ample that it was no easy matter for them to walk. But it does not appear that they had their feet compressed from infancy like the Chinese women of the higher class, in whom what in the eye of reason was a deformity had become by custom an indispensable sign of rank. Are English ladies aware that with the high-heeled shoe, which they wear by way of adding to their height, they are destroying the natural shape of the foot, and provoking a by no means complimentary comparison with the Chinese?

Tyre and Sidon were the carriers of civilization, the connecting links between all the known regions of three continents, and the richest products of these regions were concentrated in them. The prophet Ezekiel apostrophizes Tyre as the emporium of the richest products of every clime: 'Syria was thy merchant: they occupied in thy fairs with emeralds, purple, and broided work, and fine linen, and coral, and agate. The men of Dedan were thy merchant: they brought thee for a present horns of ivory and ebony. Tarshish was thy merchant, by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches,' &c.

The Phœnician purple speaks for itself. The Phœnicians were also the inventors of glass and the discoverers of the silver-mines of Spain. Carthage followed and rivalled Tyre. 'It would be necessary,' observes M. Baudrillart, 'to repeat all that has been said of the different objects of Oriental luxury, to
exhaust

exhaust the list of sumptuosities which were crowded into this metropolis of refinement and wealth.' Speaking of modern African luxury, as it exists amongst the Arabs in the desert or in the town, he says that its distinctive feature is sobriety, not simply in diet, but in vestments and decorative art; and he traces this to the exclusively monotheistic genius of their religion, which expressly forbids the representation of the human figure, and even of every living thing.

Everything leading to idolatry, to self-indulgence, to personal luxury in any shape, is strictly forbidden by the law of Moses, and the law is enforced by the prophets in the strongest language they could use. But their very denunciations prove how impossible it is to eradicate or suppress the inborn tendency to disobedience, corruption, sensuality, vanity, and sin:—

'Moreover the Lord saith, Because the daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with stretched forth necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet: therefore the Lord will smite with a scab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion. In that day the Lord will take away the bravery of their tinkling ornaments about their feet, and their cauls, and their round tires like the moon, the chains, and the bracelets, and the mufflers, the bonnets, and the ornaments of the legs, and the headbands, and the tablets, and the earrings, the rings, and nose jewels, the changeable suits of apparel, and the mantles, and the wimples, and the crisping pins, the glasses, and the fine linen, and the hoods, and the vails. And it shall come to pass, that instead of sweet smell there shall be stink; and instead of a girdle a rent; and instead of well set hair baldness; and instead of a stomacher a girding of sackcloth; and burning instead of beauty.'—*Isaiah* iii.

What a picture is here presented of female fashions and follies! When Judith was preparing to go to the camp of Holofernes, 'she took sandals upon her feet, and put about her her bracelets, and her rings, and her earrings, and all her ornaments.' When she was announced, he 'rested upon his bed under a canopy which was woven with purple and gold and emeralds and precious stones;' and 'he came out before his tent with silver lamps going before him.' We need do no more than allude to the wives and concubines

'Of that uxorious king, whose heart, though large,
Beguiled by fair idolatresses, fell
To idols foul.'

But Solomon was not the first to treat women as objects of sensual enjoyment, and to degrade whilst seemingly exalting them by flattering their vanity. 'Ye daughters of Israel,' exclaims

David,

David, 'weep over Saul, who clothed you in scarlet, with other delights, who put on ornaments of gold upon your apparel.'

The eminent Orientalist, M. Maspero, objects to Solomon's temple that the inexperience of the Hebrews in architecture made them consider it unique: 'it was, in fact, to the grand edifices of Egypt and Chaldea what their empire itself was to the other empires of the ancient world, a little temple for a little people.' This is true as regards its dimensions, but in point of richness it could hardly be surpassed.

'So Solomon overlaid the house within with pure gold: and he made a partition by the chains of gold before the oracle; and he overlaid it with gold. And the whole house he overlaid with gold, until he had finished all the house: also the whole altar that was by the oracle he overlaid with gold.

'And the floor of the house he overlaid with gold, within and without. And for the entering of the oracle he made doors of olive tree: the lintel and side posts were a fifth part of the wall. The two doors also were of olive tree; and he carved upon them carvings of cherubims and palm trees and open flowers, and overlaid them with gold, and spread gold upon the cherubims, and upon the palm trees.'

All the vessels 'pertaining to the House of the Lord,' the altar, the table, the candlesticks, the censers, were of gold, as were the hinges of the doors. The woodwork was of cedar exquisitely carved. 'And all King Solomon's drinking vessels were of gold, and all the vessels of the house of Lebanon; none were of silver: *it was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon.*' The Queen of Sheba 'gave him a hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices great store, and precious stones.' His navy brought him four hundred and twenty talents from Ophir, and 'the weight of gold that came to him in one year was six hundred and sixty-six talents.'

The heroic age or ages of Greece will not disprove the theory, that in the rudest and earliest times superfluities precede necessities. Homer's Greeks and Trojans had hardly any of what we should deem comforts: neither windows to their houses, nor chimneys, nor forks and spoons, nor cooking utensils for boiling,* nor blankets and sheets, nor body-linen. But their bed-

* There is general mention of considerable variety in bread or vegetable food; but meat was all roasted.' 'Homer; by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Honorary Student of Christchurch. London, 1878.' This little book is an excellent summary of Homeric learning. But was not meat generally broiled? See (Book 9) the manner in which, after being cut into small pieces, it was cooked by Patroclus in the tent of Achilles. In the chapter on 'Art and the Arts,' Mr. Gladstone says: 'Of anything like Art, except in metal, the poems give no sign.' He speaks of the Shield of Achilles as a magnificent conception, and refuses to regard it as the fruit of a later age.

steads were set in ivory and gold with purple coverings, and the arms and robes of their leaders and princes were of a richness corresponding with their rank. We cannot pretend, even with M. Baudrillart's help, to trace the steps by which Grecian luxury attained the height to which it arrived at Athens; still less to explain the complicated causes which produced the age of Pericles—which enabled a numerically small community to become the source and centre of such a constellation of creative genius, to supply for all time to come the finest examples, the noblest monuments, in poetry, eloquence, philosophy, history, dramatic art, statuary, and architecture. Foremost amongst these causes were (what Mr. Grote terms) their expanding and stimulating democracy, their climate, their habits of life, their commercial relations, and their mythology, which, whatever its moral tendencies, was certainly favourable to art. Their gods and goddesses were idealized human beings, and the most acceptable form of worship was to represent them by images of power, wisdom, strength, and beauty:—

‘So stands the statue that enchants the world,
So bending tries to veil the matchless boast,
The mingled beauties of exulting Greece.’

The virtuous daughters of the noblest houses were proud to serve as models for a goddess; and even when Zeuxis wished to paint a Helen, the citizens of Crotona told him to choose five of their daughters to copy from. Painting and sculpture could hardly do otherwise than flourish under a religion and a sentiment which enjoined the cultivation and worship of beauty; and the works planned by Pericles were a part of his policy, besides falling in with a state of opinion which deemed no public money wasted that was spent in honour of the gods. When Phidias proposed to make his Athena of marble, as more durable and less liable to injury than ivory, he was silenced by the popular voice declaring that economy in such a case was impiety, and insisting that the statue should be made of ivory and gold. The vestibule of the Acropolis cost more than the annual revenue of the republic. The cost of the Parthenon, the Odeon, and the Erechtheion, very much exceeded it; and Pericles was driven to the questionable step of applying to Athenian purposes the money lodged in the treasury by the allies for the common defence. The defence of this misappropriation is undertaken by Mr. Grote, who contends that his views were evidently Panhellenic:—

‘In strengthening and ornamenting Athens, in developing the full activity of her citizens, in providing temples, religious offerings,
works

works of art, solemn festivals, all of surpassing attraction, he intended to exalt her into something greater than an imperial city with numerous dependent allies. He wished to make her the centre of Grecian feeling, the stimulus of Grecian intellect, and the type of strong democratical patriotism, combined with full liberty of individual taste and aspiration. He wished not merely to retain the adherence of the subject states, but to attract the admiration and spontaneous deference of independent neighbours.*

M. Baudrillart claims for Cimon, the son of Miltiades, a share of the credit, popularly ascribed to Pericles, of initiating the works which form the lasting glory of Athens; and Mr. Grote states that Phidias, first brought forward by Cimon, was the director and superintendent of all the decorative additions to the city. 'The architects of the Parthenon and the other buildings worked under his instructions, and he had besides a school of pupils and subordinates, to whom the mechanical part of his labours was confided.' The position of women at Athens is thus described by Mr. Grote:—

'The free citizen women of Athens lived in strict and almost oriental recluseness, as well after being married as when single. Everything which concerned their lives, their happiness, or their rights, was determined or managed for them by male relatives: and they seem to have been destitute of all mental culture and accomplishments. Their society presented no charm nor interest, which men accordingly sought for in the company of a class of women called *Hetærae* or *Courtezans*, literally Female Companions, who lived a free life, managed their own affairs, and supported themselves by their powers of pleasing. These women were numerous, and were doubtless of every variety of personal character. The most distinguished and superior among them, such as Aspasia and Theodoté, appear to have been the only women in Greece, except the Spartan, who either inspired strong passion or exercised mental ascendancy.'

M. Baudrillart selects Alcibiades as typifying the private luxury of the Athenians, when they were at the height of their prosperity and chose their favourites from caprice, as they banished their best citizens out of weariness. The extreme beauty of his person largely contributed to his social success. He was a brilliant combination of wit, gallantry, generosity, profligacy, and audacity. He was everything by turns and by extremes, and nothing long. His banquets were orgies seasoned by impiety. He incurred ruinous expenses for the chariot races. He had a passion for dogs, and is reported to have given more than 250*l.* for one, probably the one which figures in the well-known story. He boxed the ears of one noble

* 'History of Greece,' vol. iv. p. 159.

person, Hipponicus, for a wager: he slapped the face of another for pretending to rival him in expense and munificence as choregist; and he struck a poor schoolmaster for not having a copy of the Iliad. Add some military talent and eloquence of no mean order, and such was the man who shone conspicuous, the observed of all observers, in the city of Pericles, Demosthenes, and Thucydides, of Sophocles and Aristophanes, of Phidias and Apelles, of Plato and Aristotle. Mr. Grote says that the leading Athenians who frequented the public games, 'not only endured his petulance, but were even flattered when he was pleased to bestow it on them.'

The markets of Athens were abundantly supplied with game and fish, and M. Baudrillart suggests that the bill of fare of a rich Athenian of the epoch of Pericles resembled more nearly than might be supposed what would now be called a great dinner. Grecian gastronomy appears to have had as rich a literature as the French, although no entire work on the subject has come down to us. One of the most celebrated was a poem by Archestratus, the intimate friend of one of the sons of Pericles.

'This great writer,' says Athenæus, 'had traversed earth and sea to render himself acquainted with the best things which they had produced. He did not, during his travels, enquire concerning the manners of nations, *as to which it is useless to inform ourselves since it is impossible to change them*; but he entered the laboratories where the delicacies of the table were prepared, and he had intercourse with none but those who could advance his pleasures. His poem is a treasure of science, every verse a precept.'

To this a well-known writer on gastronomy objects the imperfect state of science at the time. 'Another ground of scepticism is supplied by the accounts that have come down to us of the man himself, who is said to have been so small and lean, that, when placed in the scales, his weight was found not to exceed an obolus; in which case he must have borne a strong resemblance to the Dutch governor, mentioned in Knickerbocker's 'History of New York,' who pined away so imperceptibly that, when he died, there was nothing of him left to bury.' But the effects of eating vary with the constitution. In the days when George IV. was king, the two greatest eaters, Sir William Curtis and Alderman Shaw, were the fattest and leanest of the aldermen. Extravagance and indulgence in the pleasures of the table were not confined to Athens. Polybius states that at Thebes men frequently left their property, not to their children, but to their fellow *bons vivants*, on condition that it was spent in feasting; so that

many had to give more banquets in the month than there were days.

‘Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes
Intulit agresti Latio—’

The arts may have first reached Rome from Greece; but it was the lust of conquest that proved the ruin of republican simplicity, and it was in the process of becoming mistress of the world that Rome contracted the fatal habit of luxury which rapidly assumed proportions surpassing anything recorded in history. All the moveable wealth of a conquered kingdom or province was at the disposal of the conqueror, and a government was a sure fortune to the proconsul or prætor who made a judicious use of his opportunities, and was not afraid of having (like Verres) Cicero for a prosecutor. Jugurtha made over 200,000 pounds’ weight of silver to Metellus. Pompey extorted five or six millions sterling from Armenia: Sylla, three or four millions from a province already overtaxed by Mithridates. Only a part found its way into the public treasury; for the army and the superior officers had their share. Five of Pompey’s lieutenants were known to have made large fortunes with his connivance during his Asiatic command. The consul Servilius Cæpio, having despatched an enormous sum of gold and silver with an escort, caused the escort to be murdered and the money intercepted on its way.

A Roman general was boasting of the number of prisoners he had at his disposal, when a lady present said that she had never seen a man beheaded and should like to see one. He ordered in a prisoner, whom he decapitated with his own hand upon the spot. Livy, who relates the incident, adds that ‘the acts of infamy passing in the distant provinces did not stand alone: others were witnessed daily nearer home. Foreign corruption had been imported into Rome by the army of Asia.’ The accumulated spoils of Sylla were so numerous and so varied that, it was said, one might fancy oneself transported into the richest temples of Greece without leaving one’s house. Amongst his choicest treasures were the Apollo (in gold) from Delphi, and the Hercules (in bronze) by Lysippus, which had been given by the artist to Alexander and had subsequently belonged to Hannibal. Sylla was also a collector of rare books and manuscripts, and was the happy possessor of some original manuscripts of Aristotle which, at the capture of Athens, he had taken from Apellicon of Teos. The Dictator had other resources besides the plunder of subject princes and provinces. Whoever was unlucky enough to have any rare article which he
coveted,

coveted, could be proscribed. A citizen who had never mixed in politics, happening to glance over a list of proscribed persons posted up in the Forum, saw his own name at the head: 'Ah, woe is me!' was his exclamation, 'it is my Alban villa that is my death.' The profusion of Sylla's public entertainments may be inferred from the fact that, during several days after one of them, a prodigious quantity of food was thrown into the Tiber.

A satirical sketch of a Roman epicure at table about this time represents him as by no means wanting in discrimination; but it was during the concluding years of the republic that Roman luxury combined taste and refinement with splendour and prodigality. Lucullus was a marked improvement on Sylla. It must have been a well-regulated as well as a magnificent establishment that enabled the host, when Cæsar and Pompey invited themselves to supper on condition that he would make no charge on their account, to sustain his reputation as an *Amphitryon* by simply telling an attendant: 'We sup in the Apollo.' There is another story of his saying to his *chef* who had taken less pains on account of the absence of guests: 'Did you not know that Lucullus supped this evening with Lucullus?' The sum to be spent on a supper in the Apollo was fixed at fifty thousand drachms, about 1400*l*. This is intelligible if we bear in mind that the Roman epicures were in the habit of sending to the most distant countries for delicacies peculiar to the places, of breeding rare birds for the table, and of incurring boundless expense in pisciculture. The story of feeding lampreys with human flesh sounds apocryphal, but the fish-pond formed an indispensable accessory to the villa, and some of them made pets of their eels and mullets before eating them. We learn from Cicero that Crassus mourned the death of a piscine favourite; and Pliny says: 'You would find it easier to get a chariot harnessed with mules from Hortensius, than a mullet from his fish-ponds.'

The advocates of the Rights of Women will haply be surprised to hear that the comparative independence of the Roman ladies was regarded as the principal cause of their irregularities, and was far from adding to the happiness or respectability of married life. The dower was kept separate, and the husband who wanted money was a slave to the caprices of the wife. 'If,' says one of the *dramatis personæ* in Plautus, 'all acted like me and married the daughters of poor citizens, the women would be more controlled by the fear of chastisement and would not involve us in such expense. We should have none of them coming to tell us, "My dower has more than doubled your

fortune; you must give me purple and jewels, women-servants, mules, coachmen, lackeys to follow me, pages for my commissions, carriages for my drives." Perfumers of shoes are amongst the tradespeople who are represented in attendance on the Roman beauty at her toilet. Pliny states that, in ancient times, women at Rome were not permitted to drink wine: 'A certain Roman dame, a woman of good worship, was by her own kinsfolk famished and pined to death for opening a cupboard wherein the key of the wine-cellar lay. And Cato doth record that hereupon arose the manner and custom that kinsfolk should kiss women when they met them, to know by their breath whether they smelled of *temetum*, for so in those days they termed wine.'

The fashionable place of summer resort was Baiæ, the Trouville and Baden-Baden combined of Rome:

'Horace dans ce frais séjour,
Dans une retraite embellie
Par le plaisir et le génie,
Fuyait les pompes de la cour.
Properce y visitait Cynthie
Et sous les regards de Lydie
Tibulle y modulait les soupirs de l'amour.'*

Baiæ was also the scene of the loves of Catullus and Lesbia. She was no other than Clodia, the sister of Clodius, whom she resembled in her morals if she was guilty of one-half of the irregularities with which she is reproached by Catullus.

It was not for want of sumptuary laws that Roman luxury went on increasing. Cato took the lead in enacting and enforcing them. The social position of women, with the difficulty of controlling them, was the burthen of his speech on the Oppian law: 'Go through all the laws concerning women, by which our ancestors have placed a curb on their license and have subjected them to the authority of men,—with these laws, numerous as they are, you can hardly keep them under the yoke. What will it be if you suffer them to rise against these laws, to infringe them one after the other, and finally to place themselves on an equality with men? Do you believe that their pretensions will continue endurable? No sooner will they have begun to be our equals than they will be our superiors.' He was answered by the Tribune Valerius, who, after recapitulating the many privileges enjoyed by men, indignantly protested against the injustice of depriving the weaker sex of the compensation they had discovered for themselves in dress. 'What! men were to

* Lamartine.

retain the right to appear splendidly clothed in purple, whilst the Roman matrons were reduced to the simplest attire and saw themselves, they, the spouses of the masters of the world, more meanly dressed than the women of the allied or conquered provinces! What cruel treatment to inflict upon this sex, which has no other joy, no other glory, than the toilet and the care of self-adornment!

If the Roman ladies were satisfied with this defence, they must have merited all that the severest censors had urged against them. Cato failed on this occasion, but he succeeded in passing a law to limit the amount of fortune a woman might possess by bequest or inheritance, and at the conclusion of his censorship a statue was decreed to him in commemoration of his services. He corrected some notorious abuses, but he produced a mischievous reaction by overstrained severity. He took away the horse, the mark of equestrian rank, from a knight, on the ground that he was too corpulent for active service. He degraded the senator Manilius for kissing his wife openly by daylight in the presence of his daughter.*

The Roman fortunes would not be thought extraordinary at London, Paris, or New York. A French financier, reputed to have left between twenty and thirty millions sterling, on hearing that the senior partner of a well-known English house had left only a million and a half, exclaimed 'Ah, je le croyais plus à son aise.' Crassus used to say that no man was to be esteemed rich who could not out of his own revenue maintain an army, but his fortune is estimated by Pliny at less than two millions sterling. He added to it by commercial enterprises and the skilled labour of slaves, but the rich Roman commonly lived upon his capital: investments were precarious: to save was to invite proscription; and when popularity led to power and power to wealth, the patrician demagogue, bent on making a fortune, began by spending one. Cæsar owed nearly 300,000*l.* before he filled any public office. The debts of Clodius were computed at double the sum. Mr. Trollope, in his able and spirited defence of Cicero, contends that he did not owe more than a Roman of rank might or ought to owe, and a partizan of Wilkes maintained that he did not squint more than a gentleman ought to squint. Cicero, after buying one of the finest houses in Rome with borrowed money, writes: 'Know then that I am so much in debt that I should be willing to conspire, if any one would accept me.' We collect from his letters that he had 'several villas' besides his town house. He speaks of them in

* 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography,' edited by Dr. W. Smith.

the tone of the nabob who ordered 'more phaetons' to be brought round. His Tusculan villa had belonged to Sylla. A house of Clodius sold for 90,000*l.* Cæcilius Isidorus bequeathed 4116 slaves, 3600 yoke of oxen, 27,500 head of other cattle, and 60 millions of sesterces (500,000*l.*) in money. Owing probably to the insecurity of tenure, nothing is set down for land. This Cæcilius was not a man of taste; or jewellery, plate, and objects of *vertu*, would have formed no inconsiderable portion of his possessions.

Profuse expenditure was one of the stepping-stones of ambition, a matter of calculation or necessity in an aspirant to high office or command. Crassus, when a candidate for the consulship, gave a feast of ten thousand tables, to which all the citizens of Rome were indiscriminately invited. Cæsar, to celebrate the funeral of a daughter, gave one of twenty-two thousand tables with accommodation for three guests at each. This entertainment was repeated and exceeded for his triumph. He brought together more gladiators and wild beasts than were ever produced on any former occasion in an amphitheatre, but his exhibitions of this kind were so completely outshone that it were a waste of time to dwell upon them. In a document annexed to his testament, Augustus states as a title to public gratitude that he had exhibited 8000 gladiators and brought more than 3500 wild beasts to be killed in the circus. In the course of the festivities instituted by Titus to celebrate the opening of the Colosseum, 5000 wild beasts were let loose and killed by the gladiators. The Emperor Probus collected for a single show 100 lions, 100 lionesses, 100 Libyan and 100 Syrian leopards, 300 bears, and 600 gladiators. Having caused the circus to be planted with trees to resemble a forest, he let loose 1000 ostriches, 1000 stags, 1000 does, and 1000 boars, to be hunted by the populace, who were to keep whatever they could catch or kill. The fiercer animals were encountered by the gladiators. It does not appear how long this show lasted.

Although given to illicit pleasures in his youth, Augustus was temperate in his habits after he became emperor, and he tried to check the progress of corruption, but it was in the bosom of his own family that it proved irrepressible. His daughter Julia was the centre of a gay and glittering throng of young patricians, and became so conspicuous for her dissolute behaviour, that he had no alternative but to exile her. When reproached by a friend for her extravagance in dress, she replied: 'My father does not know how to preserve his dignity. As for me I know and shall never forget that I am the daughter of the Emperor.'

Tiberius, whose life at Capri was a disgrace to human nature,

was

was fonder of saving money than of spending it, and he left an immense sum in the treasury, which his successor Caligula managed to dissipate in two years by extravagance of the most senseless kind. As if in rivalry of Cleopatra, he swallowed precious stones dissolved in vinegar, and caused his guests to be helped to gold (which they carried away) instead of bread and meat. One of his favourite amusements was showering money amongst the populace from the Basilica of Julius Cæsar. He built galleys of cedar, covered with jewellery, and large enough to contain vines and fruit-trees, and had canals cut for them along the coast. The stable of his favourite horse, which he talked of naming consul, was of marble, the trough of ivory, the harness of purple, and the collar of pearls. The set of emeralds and pearls worn by one of his wives, Lollia Paulina, was valued at 400,000*l.* sterling.

The principal extravagance of Claudius was in public games. One of the shows organized for him was a naval combat on a lake, in which the galleys were manned by 19,000 men. He was fond of good cheer, and was in the habit of inviting himself to the tables of the rich. He came on one occasion with 600 persons in his train.

It was to Nero that Tacitus applied the expression, *incredibilem cupitor*. What he not only desired but achieved in the way of cruelty and vice would be declared incredible if Roman history had not already shown what revolting atrocities may be conceived by a diseased imagination and executed by irresponsible power. After the burning of the city, he gratified his taste, in entire disregard of the proprietors, in rebuilding it. He at once appropriated a number of the sites and a large portion of the public grounds for his new palace. The porticoes, with their ranks of columns, were a mile long. The vestibule was large enough to contain that colossal statue of him, in silver and gold, 120 feet high, from which the Colosseum got its name. The interior was gilded throughout, and adorned with ivory and mother-of-pearl. The ceilings of the dining-rooms were formed of movable tablets of ivory, which shed flowers and perfumes on the company: the principal salon had a dome which, turning day and night, imitated the movements of the terrestrial bodies. When this palace was finished, he exclaimed: 'At last I am lodged like a man.' His diadem was valued at half a million. His dresses, which he never wore twice, were stiff with embroidery and gold. He fished with purple lines and hooks of gold. He never travelled with less than a thousand carriages. The mules were shod with silver, the muleteers clothed with the finest wool, and the attendants wore bracelets
and

and necklaces of gold. Five hundred she-asses followed his wife Poppæa in her progresses, to supply milk for her bath. He was fond of figuring in the circus as a charioteer, and in the theatre as a singer and actor. He prided himself on being an artist, and when his possible deposition was hinted to him, he said that artists could never be in want. There was not a vice to which he was not given, nor a crime which he did not commit. Yet the world, exclaims Suetonius, endured this monster for fourteen years; and he was popular with the multitude, who were dazzled by his magnificence and mistook his senseless profusion for liberality. On the anniversary of his death, during many years, they crowded to cover his tomb with flowers.

The utmost excess in gluttony was reached by Vitellius, who gave feasts at which two thousand fishes and seven thousand birds were served up. He prided himself on his culinary genius, and laid every quarter of the empire under contribution to supply materials for a dish, which contained livers of mullet, brains of pheasants and peacocks, tongues of flamingoes, roe of lampreys, &c. &c. Tacitus states that he spent what would be tantamount to several millions sterling in less than eight months in eating or giving to eat.

Scenes of blood, slaughter, and physical pain, were the delight of Domitian. He was not satisfied with turning the amphitheatre into a butchery or a charnel-house by the numbers of men and even women* who were brought to be killed or mutilated in combat with each other or with wild beasts. He made it the common place of execution, and the sight of alleged offenders, including Christian martyrs, undergoing the most excruciating tortures of his invention, was the most attractive part of the spectacle for him. Well might Juvenal exclaim, after describing the solemnity with which the grand affair of the turbot was submitted to the Council of State,—

‘O, that such scenes (disgraceful at the most)
Had all these years of cruelty engrost—
Through which his rage pursued the great and good
Uncheck’d, whilst vengeance slumbered o’er their blood.’†

* The subject of one of Martial’s epigrams is ‘*Fœminæ in Amphitheatro cum leone certamen.*’

† Satire V., Gifford’s translation. The whole Satire is devoted to the monster turbot. It is said of one of the epicures introduced—

‘For a fish that weighed
Six pounds, six thousand sesterces he paid.’

The fish was a red mullet, which seldom exceeds two pounds in weight. Six thousand sesterces was about 50*l.* A mullet weighing four pounds and a half was brought to Tiberius, who ordered it to be sold by auction. The chief bidders were Octavius and Apicius, and it was knocked down to Octavius for 40*l.*

Martial,

Martial, on the other hand, has sung the praises of Domitian, and exalted him to the skies for destroying the palace of Nero, throwing open the gardens to the public, and erecting an amphitheatre on the site: 'The portico of Claudia covers with its shades the remains of that palace which is no more. Rome is restored to herself, and under your auspices, Cæsar, what were the enjoyments of a master are the enjoyments of the people.'* In another passage of the *De Spectaculis*, he expatiates on the splendour of the new amphitheatre, declaring that neither the pyramids, nor the palaces of Babylon, nor the temple of Diana, nor the Mausoleum, could compare with it.

It is clear from the Sixth Satire of Juvenal that carving was taught by professors as an art:—

'I boast no artist, tutored in the school
Of learned Trypherus, to carve by rule,
Where large sow-paps, of elm, and boar, and hare,
Getulian oryx, Scythian pheasant, point
The nice anatomy of every joint,
And dull blunt tools, severing the wooden treat,
Clatter around and deafen all the street.
My simple lad, whose highest efforts rise
To broil a steak, in the plain country guise,
Knows no such art.'

So much the worse for his master. Charles James Fox, in his macaroni days, took lessons in carving; and prior to the introduction of the present method of service *à la Russe*, it was an indispensable accomplishment to one who did not wish to appear to disadvantage at a dinner-table. The name of the carving partner of a celebrated publishing firm is commemorated by Sydney Smith's pun: '*plerumque secat res*' (Rees).

In Juvenal's time, the salary of a good cook was ten times higher than that of a tutor, a man of learning and ability, who, according to Lucian, was deemed well paid with 200 sesterces a year. The salary of Dionysia, a danseuse, was 200,000. The houses and establishments of the two players in pantomime, Bathyllus and Pylades, rivalled those of the richest patricians.

There were three Romans named Apicius, each celebrated for devotion to gastronomy. The second, who flourished under Tiberius, was the most famous, and enjoys the credit of having shown both discrimination and industry in the gratification of his appetite; so much so that his name has passed into a synonym for an accomplished epicure. After spending about 800,000*l.* upon his palate, he balanced his books, and finding

* '*Reddita Roma sibi est, et sunt, te præsides, Cæsar,
Deliciæ populi, quæ fuerant domini.*'

that he had not much more than 80,000*l.* left, hanged himself to avoid living upon such a pittance.* Lempriere's version is that he made a mistake in casting up his books, and hanged himself under a false impression of insolvency. A noted betting-man, named Smith, made a similar mistake in casting up his book for the Derby, and flung himself into the sea. He was fished out, discovered the mistake, and ever since went by the name of Neptune Smith. Apicius unluckily had no kind friend to cut him down.

The outrageous absurdities of Elagabalus equalled or surpassed those of Caligula and Nero. He fed the officers of his palace with the brains of pheasants and thrushes, the eggs of partridges, and the heads of parrots. Amongst the dishes served at his own table were peas mashed with grains of gold, beans fricasseed with morsels of amber, and rice mixed with pearls. His meals were frequently composed of twenty-two services. Turning roofs threw flowers with such profusion on the guests that they were nearly smothered. At the seaside he never ate fish, but when far inland he caused the roe of the rarest to be distributed amongst his suite. He was the first Roman who ever wore a complete dress of silk. His shoes glittered with rubies and emeralds, and his chariots were of gold inlaid with precious stones. With the view to a becoming suicide, he had prepared cords of purple silk, poisons enclosed in emeralds, and richly set daggers; but either his courage failed when the moment arrived for choosing between these elegant instruments of death, or no time was left him for the choice. He was killed in an insurrection of the soldiery in the eighteenth year of his age, after a reign of nearly four years, during which the Roman people had endured the insane and degrading tyranny of a boy.

The transfer of the seat of empire to Constantinople changed and advanced luxury, without, in a moral or artistic point of view, improving it. Nowhere were sexual pleasures more studiously cultivated or ardently pursued, and they were enhanced by the introduction of an element which checked grossness if it did not restrain vice. Women began to take the lead in a manner that had never been witnessed in Rome; and conspicuous amongst them were actresses married to senators or high functionaries, who were content to forget that their wives' fortunes had been drawn from other sources than the theatre.

'Nowhere (says M. Baudrillart) have women pushed so far as at

* 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology,' edited by Dr. W. Smith.

Byzantium the researches and the knowing tricks of the toilet. The artificial forms, the deceitful paint, altered more than even at Rome the character of beauty. The sensual Byzantines learned to prefer an *embonpoint* sustained by a sedentary life. That hair of which they were so vain was but a borrowed ornament. The abuse already made by the Roman ladies of false hair became a downright mania amongst the Byzantines. The yellow hair of the barbarian women was more than ever in request.'

The same fashion recently prevailed, and is not quite extinct, in the *demi-monde* of London and Paris.

The Roman satirists wrote more from a wish to give vent to their indignation, display their power, or gain literary fame, than from a sincere desire or rational expectation of effecting a reform. The Christian preachers were actuated by more elevated motives in denouncing the loose lives, with the resulting scandals, of the Byzantine queens of society, who became seriously alarmed when John Chrysostom, the bishop of Constantinople, set to work in right earnest to expose and chastise their irregularities. There were well-conducted personages of both sexes who cordially went along with him. 'The females of Constantinople,' says Gibbon, 'distinguished themselves by their enmity or attachment to Chrysostom. Three noble and opulent widows, Marsa, Castricia, and Eugraphia, were the leaders of the persecution. It was impossible they should forgive a preacher who reproached their affectation to conceal by the ornaments of dress their age and ugliness.'

Sir Robert Walpole used to say that he never despaired of making up a quarrel between women unless one of them had called the other old or ugly. The three widows probably resented the sarcasm on their years and looks more than the imputation on their morals; but not so the leader of the faction, the young and beautiful empress Eudoxia, who was naturally irritated at the presumption of a priest in pointing to her from the pulpit and holding her up as an example of impropriety. The patriarch Theophilus sided with the empress, and the authority of the Church, as in the analogous case of Savonarola, was brought to bear against the reformer, who died in exile after having more than once attained to a degree of influence which caused his fair and frail antagonist to tremble on her throne. It was in the height of his popularity, after the return from his first exile, that he wound up a homily with these words: 'Herodias is again furious: Herodias again dances: she once more requires the head of John.'*

* Gibbon. M. Baudrillart gives a different version, and the genuineness of the homily in which the words occur is open to doubt.

One marked improvement in the public games was effected by Christianity. Exhibitions of gladiators and wild beasts were stopped. The circus, much enlarged, grew into the hippodrome, an arena for horse and chariot races; but, far from losing in attractiveness, it became the rage. During several successive reigns Constantinople was one huge Newmarket: it was Derby-day all the year round: political and religious differences were sunk in the quarrels of the Blues and the Greens, which assumed at intervals the dimensions of a civil war. On one occasion when they came to blows, forty thousand spectators were killed, and the steps of the arena were covered with dead bodies. Theatrical representations were simultaneously in vogue, but the depravation of the stage is proved by an anecdote of Theodora, afterwards empress, who, if Procopius may be trusted, evaded the law forbidding women to appear in a state of nudity by wearing a narrow girdle or ribband round her waist. The authenticity of the anecdote has been disputed, but the existence of the law is not denied and is enough.

Whilst Roman luxury was still in full vigour in the East, it had wellnigh died out in Italy, submerged by the flood of barbarism. Only scattered traits or recollections of it survived, to be called into life and action at the Renaissance. The rudeness of the conquering races regarding meals is shown by the manner in which the table of Charlemagne was served. The emperor dined at midday alone. The dukes and princes waited on him, and dined at the same table when he had done: they were succeeded by the counts and high functionaries, who were waited on and replaced by the military suite; and so on through several gradations down to the lowest class of domestics, whose turn seldom arrived before midnight. At the same time Charlemagne encouraged the production of fruit and flowers, as adding to the enjoyments of the people, and was pleased when any special delicacy was presented to him. The Genevese trout are honourably mentioned in the capitularies; and it will be remembered that one of these trout, supplied to Cambacères by the municipality of Geneva, was charged 300 fr. in their accounts.

The first to transgress the sumptuary laws of Charlemagne were his wives (he was nine times married), and his daughters, who figured at court festivals and in the hunting-field with purple robes or sables, and coronets set with precious stones. The ladies of the middle ages unluckily were more distinguished by costly attire than cleanliness, and (coming to a later period) it may be suspected that the Spanish princess who vowed not to change her under-garment till a town was taken, and thereby gave

gave her name to a colour (*couleur Isabeau*), did not undergo a very severe penance after all.* 'The noblest dames and those most given to dress,' says M. Baudrillart, 'did not wear shifts (*chemises*) at night except to accomplish a vow.' Separate beds were not required for either sex. When the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans (towards the end of the fifteenth century) made up their quarrel, they slept together in sign of amity. The great bed at Ware was intended for as many as it would hold.

The influence of the Renaissance in reviving the vices of luxury, together with the refinement of taste and manners, may be traced in the Florence of the Medici and the Rome of Leo X.; but it took a long time to reach northern Europe, and in a chapter headed 'Madness of Luxury,' M. Baudrillart takes his examples from France. It was at its worst under Charles VI., during whose constantly recurring insanity the Queen Isabella and her lover, Louis of Orleans (the King's brother), led a life of such shameless extravagance and depravity as to provoke a popular preacher, a monk, to describe the Court as under the rule of 'Lady Venus, accompanied by her inseparable attendants, gluttony and debauchery, corrupting the morals and enervating the courage of the military.' He described the openings in dress which she had invented for the display of her person, as 'windows of hell.' 'Etre vêtu sans péché,' simply provoked ridicule. The King in a lucid interval heard of and sent for the monk; which so alarmed Louis, the paramour, that in the hope of averting censure, he announced his intention to pay his creditors. Eight hundred immediately left their names at his hotel, to the astonishment of his steward, who told them that his master had done them only too much honour in accepting their goods and chattels or their services; and the prince, having recovered from his temporary alarm, dismissed them with a profane pleasantry.

The words of a song were embroidered on the sleeve of one of this prince's robes with 568 pearls. To aid in paying the ransom of King John after Agincourt, the Duc de Bourbon, also a prisoner, sold his *cotte* (overcoat) to a London dealer for 5200 crowns of gold. It was embroidered with 600 pearls, besides sapphires and rubies. Articles of dress descended as heirlooms. Robert Sorbon reproached Joinville, before the monarch and more than three hundred knights, with being better dressed than the King: 'Master Robert,' he replied,

* The heroine of this exploit was a daughter of Philip II. The town, Ostend, was not taken for three years.

'I am

‘I am not to blame, saving you and the King’s honour, for the garment I wear, such as you see it, was left me by my father and mother, and was not made by my order.’ The English of the middle ages, as of more recent days, took most of their fashions from the French, such as the pointed boots or shoes two feet long, and the dresses with sides of contrasted colours, as a pair of pantaloons with one leg blue and the other red. M. Baudrillart, treating Henry VIII. more as an imitator than a rival, terms him a French Francis I. Between them they managed to make a display on the Field of the Cloth of Gold which was more distinguished by costliness than taste.

‘At the *petits soupers* of Choisy were first introduced those admirable pieces of mechanism, afterwards carried to perfection by Lorient, the *confidante* and the *servante*—a table and a sideboard which descended and rose again covered with viands and wines.’* These contrivances were merely improved revivals. Describing a baronial supper of the middle ages after a contemporary authority, M. Baudrillart states that the board is strewn with roses; and ‘by an artifice equally renewed from Roman usages, dishes and even a table completely served are sometimes seen to descend through an opening in the ceiling. When the dishes had been let down, the opening closed, after letting fall a shower of scents and sweetmeats.’ Lifts and slides were also in use. It was the pleasure of a wealthy citizen of Paris, Jacques Duchie, to dine in a room at the top of his hotel, commanding a view of the city, and the wines and dishes were raised by pulleys. Fountains were common on the tables of the great. Philip le Bel had one in which the wine flowed from the mouths of leopards and lions into a basin amongst swans and sirens. In strange contrast to this luxury, the place of carpets was long supplied by straw. Philip Augustus ordered that, whenever he left Paris, the straw which had been used in his chamber should be given to the Hôtel Dieu. In 1373, the inhabitants of Aubervilliers were relieved from the burthen of supplying horses and carriages for the royal progresses, on condition of their supplying annually forty cartloads of straw for the king’s palace, twenty for the queen’s, and ten for the dauphin’s. The feudal baron and the châtelaine might have chairs, which were rare and regarded as seats of honour like the *fauteuil*, but the household and ordinary guests were seated on benches and stools. It was only, we fancy, on pressing occasions that the knights—

* Rogers’s ‘Poems,’ oct. ed. p. 135, note. Choisy was a chateau in which Louis XV. occasionally resided with Madame de Pompadour.

‘Carved

‘Carved at the meal
With gloves of steel
And drank the red wine through the helmet barr’d ;’

but they ate with their fingers out of the dish. ‘As there were no forks in those days,’ says Scott describing Friar Tuck responding to the invitation of the Black Knight, ‘his clutches were instantly in the bowels of the pasty.’ Cedric the Saxon incurs the ridicule of the Normans at Prince John’s banquet because ‘he dried his hands with a towel instead of suffering the moisture to exhale by waving them gracefully in the air.’ When carving was required, it was done with the dagger. From an inventory of 1297 it appears that Edward I. possessed only one fork. In 1328, Queen Clemence of Hungary had thirty spoons and one fork. The fork, till long after its introduction, was only used to eat fruit or confectionery. A duke of Burgundy had one of crystal with a gold handle to eat strawberries. Coryat, in his ‘Crudities Gobbled Up,’ writing in the reign of James I., says, that he was called ‘Furcifer’ by his friends from his using those ‘Italian neatnesses, namely, forks.’

Whatever modern Europe may have owed at the Revival to classical antiquity, amongst creations exclusively her own must be named chivalry and Gothic architecture, cathedrals and tournaments. A tournament at the French or English court, where princes and nobles contended for the smiles of highborn beauty, was a finer spectacle than a combat of gladiators; and if a Gothic cathedral is inferior in grace and harmony of proportion to a Grecian temple, it is superior in grandeur and sublimity, in all that especially addresses itself to the imagination and the heart. But we are speaking not of pure art, but luxury; and the Escorial, with its gloomy vastness, cannot be passed over in a review of the structures on which the greatest amount of treasure has been spent without reference to any useful purpose or reasonable end. Spanish writers have termed it the eighth wonder of the world. It was erected by Philip II. in performance of a vow, and was meant to serve the threefold purpose of a palace, a monastery, and a mausoleum or tomb. It was dedicated to St. Lawrence, and built in the form of the gridiron on which the saint was broiled. According to the computation of Los Santos, accepted as an authority by Prescott, it would take four days to go through all the rooms, the distance to be covered being 120 miles. He states that there are no less than 12,000 doors and windows in the building: that the weight of the keys amounted to 1250 pounds: and that there were 68 fountains in the halls or courts. The cost was six millions of ducats.

The

The founder of the Escorial was influenced by a religious motive, if a bigoted one. The founder of Versailles thought of nothing but his own personal gratification. He would not hear of completing the Louvre, which Colbert pressed upon him. He wanted something that should date from him, and be exclusively associated with his name; something that should stand out in solitary grandeur apart from the capital, which did not afford breathing-room for the monarch whose emblem was the sun and his device: 'L'Etat: c'est moi.' The site was the worst he could have chosen: and its disadvantages, from the nature of the soil and want of water, could only be overcome by enormous sacrifices of men and money. Hundreds of workmen, poisoned by the exhalations, were carried away and replaced at night. Of the 20,000 soldiers and 6000 cavalry or artillery horses employed, very few were found fit for service when they were required for the war. A river, the Eure, was turned to supply the fountains and cascades. Voltaire computes the cost at 500 millions of livres; Mirabeau at 1200 millions; J. B. Say, at 900 millions; M. Henri Martin, making allowance for the altered value of money, sets down the cost of Versailles with its dependencies at 400 millions of francs, or 16 millions sterling. Both M. Baudrillart and M. Henri Martin seem to think that the nation has got value for its money, that Versailles is a monument of which they have reason to feel proud. 'History lives in this palace, in these gardens, it gives life even to this mythology as a perpetual symbol. After all, is it not France which here shows herself to us brilliant, honoured, powerful?' Considering the year the huge pile was completed, just after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, we should say that it is rather overtaxed, persecuted, impoverished, depopulated France, that is recalled and represented by Versailles.

When Madame de Maintenon asked the Grand Monarque for money for the poor, he replied: 'A king gives alms by spending a great deal' ('Un roi fait l'aumône en dépensant beaucoup'). If this was charity, the financiers of his time were eminently charitable. Bretonville, a farmer receiver-general, had an hotel so splendidly furnished that it was an object of curiosity to strangers. His income was computed at 120,000*l.* a year. Fouquet's country house at Vaux was a foreshadowing of Versailles. He spent nine millions of livres (Colbert said eighteen) upon it, and razed three villages to the ground to round off the domain. The lead used for the pipes to supply the fountains and the images was sold by a subsequent proprietor for half a million of livres. The banquet to the king and court at this place cost 120,000 livres. The service, comprising thirty-six
dozen

dozen plates, was of gold. The imprudence of the display amounted to fatuity; and, not content with rivalling his young sovereign in magnificence, he presumed to rival him in love. An object that fixed the royal gaze in going over the château was a miniature of Mademoiselle La Vallière. The arrest of Fouquet was a foregone conclusion before the entertainment began; and when his accounts were examined, they showed that his personal expenses had annually amounted to many millions of livres, without reckoning donations to lords and ladies about the court.

It was the policy of Louis XIV. to encourage extravagance. 'The best mode of pleasing him,' says St. Simon, 'was to go in for it in dress, in table, in equipage, in play. He thereby little by little reduced everybody to depend upon him for subsistence.' The princes and nobles fell into the trap. When Condé gave the grand entertainment at Chantilly, immortalized by the death of Vatel, his debts amounted to eight millions of livres, including a tailor's bill for 300,000. This entertainment cost 180,000 livres: there is an item of 3000 crowns for jonquils.

The rage for play required no encouragement. It was as high as it could well be during the king's minority, when we are told of Hervaert, Mazarin's banker, losing 100,000 crowns at a sitting. It was the proper thing to pay in louis d'or. Rohan, not having enough to make up a sum, offered two hundred pistoles to the young king, who refused to receive them. 'Since your Majesty will have none of them,' exclaimed Rohan, 'they are good for nothing;' and he threw the whole of them out of window. Farther on in the reign 'le jeu de la Montespan' became proverbial. The favourite was known to win or lose more than 70,000 crowns in a night; and the king as well as the lady grew angry when her stakes were so high that the courtiers refused to close with them. 'Continue,' was the king's order to Colbert, 'to do whatever Madame de Montespan wishes.' On her wishing for a château at the gate of Versailles, he bought for her the ancient mansion of Clagny, which at the first glance she declared fit only for an opera girl, and ordered it to be pulled down. Another property was added to it: a château, with pleasure-grounds to correspond, was constructed; and she was finally lodged to her liking for the exact sum of 2,861,728 livres, 7 sous, 8 deniers.

The great lords and ladies cheated, and made a joke of it. The Duchess de la Ferté invited her tradespeople to supper, ranged them round a table and played a kind of lansquenet with them. She whispered aside to Mdle. Delaunay (Madame

de Staal): 'I cheat them, but only out of what they rob me of.' 'No one,' says St. Simon, 'was more to the King's liking than the Duke de C——, or had usurped more authority in the world. He was very splendid in all, a great gamester, and not piquing himself on a very exact loyalty.' The female gamesters admitted to Madame de Maintenon's evening receptions, finding it impossible to break through a confirmed habit, endeavoured to reconcile their cheating with their scruples. They came to an understanding that what was unfairly won should be paid back. It may be shrewdly suspected that the example of Sapphira occasionally suggested itself.

Digressing to the Spain of the seventeenth century, M. Baudrillart hits it off in a sentence or two. 'Two words designate it, money and misery: pomp and meanness are united at every turn.' As one instance amongst many, he cites the passion for fine linen. 'But it was particularly dear and rare, and a Spaniard, who might have had six shirts rather coarse, liked to have one very fine and remain in bed whilst it was washed, or dress without a shirt at all.' Gold and silver plate was accumulated till it was useless except for show. The Duke of Albuquerque, besides some 20,000 dishes and plates, had forty ladders of silver; and there was another grandee who had a staircase of silver. Some of them kept open tables, like the Duc d'Ossuna, the wealthiest Spanish grandee of our time, but their hospitality had no temptation for foreigners unused to their cuisine. The Duke de Grammont relates that the Marshal (Grammont) dined with the Admiral of Castille, 'who gave a superb banquet in the Spanish manner, that is to say unwholesome and uneatable. I saw seven hundred dishes served, all with the admiral's arms. Everything in them was saffroned and peppered: then I saw them carried away as they came in, and the dinner lasted four hours.' The essential ingredient of Spanish dishes was and is garlic. The pride or vanity of the grandees was to have fine horses. The Duke de Medina de la Torres gave 25,000 crowns for one of the Andalusian breed. Their carriages were costly, but they were harnessed with ropes '*très-vilains*,' and the streets of Madrid were in such a state that an ambassador's coach which cost 12,000 crowns sank in the mud during a procession, to the utter ruin of the velvet and embroidery. The royal family and a privileged few had sumptuous litters drawn by mules shod with silver.

'In that year (1679),' says Lord Macaulay, 'our tongue was enriched by two words, Mob and Sham, remarkable memorials of a season of tumult and imposture.' M. H. Martin states that the

the French tongue was enriched by the term *millionnaire* about 1718 or 1719, the years of Law's Bubble; and M. Baudrillart says that about the same time *spéculer*, till then a term in metaphysics, was used to express speculating on a rise or fall in the stocks. 'People used to speak of the *system* of Descartes. They now speak of the *system* of Law.' The words do but translate the displacement of ideas. The human imagination looked *up*. It now looks round, often *down*.' Whilst the bubble lasted, thousands believed themselves possessed of fabulous wealth, and were in such a hurry to enjoy it that the shops of the jewellers and the upholsterers were wellnigh cleared of their contents: the streets were almost impassable from the number of carriages started by the *millionnaires*, and the supply of meat, fish, and game, was insufficient for the demands of the capital. At the house of a Madame de Chaumont, the consumption of meat alone amounted to an ox, six calves, and six sheep a day. A painter paid or got credit for more than four millions of livres for plate and jewellery. He took and furnished one of the finest houses in Paris. He had ninety domestics in his service: he gave 100 pistoles a pound for new peas, and he circulated the finest wines in moveable fountains shaped like figures, which poured forth a sparkling torrent on the touching of a spring. 'The coachman passes from the box to the interior of the carriage. The cook is transformed into an Amphitryon, a Lucullus. A flower-girl gives dinners more sumptuous than Madame de Prie, or Madame Law.' Some of these were so devoid of imagination as to warm ragouts with banknotes, to be able to say they had spent so much upon a dish. The highest class joined in the scramble with the lowest. The Duc de Bourbon, who was showing his portfolio full of *actions* to M. de Turmenies, provoked and invited the rebuke: 'For shame, Monseigneur, your ancestors could only boast of five or six *actions*, but they were worth more than all yours put together.'*

The Regent and his daughter, the Duchess of Berry, had no notion of propriety or self-restraint. They systematically set common decency at defiance. Their suppers are correctly described as 'genuine scenes of Roman debauchery, prolonged to morning, by the light of flambeaux, which seemed to turn the Palais Royal, inaccessible and impenetrable, into a Capri in the midst of Paris.' But the Regent was a man of sense

* There was a current story of a celebrated French financier of our time asking his son the difference between a *bonne* and a *mauvaise action*; who replied that a *bonne action* was a share in a profitable affair and a *mauvaise* in an unprofitable one.

as well as a man of pleasure, and, although he indulged his passions without scruple, he took measures for checking the waste of public money, and his consent to the purchase of the famous diamond was obtained with difficulty on the plea, urged by St. Simon, that it was for the honour of the Crown. Louis XV. had no such scruples, and his prodigality led straight to the financial embarrassments which brought about the Revolution. The expenses of the royal household, exclusive of salaries, are computed at rather more than 32 millions of livres, but his dearest luxury was Madame de Pompadour, and it would be difficult to over-estimate the cost of this lady to the State, if we take into the account the abuses she sanctioned and the disasters she caused. It appears from the book she kept that during nineteen years of favour she spent 36,327,268 livres, to which must be added the presents and the bribes. 'What,' exclaims Diderot, 'remains of this woman who exhausted us of men and money, and left us without honour and without energy, after upsetting the system of Europe? The Treaty of Versailles, which will last as long as it can; the *Amour* of Bouchardon, which will be always admired; some stones engraved by Guay, which will astonish the antiquaries of the future; a good little picture that will be looked at occasionally;—and a handful of ashes!' At all events she left something indicative of a taste for art, which is more than can be said for her successors in the same line: there is no redeeming trait about the Du Barry; and even the profligacies of the Regent were surpassed by the establishment of the *Parc aux Cerfs*.

Louis XVI. had no expensive taste except the chase, and he is only so far answerable for the state of affairs under him, that he bore with it and permitted it to get rapidly worse. The royal household (*Maison du Roi*) grew into an army, and an army living by plunder. It comprised more than 4000 persons, without reckoning the household troops. 'What disorder and what robbery! Explain if you can, how Mesdames (the sisters) could burn 215,068 livres' worth of wax-candles, and Madame Elizabeth consume 70,000 of meat, 30,000 of fish; how the coffee, chocolate, and refreshments of the king came to 200,000 livres a year.' The table is set down at 2,177,774 livres; the chase at 1,200,000; the liveries of the huntsmen and grooms at 540,000. In 1778, four years after his accession, the king owed nearly 800,000 livres to his wine-merchant, nearly three millions and a half to his purveyors. There was a faint chance of retrenchment if Turgot's administration had been prolonged, but after his dismissal, mainly through the young queen's impatience

impatience of restraint, things were permitted to run their course till arrested by the crash. Her love of pleasure was insatiable: hardly a day or a night passed without an entertainment of some sort, and the fashions she set were so expensive that (as we learn from Madame Campan) her ladies ran into debt, the husbands cried out, and grave conjugal differences ensued. Matters were not much mended when, for the novelty of the sensation, she played the country girl in a white muslin frock and a straw hat. In one of her rural entertainments at the Petit Trianon, the park represented a fair, the ladies of the court kept the stalls or booths, and the queen a café. The fête cost 400,000 livres, and was renewed on a more expensive scale at Choisy. She lavished large sums on her favourites. Mercy undertook to prove that the Princess de Lamballe cost her 100,000 crowns a year. High play was another of the queen's fatal weaknesses. To get people to play her stakes, she was obliged to give over being select in her society; and the Comte de Dillon had his pocket picked of banknotes to the amount of 500 louis in her salon.

The revival, under the Directory, of the luxury which had been crushed by the Revolution, is regarded by Mignet as a natural and inevitable reaction. 'The reign of the sans-culottes brought back the domination of the rich: the democratic clubs the return of the salon.' 'What characterizes the Directory,' says M. Baudrillart, 'was the Roman or Greek dress of the *Merveilleuses*. The years 1796 and 1797 saw them display their arms and bosoms, their sandals (without stockings) fastened with ribbons, their tunics without chemise or petticoat, the costume à la sauvage. They wore gold rings above and below the knee, and diamond rings on their toes.'

Fresh clouds obscure the horizon, and then the Consulate rises, and the Empire culminates with a splendour rivalling the palmy days of the monarchy. The great Napoleon assumed state and encouraged luxury from calculation: his nephew both from policy and taste. Napoleon III. was fond of pomp and show, besides being a confirmed sensualist; and he derived a personal enjoyment from his entertainments. They were on a magnificent scale; but the only marked or lasting influence of the imperial court, as regards fashion or manners, was on female dress. The invitations to Compiègne and Fontainebleau were commonly for eight days; and a lady was expected to change her dress three or four times a day, and never to wear the same dress twice. The outfit for the visit was computed at not less than 12,000 francs. We have heard a Frenchwoman of the imperial circle complain that she could not dress for less
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than 1000*l.* a year. A milliner's bill, on which an action was brought, amounted to 15,000*l.* for three years, and the fair defendant paid 12,000*l.* into court. The case was reported in the '*Gazette des Tribunaux.*' This spirit of extravagance proved catching, and extended to England, where traces of it are still discernible. It is not uncommon for a lady at a country house to come down in a morning dress, change it for lawn tennis or a walk, put on a *négligé* trimmed with lace for the afternoon tea, and then dress for dinner or a ball. The only parallel in the male sex must be sought amongst the *jeunesse dorée* who indulge in fancy costumes for the smoking-room. Male dress errs on the side of negligence. The cut of a coat, the tie of a neckcloth, or the pattern of a waistcoat, is no longer a title to fame, and a Brummel or a D'Orsay would be a social anomaly or impossibility. No indefensible fashion has taken so complete a hold on women of all classes as the fashion for false hair. Seventy-five tons of hair from the East paid duty at Marseilles alone in 1875, and M. Baudrillart computes that double that quantity is annually worked up in France. The exports, principally to England and the United States, are estimated at 75,000*l.*

Private luxury under the Second Empire found a princely representative in a financier. A journalist waited on the late Baron James de Rothschild to request permission to go over his establishment and take notes. Leave was given, but when the notes had been completed, the Baron forbade the publication. The journalist, coolly saying that the prohibition came too late, did publish them. They show that there were separate departments for soups, sauces, roasting, frying, vegetables, sweets, &c. &c., and that seventy-two persons were employed in the kitchens and the cellar. The famous Carême was for many years the *chef*. The fête given by the Baron at his château of La Ferrière to the Emperor was above all remarkable for the quantity of game provided for the *battues*; at one of which, so ran the story, a parrot, disguised as a partridge, fell to the imperial gun crying: '*Vive l'Empereur!*' Was it a witticism, a cynicism, or a real mistake of gender in the Amphitryon when, thanking his imperial guest for the honour done his poor house by the acceptance of his hospitality, he said: '*J'en garderai toujours le mémoire.*'

The French *cuisine* has produced no great artist, no Beauvilliers or Carême, for many years, and its most notable professor has been a Swiss, Lorenzo Delmonico, settled at New York. He died on the 3rd of September last, and from the biographical notice in the '*Times*' we learn that, amongst the magnificent
repasts

repasts served at his establishment, three were pre-eminent: 'the famous Morton-Peto banquet, at which were laid 100 plates at 250 dollars a plate: the Robert L. Cutting dinner: and the Grand Swan dinner, so called because at the centre of the table was a miniature lake in which swans were swimming.' . . . For 5000 dollars Delmonico could make 50 people gastronomically comfortable.'

It may be admitted that, in cookery and dress, France has given the law to Europe, but when M. Baudrillart claims universal supremacy in matters of taste, manners, and habits, for his countrymen, he may be reminded that they have had their occasional fits of Anglomania, during one of which a French king sharply asked a prince of the blood just returned from England what he had gone to learn there: 'à penser,' replied the prince: 'des chevaux (panser),' was the retort. Neither did other nations wait for the French to teach them how to spend money. Vienna, for example, had pleasant and immoral ways of its own. Maria Theresa rivalled her daughter Marie Antoinette in her fondness for dissipation, and was not restrained by her spouse. Their court festivities cost six millions of florins a year. Coming to details, M. Baudrillart says that the annual consumption of wood was 12,000 cords, and that there were 2000 horses in their stables. As for play, the beautiful mistress of the emperor, the Princess Auesperg-Neipperg, lost 12,000 at a sitting.

The seat of Austrian splendour and munificence is the château. There is nothing in England or France to compare with the grand *chasse* of a Bohemian or Hungarian magnate, an Esterhazy or a Schwarzenberg; nor will there be, till Chantilly is restored. The hero in 'Pelham' argues that it is creditable to be arrested, because it shows that one has once had credit. Reasoning somewhat in the same manner, M. Baudrillart names as 'a sign of more than royal opulence,' the fact that Prince Nicholas Esterhazy, who died about 1835, owed 45 millions of francs. It was this prince who, when Mr. Coke of Norfolk, pointing to a flock of two or three thousand sheep, asked him if he had as many, replied, that he did not know how many sheep he had, but he believed he had two or three thousand shepherds. An English sportsman, who had accidentally shot one of the Hungarian beaters, was told that it did not signify, but the price of a serf was 30*l*. This was the true grand seigneur mode of treating such occurrences. When the emperor was of the party, the grand huntsman, standing just behind, specified the game as it fell. On one occasion the announcements, without the change of a muscle or a tone, ran thus: 'Hare, your Majesty.'

Majesty.' 'Pheasant, your Majesty.' 'Lord High Chamberlain, your Majesty.'

English luxury has been always of a fluctuating character. Thus, a sudden fit of extravagance followed close on the peace of 1763. Alluding to the sobering effect of the American war, Miss Berry says: 'No more was heard of *fêtes-champêtres* costing 15,000*l.*: no more of kitchen-gardens, whose yearly expense was 6000*l.*: no more of bills with tailors for thousands: no more of sums so great, and property so considerable, depending on the cast of a die, that the gainer dared not profit by more than half of his good luck.'* The habits of country life retained their plainness. 'No man intending to stand for his county, or desirous of being popular in it, would have permitted his table to be served with three-pronged forks, or his ale to be presented but in a tankard, to which every mouth was to be successively applied. Sofas conveyed ideas of impropriety, and baths, and every extra attention to cleanliness and purity of person, were habits by no means supposed to refer to superior purity of mind or manners.' The designation of 'Silver-fork School,' given to a school of novelists who affected superior gentility some fifty or sixty years since, implies that the use of the three-pronged fork was only then becoming general; and the introduction of the tub, which constitutes an epoch in the domestic economy of England, cannot be dated more than twenty-five or thirty years back.

'Billy Butler,' the sporting parson of Dorset, used to say that he remembered three generations of parsons: the first dined at one and drank ale: the second at three and occasionally drank port: the third at seven and regularly drank claret. A similar change of habits might be traced in other classes, especially in what may be called the upper middle class. There is an increase in the consumption of French wines, partly owing to their cheapness; and there is a corresponding decrease in drunkenness. There is also a growing spirit of moderation, the offspring of good sense, opposed to excess of any kind. We still hear of *fêtes* costing thousands, of dinners at five guineas a head, of two or three thousand pounds spent on flowers for a ball, but so long as the expenditure has a definite object, so long as it gratifies a refined taste or conduces to enjoyment, we see no reason to complain.

There are writers, however, who contend with Louis XIV.

* 'Comparative View of the Social Condition of England and France.' In 1777 Lord Ilchester lost 13,000*l.* at a sitting to Lord Carlisle, who offered to take 3000*l.* down. There was a balance at one time in favour of one of the players of 50,000*l.*

that the more money spent in any way the better, under an impression that it gives employment and promotes trade; as there are others who would fain enforce a Quaker-like simplicity in all things. The writer who has gone farthest in praise of extravagance is Mandeville, in his once celebrated work, 'The Fable of the Bees; or Private Vices, Public Benefits,' first published in 1714. It is a poem with a prose accompaniment in the shape of Remarks. The plot of the poem is simply enough:

'A spacious hive well stock'd with bees,
That lived in luxury and ease.

'These insects lived like men and all
Our actions they performed in small.'

The tradesmen were all cheats, the lawyers rogues, the physicians quacks, the clergy hypocrites, the judges corrupt:

'Thus every part was full of vice,
Yet the whole mass a paradise;
Flattered in peace and feared in wars
They were th' esteem of foreigners.

'The root of evil, avarice,
That damn'd ill-natured baneful vice,
Was slave to prodigality,
That noble sin; whilst luxury
Employ'd a million of the poor
And odious pride a million more.'

The commonwealth was in the height of prosperity, when some grumblers cried out: 'Good Gods, had we but honesty!' Mercury smiled; but

'Jove, in anger moved,
At last in anger swore, he'd rid
The bawling hive of fraud, and did.
The very moment it departs
And honesty fills all their hearts.'

From that moment the commonwealth declines, and sinks apace into poverty, ruin, and insignificance. The tradesmen are without purchasers, the lawyers without clients, the physicians without patients, and the clergy and judges are no longer wanted.

The book made a great noise. 'It has been presented,' says the author, 'by the grand jury. It has been preached against before my Lord Mayor, and an utter refutation of it is daily expected from a reverend divine who has called me names in the
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the advertisements and threatened to answer me in two months time for above five months together.' The reverend divine might have spared himself the trouble, for the refutation is contained in the homely adage, 'Honesty is the best policy.' Surely trades and professions may thrive without fraud; and munificence may exist without 'the noble sin' prodigality. The cause of luxury is more plausibly advocated by Voltaire in 'Le Mondain.'

'Ainsi l'on voit en Angleterre, en France,
Par cent canaux circule l'abondance,
Le goût du luxe entre dans tous les rangs,
Le pauvre y vit des vanités des grands,
Et le travail, gagé par la mollesse,
S'ouvre, à pas lents, la route à la richesse.'

The article *Luxe* in his Philosophical Dictionary begins: 'In a country where everybody went barefooted, was the first man who wore a pair of shoes luxurious? Was he not a sensible and industrious fellow? May not the same be said of him who had the first shirt? As for him who had it washed and ironed, I believe him to be a genius full of resources and capable of governing a State. Yet those who were not accustomed to wear clean shirts, treated him as an effeminate aristocrat who corrupted the nation.' The intended inference is met by M. Emile de Lavelaye, who defines luxury to be that which destroys the product of many days of labour without bringing any reasonable satisfaction. 'That queen of the ball is destroying in the whirls of the waltz a flounce of lace worth 10,000 francs: there goes the equivalent of 50,000 hours of toil destructive of eyesight; and what advantage has been drawn from it?'

But before condemning the queen of the ball, let us see to how many others the censure would apply. It has been computed that gold and silver to the value of 2½ millions of pounds is annually consumed in France for plate and ornaments, mostly of the tinsel sort that are displayed in the shops of the Palais Royal; and more than a million of gold for similar purposes in Birmingham. A deputation of ribbon-weavers, who came up from Coventry full of the dignity of labour and the importance of the working man, were suddenly taken aback by being reminded that the world could do very well without ribbons. If the thing is useless except as an ornament, the cost matters nothing to the argument, and the beauty with her lace belongs to the same category as the servant-girl with her ribbon or the shop-boy with his chain. She has, moreover, this ad-

* 'Revue des Deux Mondes' for Nov. 1, 1880.

vantage: she has indirectly contributed to the production of a delicate work of art, and all enlightened utilitarians will allow that whatever gives pleasure to a cultivated taste falls fairly within the domain of utility. If we give up lace, we must give up diamonds and pearls, Sèvres china, Venetian glass, and the choicest specimens of goldsmith's work, the masterpieces of Benvenuto Cellini. It is only a step further to statues and pictures, and the bare suggestion is enough to alarm M. Bau-drillart for his countrymen:

'Deprive this French race of these "inutilities," deprive it of silk to be replaced by cotton, take away the statues, the pictures, the marbles, the bronzes, the velvets, the trinkets,—those thousand objects of every kind, woven, spun, plaited, embroidered by fairy fingers—and you take from it its employment, its revenue, its power, its instruction, the better part of itself.'

If, he might have added, we are to keep to the solid and material; if the fancy, the sense of beauty, grace and elegance, are never to be addressed, the higher faculties will grow torpid from disuse, the mind will dwindle and degenerate, and intellectual progress will be arrested or flung back. 'Race without wants, race without ideas.' The rival systems are well represented by Athens and Sparta. Who thinks of Sparta when we speak of Greece? What has Sparta done for the world, and what would the world be without what it owes to Athens? 'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever,' and the creations of the age of Pericles are a lasting boon of inestimable value to mankind.

A French economist cites the saying of an emperor: 'If one of my subjects does not work, there is in my States some one who suffers from hunger and cold.' 'Suppose,' says Franklin, 'a hundred thousand French hairdressers suddenly giving up their unproductive labour to clear a hundred acres each.' If the land were worth clearing, it would be better cleared by the regular agriculturists; and the evil is not the deficiency but the unequal distribution of food. If all mankind were employed in producing necessities, a large part of the product would be superfluities. Capital has been defined as hoarded industry: and Adam Smith describes a man who accumulates it as a public benefactor; but how many would accumulate without the hope or chance of future enjoyment, without the stimulant that luxury supplies? The truth lies between the two extremes, and Mandeville is so far right, that selfishness and vanity contribute in their several ways to the production and circulation of wealth. These qualities are too deeply rooted in human nature to be eradicated,

cated, and we must take the evil with the good. But, comparing the present with the past, we cannot allow that

‘Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit
Nos nequiores—’

Indeed we are prepared to go farther than Montalembert in his spirited defence of contemporary France, and instead of saying with him that we are not worse, boldly declare that we are better than our forefathers.

ART. VII.—1. *The Attic Orators from Antiphon to Isaeos*. By R. C. Jebb, M.A., Fellow and late Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow. London, 1876.

2. *Selections from the Attic Orators Antiphon, Andokides, Lysias, Isokrates, Isaeos*. By R. C. Jebb, M.A. London, 1880.

IT is a happy conjunction by which one who is not only among the first of living Greek scholars, but himself an artist in English prose, should have undertaken to interpret the earliest prose artists of Greece. Erudition alone cannot serve to recal the lost music of a language. But the felicities of Attic idiom seem echoed in the very phrases in which Professor Jebb describes them. The impression which cannot be conveyed by direct utterance is borne in on us indirectly. In days when style tends either to be neglected as unpractical, or to become the cult of a school and a mark of mannerism, we feel a peculiar gratitude towards those who, like Professor Jebb, revive however unconsciously in their own writings the Attic tradition, who by a delicate alliance link the popular with the literary idiom, and with whom eloquence is not divorced from simplicity and sobriety.

It is some years since Professor Jebb published his work on the ‘Attic Orators’ from Antiphon to Isaeus. Its purport is best given in his own words:—

‘The first object of this book is to offer a contribution to a chapter in the history of Greek Literature which has perhaps received less attention than its importance deserves. The oratorical branch of Attic prose has a more direct and more fruitful relation to the general development than modern analogies would suggest. To trace the course of Athenian oratory from its beginnings as an art to the days of its decline is, necessarily, to sketch the history of Greek prose expression in its most widely influential form, and to show how this form was affected by a series of causes, political or social.

‘The second object of the book is to supply an aid to the particular study

study of the Attic orators before Demosthenes. The artistic development of Attic oratory is sketched as a whole. But a separate and minute treatment is given only to Antiphon, Andokides, Lysias, Isokrates, and Isaeos.'

More recently he has added a companion volume consisting of selections from the same orators, with notes. The passages are chosen with rare discrimination. The principles that have guided the selection have been, first, that the passages should be distinctive enough to mark each author's place in the evolution of Attic prose; and secondly, that they should possess intrinsic interest as illustrations of Greek thought, politics, or manners. The volume is intended to be supplemental to the larger book, to the study of which it ought to add new zest. But to have read even the selected passages by the light of the notes is to hold in one's hands many of the threads, without which the place of Demosthenes in literature can be but half understood.

The two books together give a good idea of the compass of Professor Jebb's powers. We here recognize gifts for which he has long been well known among scholars—an instinctive sympathy with the Greek spirit, a singular insight into language, a sureness of touch, a just perspective in writing notes—a faculty usually denied to commentators—and a genius for translation which leaves him probably without a rival in this field. But a subject, whose general range of view extends from the time of Pericles to the early Roman Empire, demands a breadth of treatment, for which there was hardly scope in Professor Jebb's shorter writings. It is just such a sense of grasp and mastery that is left on the mind by his '*Attic Orators*.' Many questions too of historical interest, which incidentally arise, attest a minute and accurate research. These discussions, however, are strictly subordinated to the main design; so that antiquarian students, for whom the orators are rich in material, will probably regret the author's self-imposed reserve. But such collateral illustration, had it been largely admitted, would have marred the literary purpose of the book, and spoiled its symmetry. Indeed, Professor Jebb's fine discretion is nowhere more apparent than in his omissions.* Even as a history of style, the '*Attic Orators*' is not meant to be exhaustive. Writers of whom we have only a second-hand or very fragmentary knowledge are wholly omitted, though in a comprehensive treatise, such as that of Dr. Blass, they claim considerable notice. To the learned labours of Dr. Blass Professor Jebb

* It may be questioned, however, whether the analysis of speeches does not sometimes run to undue length.

gratefully acknowledges his debt; but the author's own mind remains indelibly impressed on all that he writes; even what he borrows he makes his own. Dr. Blass's history of Attic Oratory is a storehouse of reference for the student. Professor Jebb deals minutely with a more limited period, and even within that period he is content to omit much. But his volumes may be read with delight by all who value first-rate literary criticism.

Possessing, however, as he does, a fine sense for form and language, he need not, we think, so closely have followed the ancient grammarians in their analyses of style. He has done undoubted service in quoting largely from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and vindicating for him his proper place as 'the greatest critic of the ancient world who was not a philosopher.'* But even Dionysius does not always carry a meaning for moderns, and the distinctions of lesser critics are apt to become barren subtleties. An almost exclusive attention to form, without 'any effort of imaginative sympathy,' is noticed by Professor Jebb as the radical vice which tainted ancient criticism. He is far from being guilty in this respect himself. Still it is to be wished that he had more decisively rejected certain technicalities of rhetoricians, and trusted to his own delicate perception. Whenever he does so, his ideas seem most luminous and most fruitful.

The Introduction draws attention to a capital feature of Greek eloquence, namely that it was cultivated as a fine art. The arguments by which the thought is enforced are not all equally good. For instance, we fail to see the cogency of the following reasoning:—

'What, then, is the fact signified by this double phenomenon—that the Greeks had the word *rhetor*, and that they did not apply it to everybody? It is this: that in the Greek view, a man who speaks may, without necessarily having first-rate natural gifts for eloquence, or being invested with office, yet deserve to be distinguished from his fellows by the name of *speaker*. It attests the conception that speaking is potentially an *art*, and that one who speaks may in speaking be an *artist*.'†

But the conclusion itself is not only true, but essential to the understanding of Greek oratory. We shall see its bearings more fully in the sequel. Meanwhile it is to be observed that the course of development was other than might have been expected. It was not in the debates of the assembly that eloquence assumed its distinctive and artistic form. The great speeches of Themistocles and Pericles perished without a

* 'Att. Or.' ii. p. 450.

† Ibid. i. p. lxx.

record,

record, or survived only in a few remembered phrases. The period following the Peloponnesian war saw the growth of a literary prose, and with it of written eloquence, but the sphere of this eloquence is still the law-courts and the schools of the sophists. It will be necessary to examine in some detail the two types thus created, the forensic and the 'epideictic' or ornamental. Together they moulded the deliberative oratory. The investigation covers the period with which Professor Jebb's '*Attic Orators*' is specially concerned.

The extant Attic oratory from Antiphon to Isaeus is, excepting the speeches of Andocides, the work of writers rather than of speakers. Here we must discard modern associations. Antiphon, the first professional speech-writer whom we hear of at Athens, never spoke in the assembly. One instance is recorded of his appearing before the courts, and then it was to plead for his life. Once only did Lysias, whose genuine speeches the best ancient critics reckoned at 233, plead in person before the tribunal. Isocrates never broke silence in public. The same is probably true of Isaeus, the author of fifty works at least. Demosthenes himself, who even at the height of his political activity wrote for the law-courts, delivered only seven court speeches, and in four of these he was reclaiming his own patrimony. Out of the whole range of Athenian judicial eloquence, some 110 speeches are extant, and not more than ten of these were pronounced by their authors.

We find ourselves far removed from the modern conception of an advocate. The theory of the Athenian democracy demanded that every citizen should take his part in the assembly, in the law-courts, and in the army. To think, to speak, and to act for the State, was the threefold and indissoluble cord of ancient life. Political deliberation was conducted without a representative system; the battles of the country were fought by a citizen army; the law-courts sat as a committee of the whole people. In perfect harmony with this idea, the legislature required each litigant to plead his own cause. Here again the view prevailed, that the functions of a citizen cannot be delegated, and the rare exemptions granted in favour of old age or infirmity were the exceptions which proved the rule. Even Aristotle, writing in an age when the unity of Greek life had been fatally impaired, can express himself thus:—'If it is disgraceful not to be able to defend oneself by bodily force, it ought to be equally disgraceful not to be able to defend oneself by speech, which is far more truly the distinctive quality of a man.'* It is remarkable

* Arist. '*Rhet.*' i. 1.

how long, in this as in other departments of civic life, the ancient theory outlived the almost extinct practice. Mercenary advocacy had by the time of Aristotle become almost as familiar as mercenary soldiery.

In union with the democratic sentiment, which finds expression in the above-mentioned law, another feeling operated to check the rise of an advocate class at Athens. The Athenian people, while passionately admiring, profoundly distrusted eloquence. It exercised over their minds a potent magic against which they were not proof, and they sought to guard themselves beforehand against its seductions. In the assembly, indeed, the empire of eloquence could not be disputed. An artist people, who listened to beautiful language as to music, who loved debate as they did a spectacle, could here enjoy a noble pastime, while they transacted business. But here too they felt some misgiving about oratory, and refrained from a complete self-surrender. The regular speakers of the house (*οἱ ῥήτορες*), though not invested with official title or authority, initiated measures and controlled the public administration. The reality of power was in their hands. In the absence of a responsible Ministry, they were the Statesmen of Athens. After the time of Pericles they were viewed with increasing suspicion, as a clique who stood apart, all the more powerful that they were not responsible, versed in the subtleties of the schools, disciplined by contact with life, and not always of unquestioned allegiance to the democracy. We may well understand how the traders and artisans of Athens, keenly as they enjoyed the brilliant fencing of these debaters, had little inclination to extend their supremacy over the law-courts. Those in whom the power of persuasion was united with a vast political influence might well be deemed menacing to justice.

The law that every man must defend his own cause in person had, like other similar laws, to yield before, or be modified by, practical necessities. Framed in the interests of democracy, it could not but work unfairly, and especially to the prejudice of the lower classes. Various methods were devised to alleviate the hardship. Sometimes a litigant would at the end of his speech appeal to the courtesy of the jury for permission to call to a friend or kinsman to supplement his own deficiencies. The request was as a rule granted. The supporter (*συνήγορος*) whose aid was thus invoked, being naturally chosen for his rhetorical aptitude, has to begin by disarming suspicion. He is at pains to show that personal feeling has prompted him to come forward. The imputation of venal advocacy must at all costs be shunned. Hypereides, in appearing for Phryne,

is

is said to have avowed himself her lover. The prejudice felt against paid eloquence meets us even in Lysurgus (circ. 330 B.C.): 'I am astonished if you do not see that your extreme indignation is well deserved by men who, although they have no tie whatever of kinship or of friendship with the accused persons, continually help in defending them for pay.'*

Another expedient, more commonly resorted to than the good offices of friends, has left a peculiar impress on Attic oratory. The plain man, intending to go to law, addressed himself to a professional speech-writer, or 'logographer,' who not only gave him legal advice, but furnished him with a speech to be learnt by heart. The second half of the fifth century had given birth to prose composition. An artistic prose was now being slowly shaped. Springing almost as a variety out of poetry, it could not at once cast off the trammels of the poetic idiom. Like poetry, it was at first a secret in the possession of a few, an art confined to a close guild of craftsmen. In the childlike joy of discovery, men played with the new weapon, tested its unknown capacities, put it to strange uses, and ascribed to it wondrously efficacious virtues. Armed with it, they thought to go forth and conquer. Of those who professed the new art, some devoted themselves to a minute cult of form, too often treating language, not as the obedient servant of thought, but as an independent and sovereign power. Others conceived the idea, so fertile in result, that speech as an instrument of persuasion might be submitted to analysis, that its theory might be unfolded, and that men might be taught to be eloquent. In the schools of the rhetoricians the 'logographer' was formed. The calling was suspected from the outset, and retained to the last something of a sinister reputation. It trafficked in speech, and connected itself with an art which among other things promised victory to the worse cause over the better. Plato insists (*Laws* xi. p. 938), that the 'logographer' shall, under heavy penalties, defend the just cause, and do it gratuitously. Significant also is his remark in the 'Euthydemus' (p. 200), that this art 'is part of the great art of enchantment, and hardly if at all inferior to it.' The taunt of Aeschines, that Demosthenes was a 'logographer,' reflects, we may be sure, a latent popular sentiment. A jury might feel some natural impatience at the snare that was being laid for their honesty, and at the attitude of vigilant incredulity they were obliged to take up, lest the dexterity of the professional should be found lurking behind the artless words. On the other hand, the intellectual enjoyment of guarding against surprises,

* 'Against Leocrates,' § 138; quoted 'Att. Or.' i. p. cxxxii.
Vol. 152.—No. 304. 2 N

of detecting sophistries, or even of yielding to the dramatic illusion, must have been keenly appreciated. Moreover any individual jurymen might presently have to exchange places with the speaker, and find himself called on to address the Court.

It was to the interest of all that the new practice should be tolerated. In a time of eager litigation, when growing commerce had rendered the relations of life more complex, when war, making frequent gaps in the ranks of the city or the family, led to disputes about franchise or inheritance, when the old culture could no longer hold its own against the sophistic training, the ordinary citizen welcomed a method by which, without abdicating his civic duties, he might reap the benefit of technical skill. Thus the principle was saved, and public opinion sanctioned the harmless fraud. A Socrates might deem it dishonourable to accept the speech written for him by Lysias, but the 'logographer,' by force of circumstances, held an assured position. Some, who aspired to a political career, found here a road to their ambition. Others entered on the profession as a lucrative employment, for at Athens, as at Rome, it was in vain for the law to forbid fees.

The 'logographer,' then, differs essentially from a Roman *patronus*, or from a member of the English Bar. He does not appear instead of and as the representative of his client; he remains masked behind him. The legal fiction that the client is employing his native resource is studiously maintained. We would gladly know what was the exact artistic effect of speeches composed by one man and delivered by another. To learn even one's own speech by heart is not now supposed to conduce to effective delivery. But it would probably be unfair to estimate by the failures of modern premeditation the dramatic capacities of plaintiffs and defendants in a city where the drama was a moving power, and public speaking a habit early acquired. These untutored but deeply interested actors may not have played their part so ill.

Be that as it may, it is rather to our present purpose to define the precise influence exercised on Attic oratory by the institution of 'logographers.' The chicanery which Aristotle noted in the judicial far more than in the deliberative branch, and which has been much insisted on ever since, is largely due to this cause. Anonymous writing, intruding into the administration of justice, exhibited its evils in a malignant form. Responsible advocacy there was none. So far as publicity is a guarantee of honesty, the guarantee was wanting. The author of a speech had no character to sustain, or rather, as many characters as he had

had clients. In dealing with a case, his conscience was less committed than that of the advocate under any other system yet devised. Ugly stories got abroad (nor did Demosthenes himself escape censure) of speech-writers who composed speeches for both parties in a suit, though, taking all the circumstances into account, we may doubt whether the gravity of the offence has not been exaggerated. Moreover, the 'logographer,' while usurping some of the functions of a juriconsult, did not belong to a body of trained lawyers, and was not controlled by the corporate sense which such a profession inspires. While this irresponsible body existed, it was impossible for a Bar to be formed, and thus the scientific development of Attic law was rudely checked. The constitution of the courts conspired with the want of a Bar to promote personalities and irrelevant issues. The great masses who formed the jury were instructed in the law of the case, not by the judge, but by the litigant himself. Even the laws of Solon could be garbled without much risk of detection. Still more could previous judgments of the courts be fabricated or misquoted. It seems that there was no official record of them; they were vouched for only by the memory of witnesses, and perhaps by private notes of reporters and scribes. Lastly, the peculiar attitude, in which the 'logographer' stood to his client, made the art of feigning well almost essential to success. The licence allowed to dramatic illusion was extended to falsehood, and the theory of the oratorical lie, having done good service in treatises on Rhetoric, was transmitted to later times, and was readily naturalized at Rome. The well-known saying of O'Connell, 'A good speech is a good thing, but the verdict is *the* thing,' is a somewhat less cynical version of Quintilian's remark: 'The reward of the advocate is not a good conscience, but a good verdict.' If a Greek equivalent were on record, we might find a still more daring utterance.

From the legal point of view, the Attic theory of forensic eloquence led to mischievous results. It was otherwise with its literary influence. The speech-writer became, in fact, a dramatic artist, whose supreme gift was to read and express character (*ἡθοποιία*). He must transform himself into each client in turn, catch and reproduce something of the tone and manner of each, marking well the broad distinctions of age or rank, but not neglecting the subtler traits of individual portraiture. Considered in this light, the psychological studies of Aristotle in the Rhetoric gain fresh significance. The sketches he draws of the young man, the old, the jealous, the brave man, the coward, are designed to aid the 'logographer' in his

dramatic representations. Apart from modifications required in special instances, the normal court-speech, according to the Greek ideal, must be brief—for the client has to learn it by heart, and the jury, moreover, is deeply occupied; it must be simple in structure, adapted to a plain citizen whose honest aim is to state his case simply, and without the semblance of professional aid; its idiom must be that of daily life. The art employed must be a disguised art. The writer must subject himself to a severe self-control, and not give full play to his talent—‘he scans, he weighs himself’ (*se circumspicit et aestimat*), says Seneca. At the opening there will be the absence of assurance, the diffidence of one who is a stranger to the courts. The texture of the narrative must be sufficiently firm, the argument sufficiently compact, to satisfy the intelligence of the jury, but the master-hand must not be betrayed. A suppressed fervour may animate the whole, but impetuous movements, outbursts of pathos or indignation, are to be avoided; above all, in the closing sentences, the final appeal must be made to the reason, not to the emotions, of the jury. Any attempt to do moral violence to their conscience would at this, of all moments, be resented; it would awaken the latent distrust of eloquence, and the artist would be suspected under his disguise. This temperate and sober manner, so distinctive of Attic judicial oratory, will probably at first seem cold to a modern reader. But the hidden glow gradually becomes felt, and we are aware of the triumphant art necessary to compose a speech which is natural, unadorned, and yet eloquent.

The name of Antiphon heads the series of Attic orators. To most readers he is known less through his own writings than through those sentences of Thucydides where he figures as the arch-conspirator who brought about the Revolution of the ‘Four Hundred’ at Athens. But, during the years in which he wrought silently and intrigued behind the scenes of politics, he was also founding the forensic eloquence of the future. As consulting statesman, as chamber counsel, and as writer for the law-courts, his services were accessible to all who paid for them. With a peculiar interest we watch rhetoric shaping itself under his hands to practical uses. His Tetralogies mark precisely the transitional stage. ‘They hold a place’ (in Professor Jebb’s words) ‘between merely ornamental exercises and real orations,’ and they may have been intended as models for pupils. Each forms a group of four speeches in an imaginary trial for homicide, where accuser and accused, in alternate argument, each urge their case twice. A bare skeleton of facts is presented, and both sides are argued; the reasoning, which is drawn almost

almost wholly from probabilities, exhibiting great ingenuity and resource, though traces of sophistic subtlety are not absent. Here, of course, there is no room for character drawing. And even the two or three actual court speeches that are extant, show only a rudimentary effort at dramatic propriety. But it would be unsafe to infer from this that the sentiments of the true Antiphon can anywhere be elicited. Here, for once, Professor Jebb (who agrees with Dr. Blass) seems to lack his usual caution. He thinks that Antiphon's religious appeals prove him to have been a man of antique piety, and he insists especially upon the opening of the Third Tetralogy—'a mere exercise, in which the elaborate simulation of a religious sentiment would have had no motive.' But, as Professor Jebb points out elsewhere (p. 47), the Tetralogies are not mere school exercises, 'they are thoroughly real and practical;' their arguments are adapted to the law courts. Now all the extant speeches relate to homicide cases, most of them being designed for the Areopagus; and the Greek view of homicide was primarily theological. We need not, then, greatly wonder at the emphasis laid on religious defilement, on the blood that calls for vengeance; nor even at the passage in the 'Murder of Herodes' where the defendant pleads, in token of his innocence, that neither on sea-voyages nor at his solemn rites have the signs of divine anger been manifested (§ 81-4). Antiphon, if he cared little for the character of his client, well knew the temper of the court. The Athenian democracy were jealous for the State religion, and there was a supposed connection (as the story of the Mutilation of the Hermæ witnesses) between oligarchy and impiety. The oligarchical conspirator would not be so clumsy as to show his hand. Apart from this, it is hard to suppose that Antiphon, trained in the sceptical culture, the patron of secret assassination, had any very fastidious sense about religious blood-guiltiness.

It must, however, be admitted that Antiphon is hardly a dramatic artist; he concentrates his force on argument. Nor indeed was the early prose capable of adapting itself to very varied effects, or of reproducing shades of character.

'The leading characteristic of the early prose is dignity. The newly created art has the continual consciousness of being an art. It is always on its guard against sliding into the levity of a conversational style. The composer feels, above all things, that his written language must be so chosen as to produce a greater effect than would be produced by an equivalent amount of extemporary speaking.

'Every word is to be pointed and pregnant; every phrase is to be the condensed expression of his thought in its ultimate shape, however difficult this may be to the reader or hearer who meets it in that shape

time; the movement of the whole is to be slow, pressing by its weight and grandeur, not charming.

He remarks that the court speeches proper, as we have seen, have a somewhat rigid dignity of the Tetralogies, but with an increasing flexibility of style, and make larger appeal to popular taste. Yet here, too, Antiphon is chiefly concerned to find the most vigorous utterance for his thought. He himself seems aware that his trenchant oratory would inspire distrust; and one of his defendants prays the court to believe that 'if he speaks to the point, the expression has the force of truth, not of rhetorical art.'† But the writer will not forego the advantage which by painful effort he has acquired over the new weapon; he must 'wring out of language a force strange to the ordinary idiom;' single and emphatic words, planted in a cardinal position, are made to sustain a weight of meaning. Prominent, too, is the inherent Greek love of antithesis, which, misdirected as it might often be, yet became one of the chief means by which the Greek intellect attained to clearness and precision. And Antiphon is ever striving to be precise; between words and ideas there must be a strict accord. In general it is true of him that for the empty oppositions of words, used by the early sophists, he substituted true distinctions of thought. If we find it hard to understand the warmth with which Thucydides speaks of Antiphon's gifts, we must remember, first, that the extant remains, most of them sketches, very inadequately represent his powers, and that his great speech, delivered on his trial, is now lost. Next, that he is one of the first who caught the secret of prose-writing, that he put substance and content into an eloquence hitherto void and sonorous, and that he had to grapple with a still rebellious material. Whether or not he stood to Thucydides (as the tradition runs) in the relation of master to pupil, he at least belonged to the same school; and the resemblances of style (admirably set forth by Professor Jebb in his essay on Thucydides in 'Hellenica')‡ claim a careful study. This early worker fascinates us, much as does the archaic school of Greek sculptors. There is the thought struggling for utterance, there is the same stiff dignity, disdainful of prettiness, but admitting a few quaint ornaments, the balanced contrasts, the symmetry of grouping, the parallelisms tending to monotony. The Greek genius, in corresponding phases of its creative activity, develops itself under kindred forms.

* 'Att. Or.' i. p. 20.

† 'Murder of Herodes,' § 5.

‡ See also 'Att. Or.' i. pp. 35-56.

In Lysias we meet with the finished type of artistic writing for the courts, as above defined. He was, as Professor Jebb says, a discoverer; but in this sense, that he was the first clearly to see the literary theory implied in that conception of citizenship, which required each man to speak in his own cause. He had observed the effects of overwrought skill, and of stately pleading put into simple mouths,—how the fancied strength was lost in incongruity. To be impressive, it was above all things necessary to be natural. He resolved, therefore, to make each client speak like himself, and not like another. Lysias appeared at a decisive moment in the development of Athenian eloquence, when it was doubtful whether educated taste, following in the steps of Gorgias and his school, would abandon itself to phrase-making and poetic ornament. ‘Art for art’s sake,’ a maxim of doubtful application to any art, is fatal to oratory. The genius of Athens, combining in a unique degree the practical with the beautiful, saved her from this decadence. And next to Socrates, it was to Lysias, as the firm exponent of a truer principle, that she owed her enlightenment. The absence of exaggeration, the exquisite sense of measure, which distinguishes his writing, is well commented on by a recorded saying of his own:—‘The style cannot make the thought great or small; the thought is great when there is much in it, small when there is little.’* His oratorical power is likely to be under-estimated by moderns, unless the conditions that limited it are remembered. Dramatic necessities determined its scope. A delicate control over language, a bright charm of expression, stood ready to the service of his dramatic faculty. He must have had a rare gift for divining character. We picture to ourselves Lysias during the visit of a client, quietly scanning him as he told his story, noting his peculiarities of manner and gesture, and seizing what he thought a characteristic mood. In most of his delineations the individual colouring seems to be faithfully preserved, but we may suspect that some clients had no trait distinctive enough to be artistically handled. For purposes of dramatization, Lysias mainly trusts to narrative. The scene passes before us without stage-glitter or unreality, and the events are told with the vividness of an eye-witness. Truthfulness in detail makes the description graphic, whether the object described be a political trial or an Attic interior. There is no lengthy reasoning; the conclusions are suggested, telling points of argument are interspersed, sometimes the same points are repeated. All this in a style that is plain without being trivial, where owing

* Frag. 92, Teubner ed.

to this very wealth of right words the artist is not betrayed. 'He seems,' says Professor Jebb in paraphrasing Dionysius, 'to speak like the ordinary man, while he is, in fact, the most consummate of artists, who knows how to give an unobtrusive distinction to ordinary language, and to bring out of it a quiet and peculiar music.'* The client has well-nigh won when he has stated his case, by force of a guileless and persuasive simplicity. If Antiphon aims 'at moving the hearer rather than at reflecting the character of the speaker,' it is also true that Lysias, in a great measure, moves the hearer by reflecting the character of the speaker. But he does not renounce other means of kindling emotion. True to the best Attic instinct, he is sparing of express appeals to feeling, he works by more indirect methods. He is aware that facts can, in the setting and the grouping, be made to yield many suggestions, and on the pathos of facts he relies. And then some homely detail, rapidly thrown into the narrative,—the description, it may be, of a familiar object awakening a memory and a contrast,—intensifies the pity. The speaker's own emotion remains all the while under control, it does not find vent in Roman sobs and tears. Yet sometimes there is enough of the passion and the fire essential to the highest eloquence to warrant the belief, that not the power but the occasion was wanting to make Lysias take a place next the greatest. Not being an Athenian citizen, he could not speak in the assembly; but he was in warm sympathy with the democracy, whose fallen fortunes he had twice shared; and a burning sense of wrong animated him against the Thirty Tyrants. Whenever in his professional career he comes upon the track of the Thirty, his impassioned utterance exceeds the tone of a 'logographer.' Most memorable in this respect is his first speech, 'Against Eratosthenes' (Or. xii.), who was the agent under the Thirty of his brother's death. On this one occasion, during his long life of eighty years, Lysias came into direct contact with Athenian politics.

In the two parts into which it naturally falls, the speech presents, in perhaps unique combination, two distinct styles of eloquence—first, the plain earnestness of a private demand for redress—then the lofty vehemence of a political impeachment. The compass of the power shown may best be measured by the two passages which mark its limits—on the one hand the account of the arrest of Polemarchos, which has almost the flow of Herodotean narrative;—on the other hand, the passionate appeal to the two classes of men who had suffered from the 'Thirty—worked up with all the resources of a finished rhetoric.'†

* 'Att. Or.' i. p. 170.

† Ibid. p. 268. The two remarkable passages here referred to are given in the 'Selections,' p. 46 ff. and p. 54 ff.

The restrained form of pathos, normal in Lysias, has its counterpart in a subtle humour. There are few more amusing speeches in Greek than the speech of Lysias for the 'Infirm Pauper' (*ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου*, Or. xxiv), who, under an incipient poor-law, was receiving (probably as a discharged soldier) an obol a day from the State. He kept a shop near the agora, and it seems to have been frequented by fashionable young men, who found the 'infirm pauper' a droll fellow, and occasionally lent him a horse to ride. Some little jealousy may have been created by seeing one who was in receipt of State relief receiving fashionable visitors and enjoying life heartily. His answer to the accuser who charged him with being able-bodied and having no claim to relief is most entertaining, especially on the count of horsemanship, and in the irony with which he complains that 'his infirmity is disputed with him by his adversary as eagerly as if it were an heiress-at-law.' Another instance (also to be found in Professor Jebb's 'Selections') shows a humour broadening into farce. It is the description of a certain Aeschines, an incorrigible borrower, who had applied for a loan to help him 'to set up in business as a distiller of perfumes.' The speaker had lent him the money, reflecting that this Aeschines 'had been a disciple of Socrates, and was in the habit of discoursing impressively concerning justice and virtue.' The loan was not repaid. The rest of this amusing fragment (fr. i.), too long for quotation here, is translated by Professor Jebb.* In one of the most vivid of all the speeches, that 'On the Death of Eratosthenes' (Or. i.), which contains the story of a wife's infidelity, the husband's description of his early married life, though humorous to us, is doubtless meant for genuine *naïveté*. At first, he says, his wife gave him entire satisfaction—'she was an excellent housekeeper, economical, and a perfect manager.' He, on his own part, 'watched her as far as possible, and gave all reasonable attention to the subject' (§ 6-7). As a storehouse of information respecting the social life of Athens in the fourth century, the speeches of Lysias are not rivalled, except, perhaps, by the private speeches of Demosthenes.

The position of Lysias is thus summed up by Professor Jebb:—

'Great as were his services to the theory and practice of eloquence, he did greater service still to the Greek language. He brought the every-day idiom into a closer relation than it ever before had with the literary idiom, and set the first example of perfect eloquence joined to plainness; deserving the praise that, as in fineness of ethical por-

* 'Att. Or.' i. 184-5.

traiture he is the Sophocles, in delicate control of thorough idiomatic speech he is the Euripides of Attic prose.' *

Isaeus possesses a peculiar interest, derived on the one hand from the subject matter of his speeches, on the other, from the place he occupies as the immediate forerunner of Demosthenes, and his master in a limited field. His speeches are all concerned with will-cases, and exhibit Attic law in a stage intermediate between the purely religious phase of adoption, and the growth of a true testamentary power. No Greek writer throws more light on the idea of the family, as it presented itself to the Greek mind. Professor Jebb's observations on this aspect of his works, based on Sir H. Maine's researches, will repay study. We must be content to confine ourselves to his literary position.

In Isaeus we find the dramatic theory of speech-writing breaking down. The profession of 'logographer' had become so well recognized, that even in court the mask was allowed to fall away. Isaeus dealt with complicated cases which demanded the handling of an expert, yet he aims at portraying character with the Lysian simplicity, and exercising, at the same time, that open and fearless mastery which his talent assured him. The attempted compromise was impossible, and to that extent Isaeus failed. An inharmonious blending of the practical and artistic views of eloquence becomes apparent. Not that he lacks the faculty of dramatically representing character. The representation is in itself generally effective, but the illusion cannot survive the exhibition of trained skill. The facts are submitted to a close and searching analysis; chains of reasoning are elaborate; the conclusions are pressed home, not once but repeatedly; the adversary is met at every turn. No topic of argument is omitted by this exhaustive ingenuity. General probabilities drawn from character, which had so undue a weight with Athenian juries, are brought in to fortify the technical reasoning. But it is in the province of legal controversy that Isaeus far surpasses his predecessors, in lucidly expounding the law, in disengaging and applying its principles with a firmness and precision which entitle him to be ranked as the earliest Greek jurist. Here we recognize the master of Demosthenes. Nor less in the 'art of grappling, in the secret of waging an oratorical contest, not in the more stately manner of the elder school as from contrary stages, but at close quarters, with the grip as of wrestlers, with the insistence of pleaders who urge their case, point by point, on critics as exacting as themselves.'† Again, his method of

* 'Att. Or.' i. 198.

† *Ib.* ii. 304.

versatile arrangement is, with slight modification, followed by Demosthenes. He alters the simple framework of Lysias, and recombines the rudimental elements of the speech—exordium, narrative, proof, epilogue. He ‘shows the most daring and dexterous ingenuity, the most consummate generalship in every novel adjustment or interfusion of these elements that can help the case in hand; his forces are moved with rapidity, and combined with an original skill, which swiftly throws the stress of the assault precisely upon the enemy’s weakest point, and assails it, blow upon blow.’* In a word, with Dionysius, he ‘out-generals the jury;’ and we can understand the same writer’s thought when, with some exaggeration, he says, ‘Lysias will be believed even when he lies, Isaeus will not be heard without suspicion, even when he tells the truth.’†

A new warmth and animation now appears, as eloquence grows more combative; the outward indications are rhetorical and frequent questions, sudden pauses, irony, snatches of rapid dialogue, all the instinctive utterances which emotion finds for itself. The peroration is, as a rule, still a domain kept sacred to reason; Isaeus here braces himself rapidly to resume the argument; nay once, with almost ostentatious coldness, he ends by simply reading depositions. But even the peroration is apt, by its vehement phrase and quickened pace, to reflect the passion that is stirring in the body of the speech. We are prepared for the more impassioned fervour which, even if suppressed, yet penetrates the orators of the next generation, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Lycurgus, and Hypereides.

Dionysius points a suggestive contrast between Lysias and Isaeus by means of an illustration drawn from painting.‡ Lysias is compared to the older school, that of Polygnotus, the austere master, who charmed men by the purity of his outline, by the symmetry of his grouping, in a word, by his perfect mastery over form. Isaeus is, in some sense, the oratorical counterpart of a later school, the school of Zeuxis and Parrhasius, whose draughtsmanship was scarcely superior, but who sought to dazzle by complex elaboration of detail, by the portrayal of momentary effects, by the illusions of perspective and *chiaroscuro*. Polygnotus and Lysias, the masters of pure form, are skilled to depict, in their several departments, the fixed outlines of character, the permanent, the essential; they are, as Aristotle might have said, the most ‘ethical’ of artists. Isaeus stands nearer to Zeuxis and Parrhasius, who, with more varied materials and

* ‘Att. Or.’ ii. 286.

† Dionys. ‘Isaeus,’ ch. 4.

‡ Ib. ch. 3; quoted ‘Att. Or.’ ii. p. 297.

greater technical dexterity at command, are concerned with the portrayal of emotion, whose art is 'pathetic.' The artists of form aim at the idealism of dramatic propriety, the artists in colour work through realistic illusions. Eloquence had, on the whole a development, not indeed parallel in point of time, but within its own sphere analogous to that of the other arts. Just as sculpture could not gain freedom and movement till it descended from the representation of gods and demi-gods to pan-hellenic athletes, till it informed the old hieratic conceptions with the new creative power of a human realism, so eloquence had to cast off the encumbrances of poetic dignity and of rigid ornament, and to learn the best popular idiom before it could become a living power. Nor, while entering into the current of human life, did it cease to be ideal. 'The Greek genius,' says Professor Jebb, 'in its purest and brightest form, tended of itself to fix its attention on what is essential and typical in nature, and to suppress those mere accidents, of which the prominence is always disturbing and at last grotesque.*' The best Greek art and literature stood in close and vital relation to the national life, whose higher aspects they mirrored forth. It was not till the needs of the individual became paramount, those of the citizen subordinate, till art lost its popular character, and ministered to private delight, and lent itself to express trivial or purely personal emotions, that decay set in. In sculpture and painting, the intrusion of the pathetic indicates the coming change. In the soft smile that plays about the lips of the *Hermes of Praxiteles*, decay, however faintly, is already foreshadowed. Oratory, like the other arts, was at first very sparing of pathos. But oratory had to serve a practical purpose; its first function was to persuade; and, as a mixed art, it was bound to admit emotional elements, which the pure arts almost excluded. None the less do the greatest Greek orators shrink from a tender and appealing pathos. Noble and strong emotion there is, but it seldom seems to break free from a controlling reason. The reign of individualism in all the arts declares itself in just the absence of such measure and proportion. The real is preferred to the ideal, transient emotion to permanent lineaments, pathos to ethos. Everywhere exaggeration is stamped. Sentiment overwrought becomes enfeebled, there is a striving after mere external effects and display of technical ingenuity. *Lysippus* in sculpture, *Hegesias* in oratory, initiate this epoch.

* 'Att. Or.' ii. p. 435.

But we are not yet concerned with this dreary period, nor would our view of forensic eloquence as a form of dramatic composition be complete without some reference to Demosthenes in his capacity of 'logographer.' He does not, like Isaeus, attempt to combine two inharmonious views; he is generally content to sacrifice dramatic appropriateness to force. For the persuasiveness of a *naïve* simplicity he substitutes the persuasiveness of a manly earnestness. The device of the 'logographer' had by this time pretty well done its work; it was becoming a worn-out trick, which could hardly impose on the jury. Nor is it, perhaps, a mere accident, but typical of Demosthenes' militant nature, that all his forensic speeches, except two, are on the side of the attack. Now dramatic presentation of character was less telling in attacking another than in defending oneself. Even Lysias's most happy portraits are portraits of defendants. Here may be another reason why Demosthenes seldom sought to be dramatic. There are, however, a few speeches in private or, as we should say, in civil cases (such as the speeches 'Against Conon,' 'Against Callicles,' 'For Phormion'), where in delicate delineation of character, in vividness of narrative and graphic power, Demosthenes almost equals Lysias. The other private speeches show excellences of their own, akin to, but more commanding than, those of Isaeus—a minute sifting and discussion of evidence, a wide knowledge of law and grasp of legal principles, a strong argumentative faculty, a glow of passion colouring the argument. When we turn to his forensic speeches in public causes, we are met by a new and striking fact. Even when the speech was composed for a client, the character of Demosthenes remains impressed on every page of it. The veil is boldly thrown aside, and the author himself is revealed. The tendency of the Athenian procedure against the proposer of an unconstitutional measure was to transfer to the law-courts many cases whose import was political; nor could passions that had been roused in the assembly be laid to rest in the law-courts. Demosthenes, less than any man, was able, when confronted with political questions, to efface his own deep convictions. The speeches 'Against Androtion,' 'Against Timocrates,' 'Against Aristocrates,' at the opening of his career, are admirable examples of his pungent and penetrating force in denouncing a corrupt administration. These speeches, together with the 'Leptines,' which he himself delivered, must be read by the side of the 'Olynthiacs' and 'Philippics,' in order rightly to estimate the magnitude of the task he proposed to himself as a politician. Like the deliberative speeches, the public forensic orations stand forth as an image of the man and his enthusiasm.

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The stamp of sincerity and moral earnestness atones for whatever there may here be of artistic incongruity. The 'logographer' tends to be merged in the statesman.

Another type beside the forensic had a share in moulding the matured civil eloquence. 'Epideictic' oratory, or the oratory of 'display,' was adapted, not to the real contests of political life, but to purposes of panegyric or criticism. Funeral speeches, festal discourses, and much of the pamphlet literature of the fourth century (B.C.), were cast in this rhetorical form. The type culminated in Isocrates, an eloquent essayist, according to modern notions, and not an orator,—one who never adventured himself in the assembly or the law-courts. Professor Jebb devotes to Isocrates a large proportion of his second volume, which in many respects seems to us the best part of the whole book. These pages, as we learn from the preface, were almost wholly printed before Dr. Blass's corresponding volume appeared; and a comparison with Dr. Blass here shows the firm and independent lines on which Professor Jebb's thought is traced. The introductory chapters on Isocrates open up some questions of literary and historical criticism, which give ample scope for Professor Jebb's finest faculties. If on the whole his estimate of Isocrates seems too high, it is, perhaps, because his admiration of the literary artist makes him lenient to other shortcomings. He even pleads, though with some faint-heartedness, for political views of whose intrinsic weakness he elsewhere shows himself conscious.

Isocrates, while remaining outside the political arena, aspired, unlike earlier epideictic writers, to act upon politics. In the 'Euthydemus' of Plato he is alluded to as one of those 'who are on the borderland between philosophy and statesmanship.' He strove to assert his influence in the double capacity of an educator and a political writer. In education he carried on the revolt begun by Socrates against the popular sophistic training. He rebelled against the pretensions of the 'vulgar sophists' to supply universal knowledge at a cheap rate, and against promises which 'stopped short only of immortality.' His own aim was to make education more thorough, more rational, more practical. But a narrow view of the practical led him to regard as unprofitable, except in the light of mental gymnastic, all study whose bearing upon life was not direct and obvious. Plato, the fundamental distinctions of whose philosophy he cannot grasp, he styles a Sophist in the contemptuous sense. He claims to have discovered a philosophy of his own, which should supersede previous false systems. We must be careful not to prejudice a claim, already ambitious enough, by making him

him say more than he means. 'Philosophy,' as Professor Jebb points out, bore a wider meaning then than it does now, so that Isocrates could use it to denote his theory of culture without doing violence to language. The aim of this philosophy was, after all, not far removed from the Sophistic ideal; it was to teach men to speak, to think, and to act aright for the State. Thus he maintained in days of decadence the old conception of citizenship, into which these three constituent elements entered. With him the art of speech held the primary place; it seemed the condition on which the rest depended. Speech and thought were indeed inseparable to the Greek mind, and one word (*lógos*) served to express both. To Isocrates the gift of cultivated speech appears the most characteristic mark of an Athenian, distinguishing men from beasts, Hellenes from barbarians, Athenians from Hellenes.* The Rhetoric he would teach is a political Rhetoric. He separates himself from certain 'epideictic' writers, authors of encomia on bumble bees and salt.† Nor is he concerned with private contracts and such like trivialities‡; for those years in which he wrote forensic speeches—whether for clients or as mere exercises—he ignores as an unworthy accident in his career. The grandeur of his themes places him on a level above the speakers of the assembly.§ His discourses bear upon the politics, not of a single city, but of all Hellas, and are fitted for recitation at Panhellenic gatherings.|| In urging a closer union between Rhetoric and Politics he is following out the Socratic thought, that Philosophy must be bound up with Politics. The same influence is further visible in the moral purpose which he brings into Rhetoric. The gift of speech must be exercised not only on large subjects, but for noble uses. Among the complaints against the ordinary Sophists is this, that they do not in their rhetorical teaching encourage fairness in argument and a spirit of justice.¶ His own resolve is to apply his art towards making men and states wiser and better.** Without seeking, as Plato does, a psychological or logical basis for Rhetoric, he has thus much in common with Plato, that Rhetoric is to be the handmaid of ethical science, a power which shall be able to sway the will and shape the character, whose persuasions are to be addressed to communities as well as to individuals.

We touch here upon one distinctive feature in his theory. He is original in so far as he was the first who made a serious attempt to give eloquence a moral content. In an age when

* 'Antid.' § 293, &c. † 'Helen,' § 12. ‡ 'Panath.' § 11; cf. 'Antid.' § 3.

§ 'Panath.' § 11. || 'Antid.' § 46. ¶ 'Against the Sophists,' §§ 20-21.

** Cf. 'Antid.' § 67; 'De Pace,' § 145.

a narrow selfishness was corroding public life, the endeavour was at least a noble one, to remind individual states of a loyalty due to Greece herself, and individual citizens of a civic virtue that was fast fading. Of peculiar interest is his constant assertion of what we should call international morality. The law of the stronger is, he complains, the only rule recognized as binding in the political world. He combats the prevalent belief that justice and self-interest are opposed. The individual must harmonize them for himself, still more the body politic; for the unjust man may die unpunished, but the curse which tarries must in the end overtake a State 'by reason of its immortality.'*

It would be easy to show the want of firmness and consistency in his view. Most of his writings belong to a type intermediate between the pamphlet and the sermon, and exhibit just such a wavering as we might expect. His lofty morality often descends to a timid compromise with worldliness. Plato's maxim, that it is 'better to suffer injustice than to do it,' is one, he thinks, which all sensible men would reject, though it might be supported by 'a few pretenders to wisdom.'† The counsels he addresses to kings on their duties to their subjects, and to subjects on their duties to their king, are touched by a certain aristocratic instinct, which keep them from rising above the level tolerated by good society. He is at his best when he can express elevated sentiments in a beautiful form, without being called on to apply them to special cases, and to confront the hard resistance of fact. So long as this pulpit eloquence deals in generalities, we seldom dispute its principles, and we can admire the serenity of the preacher. But it is hard at times not to smile at his optimism, as when he maintains that justice is identical with expediency, on the ground that the just cause had hitherto triumphed in war.‡ Elsewhere he admits the exceptions, but can account for them only 'by a carelessness on the part of the gods.'§

Isocrates had not the statesmanlike instinct which alone could give body and meaning to his own conception. The fusion of morals and politics could not be carried out by one who discussed politics as a moralist, and morals with the shallowness of a journalist. In one Greek orator only the fusion is complete. Demosthenes with his strong grasp of facts could illuminate them from a moral ideal. But Isocrates' political visions blinded him to the greatness of Demosthenes. He

* 'De Pace,' §§ 119-120. † 'Panath.' §§ 117-118. ‡ 'Archid.' §§ 34-35.
§ 'Panath.' § 185.

reckoned him among 'the brawlers of the platform' whose words Athens heard in preference to his own.

The century through which Isocrates lived (436 B.C.—338 B.C.) was one of momentous interest for Greece. Born in the Athens of Pericles, he witnessed the Peloponnesian war, the humiliation of Athens, the despotism of Sparta, the brief supremacy of Thebes, the revived Athenian Confederacy and its early dissolution, the rise of Philip and the fatal day of Chæronea. Yet when we first become at all intimately acquainted with him he is growing an old man. In 380 B.C., at the age of fifty-six, he published the 'Panegyricus,' the fruit of ten years' loving workmanship. It won for him sudden and universal fame, and still remains his most enduring monument. In this discourse the political idea of his life has taken shape. War with Persia, acting as a great call to unity, seemed to him the one thing capable of healing the dissensions of Greece. It was as it were a national crusade, the 'only war that was nobler than peace'—a war which should 'move forward not liable to repulse, but with the stately progress of a sacred embassy.*' The pacific morality which ought to regulate the internal dealings of Greece was not, we observe, to be extended to barbarians. Isocrates looked forward to a time, when they should be a subject population—'Periæci,'† or, as he says at the end of his life, 'Helots'‡—to the Greeks. The leadership of the joint expedition was, according to the 'Panegyricus,' to be divided between Athens and Sparta. The Spartan claim to supremacy, which appeared to form the chief obstacle to concord, would, he thought, yield before his own convincing arguments (§18). Neither State made any reponse. But Isocrates clung to his purpose. His eyes turned to each in succession of the military monarchs of the age, to Jason of Pheræ, to Dionysius I. of Syracuse, to Archidamus III. of Sparta. At last, after thirty-four years of patient waiting, the old man of ninety hailed in Philip of Macedon the looked-for leader. Little more than a year had passed since Olynthus and her thirty-two confederate cities had been swept away, and in the next few months Phocis was to be desolated. But in the meantime peace with Macedon had been concluded, and in this pause of events Isocrates addressed his manifesto to Philip. As a true Greek and a Heraclid, Philip is called on to undertake the war. Certain ill-disposed persons profess to see in Philip's rise a menace to Greece, and suspect schemes of conquest behind his proffered

* Thus Prof. Jebb paraphrases the famous phrase, θεωρία μᾶλλον ἢ στρατεία προσεοικώς. 'Panegyricus' § 182.

† 'Panegyricus' § 131.

Vol. 152.—No. 304.

‡ Ep. iii. 'To Philip,' § 5.

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aid to Peloponnesian States.* Philip, in the strength of a good conscience, could afford to pass by such calumnies. Still he would do well to quiet even groundless alarms and conciliate a more perfect confidence.† If the warning thus conveyed implies a latent misgiving in the author's own mind, it is no more than a passing shade. His belief in Philip's disinterestedness had been declared from the first. Already in 353 B.C., when the Social war had dispelled his hope of Panhellenic supremacy for Athens, he had counselled his country to accept an honourable retirement. It was only Athenian aggression which inspired 'Cersobleptes to make war for the Chersonese, and Philip for Amphipolis.' If Athens changed her ways, 'they will not only give up their claim to what is ours, but resign something of their own.'‡ The same easy faith followed him through life. In a letter to Philip (written probably in 342 B.C.) he prays him to extend to Athens the beneficent interference he had shown to the Thessalians; 'it is far nobler to take gratitude than cities by storm.'§ Soon after Chæronea, in a last letter, whose genuineness has been needlessly suspected, he fancies that the desire of his life is close on accomplishment. Once the barbarians were subjected, nothing would 'remain to Philip but to be a god.'

To some, as to Niebuhr, Isocrates will always seem a bad citizen; others may credit him with a sagacious forecast of the future. In truth he was neither disloyal nor prophetic. He had a passionate devotion to Athens, but he mistook the direction of the forces at work. His political ideal was drawn from the period of the Persian wars. Painfully aware of the maladies of his age, he thought to cure them by a return to older principles. Corruption at home he would have checked by a simple expedient—reviving the censorship of the Areopagus. Such a moral and aristocratic supervision would be salutary in tempering democratic excesses. National unity was to be restored by another national war. Persia was, indeed, as he clearly saw, no longer formidable; still she was the traditional enemy, and barbarian; and that sufficed. It did not occur to him, as to Demosthenes, to ask whether the discordant States could, or ought to, combine for an aggressive war. Nor were his eyes open to dangers elsewhere; nay, he sought aid from the very quarter where the real danger lay. Some of the results, doubtless, which he anticipated, followed upon Alexander's invasion. The homeless adventurers of Greece were drafted into new settlements, and wealth began to flow back into the impoverished

* 'Philippos,' §§ 73, 74.

† 'De Pace,' §§ 22, 23.

‡ *Ib.* § 79.

§ *Ep. ii.* 'To Philip,' §§ 20, 21.

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country. But these were among the minor consequences, and were attended by evils of their own. Above all, they were purchased at a price which Isocrates had not contemplated. The loss of Greek independence was a possibility he resolutely declined to face. He cherished the illusion that there might be military leaders without sovereignty. The career of Philip neither taught him nor untaught him anything. It would be as unjust to his patriotism, as it would be flattering to his sagacity, to represent him as one who divined the course of events, who saw that the framework of the city organization was incapable of further expansion, and believed that society in order to be re-invigorated must be cast in another mould. Isocrates had no conception of an empire that should embrace worn-out republics. Hence the sad irony of his situation. He clung to the old order, yet unwittingly he worked for its destruction. He whose educational aim was to train men for noble speech and action, for a full participation in civic life, misread the greatest political event of his time, and spent his failing years in lulling consciences and deadening energies, which then, if ever, had need to be awakened.

It is a relief to turn from the political writer to the teacher and the man of letters. Isocrates was a Professor at Athens in days when Professors drew classes. From all parts of the civilized world, from Sicily to the Euxine,* disciples flocked to him. There, under the eye of the master, they practised writing on subjects of large practical interest; their compositions were submitted to his minute and artistic correction; topics of the day were discussed as in a debating club, and from time to time the Professor himself would read to the circle of his pupils pattern compositions of his own in the form of speeches, which would afterwards go forth to the world as political pamphlets. Athens was now in eloquence, as in other arts, 'the school of Greece,' and the house of Isocrates was a faithful 'image of Athens.'† There went forth from thence orators such as Lycurgus and Hypereides; speech-writers such as Isaeus; generals and statesmen such as Timotheus, son of Conon, and Python of Byzantium, the confidential minister of Philip; historians such as Ephorus and Theopompus; and others of less fame whether as poets, philosophers or rhetoricians. If Isocrates had little influence on public opinion, he would seem to have deeply influenced his pupils. Those who after their course of three or four years under him returned to their own homes, and planted, as Dionysius says, 'colonies of oratory' in

* 'Antid.' § 124.

† Dionys. 'Isocr.' ch. i.

every land, took with them more than technical skill; they must have caught something of the fine enthusiasm, moral and literary, of their master.

One department of literature he affected injuriously. Professor Jebb observes that Isocrates became the indirect founder of an historical school. To him 'belongs the credit of trying to raise the dignity and worth of an intermittent journalism.' He aimed 'at making his essays on contemporary events something more than telling pamphlets; he wished them to have a lasting value both literary and political, answering to the conscientious labour and thought which had been spent on them.'* To the example set by Isocrates is rightly traced 'this special result, that literary skill, seeking some enduring form in which it might embody itself, was now applied with a new zeal to history.' But to Isocrates himself history was of value only so far as it bore out his theories, and served as a text for a homily. It is to the mythical past that he resorts by preference for illustration. In treating the legends he does not conceal his uncritical method.† Even where he bases a political argument upon a myth, he claims credit for altering his previous version of the tale to suit the altered relations of Thebes and Athens.‡ His accounts of events nearer his own day are more scrupulous. But he has no desire to be precise; his own curiosity is unawakened, and he leaves ours unsatisfied at the very point where we might have hoped for information. Add to this didactic pre-occupation a craving for rhetorical form, and we can understand how it was that the historic sense suffered, as it did, at the hands of his school.

In spite of all this, Isocrates maintains a unique position as an artist in literary prose. He claims for his own writings the distinction, that in permanence and universality of interest, in the peculiar pleasure they excite, they are nearly allied to music and poetry.§ We still admire him most where he approaches most nearly to the artist pure and simple, where there is least of polemical or didactic purpose. The sense of form inspires, sometimes dominates, the man. For the modern world 'epideictic' writing can never again hold the place it did with a people to whom beauty of expression was an end in itself. Until after the time of Aristotle, as Professor Jebb observes,—

'Epideictic oratory had a higher dignity in general estimation than either the forensic or deliberative. A forensic or deliberative speech had served its purpose when it had been spoken; it might be published for students or for statesmen; but it was not intrinsically

* 'Att. Or.' ii. pp. 47, 48.

† 'Panath.' § 172.

† E.g. 'Busiris,' §§ 30-33.

§ 'Antid.' §§ 46, 47.

a part of the national literature in the same sense as (for instance) the "Panegyricus." Aristotle, who had probably heard Demosthenes, notices him only cursorily.*

The 'epideictic style' now survives chiefly in the complimentary addresses of Mayors and Corporations, in testimonials and in Academic exercises. If we would know what it was in Greece, we must read the funeral speeches of Pericles and Hypereides, and the noble encomium of Isocrates upon Athens in the 'Panegyricus.'† In Isocrates, however, we must be prepared to tolerate a senile self-complacency, and the exacting vanity of an artist who was not quite great enough to forget himself in his art. Our appreciation of the 'Panegyricus' would not have been the less, if the author, reviewing his career in 353, had made a more modest allusion to it. He had so praised Athens, he says, that former writers on the same theme had destroyed their writings for very shame, and intending writers had given up in despair.‡ In other respects the character of the man is reflected in his style. With all its nobility and elevation, it wants force. Its very elegance becomes monotonous; even a solecism would be welcome. 'He is characterized by a certain languor and slackness, as well as by a pervading elderly sententiousness.'§

Defects such as these were doubtless what called forth from Dobree a 'Deo gratias' on completing his criticism of the text. It would be ungracious to linger over them. Let us rather remember that Isocrates, as a stylist, had one quality in virtue of which his influence has descended to the present day. This quality, in its broad simplicity, appeals to us for whom many of the more delicate shades of language are irrevocably lost. He was the first to give freedom and amplitude to the period, and in so doing to catch the true secret of rhythmical prose. He employed the period to unfold and open up a thought, in such a way that the subordinate parts were grouped round this common centre. The cadences of the separate clauses fitted into a larger system of ordered and harmonious movement. The laws of the rhythm, so far as we understand their details, no less than the laborious avoidance of a collision between vowels, seem strangely artificial to us. But the general impression yielded is that of a flowing and musical utterance, whose rich volume bears the thought along without an effort. From Isocrates the matured eloquence of the next generation learnt many lessons of rhythmical structure. Even the composite

* 'Att. Or.' ii. p. 425.

† Esp. §§ 34-50.

‡ 'Antid.' § 61.

§ Hermogenes on Isocrates, quoted 'Att. Or.' ii. p. 63.

harmonies of Demosthenes were framed upon this pattern; but to the stately and equable procession of the Isocratic period Demosthenes added impetus and variety. The influence of Isocrates did not end here. His style, 'in its essential characteristics, rhythm and period, passed into the prose of Cicero; modern prose has been modelled on the Roman; and thus in forming the literary rhetoric of Attica, Isocrates founded that of all literatures.' *

ART. VIII.—1. *Le Congrès des Économistes à Bruxelles et le Libre Échange.* Par J. Borain. Bruxelles, 1880.

2. *The Premises of Free Trade Examined.* By G. B. Dixwell. Cambridge, 1881.

3. *Circular of the National Fair Trade League.* London, July 1881.

4. *The Silk Manufacture.* A Paper read before the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 1860.

5. *Papers on the Ribbon Trade and the Commercial Treaties with France.* By William Andrews, 1878.

BUT three months have passed since we directed public attention to the condition and prospects of British Trade, and already the entire aspect of the question has changed. It is no longer deemed a suitable theme for ridicule, but rather for those more elaborate arts of misrepresentation in which the Radical party stands without a rival in the world, and to which it resorts instinctively whenever it feels that danger hovers over it. Every conceivable device has been employed to make the people believe that their complete and total ruin is to be compassed by the introduction of a system of 'Protection' tenfold more rigorous than anything we have ever seen in this country. The price of bread is to be doubled by a duty of one hundred per cent. upon wheat. The working classes are to be ground into the earth, and famine is to be brought upon the poor, in order that ruthless landlords may continue to roll in wealth and luxury. It is entirely a conspiracy of the landowners. 'An addition to the income tax and a dearer loaf'—such is the version given by the Radical journals of a demand for fair play which was originated by the working men, and which, notwithstanding opposition from a thousand different sources, will eventually prove to be irresistible. The evils which have provoked it are not likely to

* 'Att. Or.' ii. p. 432.

cure themselves, nor is it probable that the poorer classes will become more willing to bear them. Nothing can be more certain than that, if the Radicals had properly understood the causes which produced the present agitation, they would never have opposed it. They would have seen that their party was bound either to go with it or to go down before it. As it is, their entire organization has been set to work to crush it, while the press of London, with the honourable exceptions of the 'Morning Post' and two or three other journals,* has combined to 'write it down.' Even the news relating to the progress of the Fair Trade movement is distorted or suppressed. The course taken by these journals will not surprise or discourage anybody who remembers how frequently they have been wrong before on equally important questions. During the American war their readers had no reason to suppose that the Northern armies had ever won an important engagement, and confident predictions were launched every day of the inevitable collapse of the Northern cause. The prophets have been discredited so many times that a mere onlooker might have supposed they would have been taught, if not to distrust their peculiar gifts, at least to exercise them with caution. But they have decided that the Fair Trade agitation must be 'stamped out,' and they have gone to the work with undiminished faith in their own infallibility. Yet several events have occurred during the summer, which must have inspired some of them with a misgiving that, in the end, they will be found again in their old position—on the wrong side. In the elections for North Lincolnshire and North Durham, the defeat of the Fair Trade candidates was immediately foretold, and they were bitterly opposed, not only by the avowed Radicals, but by all their allies, old and new. The 'Standard' informed them that they had exposed themselves to 'the charge of political insincerity and dishonesty of the worst and most damaging kind,' and that the penalty of their 'manœuvres' would surely be visited upon their heads.† The penalty came, and it proved to be their triumphant return to Parliament. Again in Cambridgeshire the issue was fairly raised by Mr. Bulwer, when Lord Blandford suddenly presented himself clad in a penitential sheet as a Radical convert, declaiming in a confused but energetic strain against 'Protection.' He was compelled to vanish from the scene with even more mysterious haste than he had appeared upon it. Except in a

* The 'St. James's Gazette' and the 'Globe' have liberally and fairly opened their columns to a discussion of the question. The 'Morning Post,' in its cheaper form, has gained great popularity all over the country.

† The 'Standard,' September 1st.

French comic opera, no such ludicrous exhibition has been made by a noble lord within the recollection of man.

These lessons, though apparently lost upon 'able editors,' have spread alarm among the Radical leaders. Tracts and pamphlets have been showered mercilessly upon the country by the zealots of the Cobden Club. The advocates of Fair Trade have found themselves subjected to the sternest discipline of the party of freedom. In some cases they have been drummed out of local organizations, and in various public gatherings they have been first gagged, and then expelled—all in the 'sweet name of liberty.' Several delegates were thrust forth from the Trades' Union Congress held last month in London, because they were suspected of being Fair Traders.* This exhibition of fear and intolerance, so thoroughly characteristic of Radical ideas concerning freedom of opinion, was actually hailed by an important journal as 'the bursting of the Fair Trade bubble.'† At the very same moment, meetings were being held in various manufacturing districts in support of Fair Trade, and Chambers of Commerce and men of influence were almost everywhere giving in their adhesion to it. Lady Bective, who had been much ridiculed in London for endeavouring to revive a demand for English woollen goods, paid a visit to Bradford, and was received with extraordinary enthusiasm—the principal streets were decorated with flags, the Chamber of Commerce presented an address of welcome, and thousands of workmen lined the thoroughfares. The intensity of feeling which exists fifty miles beyond London, in any direction, in reference to the hostile tariffs of all the great nations, can only be understood by those who come into contact with it. Writers and speakers who have not thought it necessary to place themselves in a position to form an accurate judgment respecting it assure us that the trade 'scare' will soon 'pass over.' The predictions, with which the metropolitan newspapers are now amusing themselves, will merely prove to the world that it is not in connection with foreign affairs alone that English journalists oftentimes exhibit a complete absence of foresight and common sense.

Even in the Trades' Union Congress itself, with its Radical party machinery in full operation, and an obsequious chairman presiding, it was found impossible to pass a resolution directly

* Several meetings have been held since to protest against this violence. On the 24th of September, the 'General Labourers' Amalgamated Union' met in London, and passed a resolution denouncing the 'conduct of the governing clique at the Trades Congress,' as a 'deliberate outrage upon the liberty of action of *bonâ fide* working men's delegates.'

† The 'Times,' Sept. 16th.

opposed to Fair Trade.* No one doubts that the working men are determined to make some change in our present commercial system, except those who have taken no trouble whatever to ascertain their true opinions. The 'bubble' which has 'burst' has already decided four important elections this year, and it will inevitably decide others whenever opportunities arise. A working man, who recently spoke at a meeting in Coventry,† said with perfect truth that 'this question was a working man's question,' and he suggested 'that when a gentleman came to seek their suffrages for Parliament, they should ask him whether he was a Fair Trader, and if he did not give a plain yes or no, to have nothing to do with him.' The Radicals are never so happy as when they are applying 'tests,' and we hope they will like this one. That the workmen should have taken up the question in serious earnest is not surprising, for they know how hard it is to obtain full employment for themselves, and how great is the difficulty of making any kind of provision for the future of their children. Some of their trades are absolutely dying out in England; others appear to offer a sorry prospect for the next generation. Something the workmen may have lost by their unwillingness to follow new paths, and by the lack of that quick adaptability to the changing tastes and wants of the age, which characterizes the artisans of other nations. But, in the main, they see and feel that they suffer because they cannot get their productions into foreign markets on fair terms. They perceive but too clearly the meaning of such announcements as that which the 'Times' published on the 7th of September last:—'Messrs. Priestly and Sons, woollen and dress-good makers, of Bradford, are establishing mills in Philadelphia, and bringing their looms and their operatives over. This transfer attracts attention here'—that is to say, in Philadelphia, for we need not say that the circumstance attracted no attention whatever in London. Other incidents of the same kind have occurred, but as they do not appear in the Board of Trade Returns, they are deemed unworthy of notice by the authorities who now dispense to us a system of political economy of their own invention, and estimate the condition of the nation by rows of numerals arranged to suit their own arguments. We must, it seems, judge of our trade and prosperity solely by a perusal of statistics, and not by a careful study of the condition and necessities of the people. Lord Derby appears to be one of those who hold the opinion

* Such a resolution was on the notice paper; but upon its presentation, a delegate moved that 'we go to the next business,' and this was carried by a large majority.

† Held at the Coventry Corn Exchange, Sept. 12.

that nothing more is to be known of a people than can be learnt from a series of tables.* He has come to the conclusion that all is well with England, because he has found that exports and imports have increased, that pauperism is declining, and that more tea is drunk than in former years. Beneath the surface of figures he has, apparently, never attempted to look; nor, indeed, does he always apprehend their meaning. He opposes import duties as destructive of trade, and then lays stress upon the fact that the consumption of tea has increased among the working classes. Now there is a heavy import duty on tea—a duty of sixpence a pound, which is equivalent to at least twenty-five per cent. on the descriptions ordinarily bought by the working classes. And yet the consumption increases. It appears, then, that an import duty far larger than any which is now proposed does not restrict the demand even for an article of common use among the poor. Lord Derby made no attempt to bring this fact into harmony with his general argument against the imposition of all such duties. Nor does it appear to have occurred to him that tea is a cheaper beverage than gin or beer, and therefore that its increased consumption may merely be another proof that the means of the working classes are becoming more and more restricted, and that they are driven to economizing whether they like it or not. The increased consumption of a cheaper article than the one which is ordinarily used is surely no proof that people have more money than formerly. But the chief thing which Lord Derby ought to have explained is the continual increase in the consumption of tea by the poor in the face of a twenty-five per cent. duty. What has he to say to that?

Having thus cut the ground completely from beneath his feet, Lord Derby asks us to consider the increase of exports during the last few months. Is he aware how utterly delusive these returns are from beginning to end? A very little personal investigation into the subject would have given him ample cause to suspect that there may be many circumstances connected with the commerce and condition of a country, upon which all the tables ever compiled can throw no ray of light. He might, for instance, profitably pay a visit to a large wholesale warehouse, in the heart of the City of London, in which there would be spread before his eyes thousands of boxes of made-up cravats for men. The selling price of each box is one pound sterling. They are all shipped abroad, and are duly entered as exports of British manufacture. And yet out of the whole twenty shillings at which every box

* Speech at Southport, Sept. 8th, 1881.

is valued, less than two shillings represents the portion which has gone in any way whatever to the British workman. This is the full sum paid for what is called the 'stored-up labour, which is the real British produce we export.'* The silk of which the scarf is made comes from Germany, the lining from France, the stiffening material from Germany also, and the only article of British manufacture in it is a little common 'stuffing' produced in Bradford. Scarcely a tenth part of the nominal value of the article represents 'stored-up British labour.' Now this is the case with innumerable other descriptions of goods. We have taken a very common article as an example, and Lord Derby may easily enlarge his information on the subject by making enquiry even in his own neighbourhood. He will then ascertain, once for all, how little to be trusted are conclusions drawn from the Board of Trade tables, and from them alone. No man, by burying himself in Blue Books and groping among statistics, can arrive at a right understanding of the social and material condition of any nation. Lord Derby thinks it a remarkable proof of our continued progress and great prosperity that pauperism is diminishing. It is hard for the very rich to understand the poor, but Lord Derby might comprehend without difficulty that a man who once earned thirty shillings a week, and now earns only fifteen, may be reduced to great privations, and yet may not be willing or able to throw his wife and children upon the parish. Is the bitter hatred of the 'workhouse' which exists among the poor entirely unknown to Lord Derby? Or is poverty never to be recognized until it takes despairing refuge in the pauper's ward? The consolations which Lord Derby offered to the working classes must have seemed to them couched in a strain of cruel irony. To render even a statistical survey complete, it would be essential to have some idea of the number of artizans and operatives who are unemployed, or able only to find partial employment. But taking the figures actually produced, what do they mean? Does Lord Derby deny that trade has fallen off in Bradford, Birmingham, and other manufacturing towns? If he does not deny that, of what relevancy are his figures to the question? The Board of Trade tables cannot convince a man who is only employed half the week that he is better off than he was when fully occupied. Yet it is to these tables that the workmen are constantly referred in answer to their complaints. 'The country is prosperous,' says one authority, 'although the workmen in some trades are not able to idle half the week and live riotously, as they did a

* The 'Times,' Sept. 21, 1881.

few years ago, to their own real loss and that of the community as well.* From this the working men may learn that it is good for them to be in adversity; it will elevate their lives and chasten their spirits. If they are not satisfied with such consolations as these, they may make a pilgrimage to 'One Ash,' beneath the shade of which the original Free Trade warlock still predicts the fate of nations, and blusters at the sun for causing all our adversities. It was not the sun two or three years ago; then it was a base and wicked Tory Government. Mr. Bright changes his opinions with a rapidity which almost qualifies him to be a Prime Minister. Even the Radical statistics sometimes confound the Radicals themselves. 'These being the figures,' remarks the 'Spectator,'† 'why the prevailing depression, which is undoubted, and which Lord Derby admits?' The 'Spectator' suggests that it is because the nation is 'angry and dejected.' That the nation should be angry and dejected under the rule of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright is hard to believe; but we must admit that the evidence is very strong.

In our last number we described the results of very careful enquiries made in four great centres of industrial enterprise, and it is to be observed that, of the numerous writers who undertook to reply to that article, there was not one who could be induced to come down from the clouds and consider the actual condition of trade in Bradford and other towns. A Radical journal has complained that the Fair Trade Leagues do not 'put their finger on each weak place, and say thou ailest here and there.' That, however, is precisely what we have done and propose to do. Abstract arguments, based upon the uncertain and contradictory assumptions of political economy, are empty delusions, as we shall presently show; there is no one who speaks in the name of this 'science' who has any right to be regarded as an authority himself, or who does not repudiate the doctrines of all the other authorities who have preceded him. The only method of arriving at the truth concerning the state of trade is to examine the circumstances prevailing in each district where complaints have arisen. This is the course we have already taken, and we propose to continue it now, and to begin with Birmingham. It was all the more necessary to ascertain the true state of affairs in that city, for the President of the Board of Trade, in an elaborate speech with which he favoured the House of Commons just before the close of last Session, thought proper to pass it by with an allusion to the rumour that idols are made there for South African negroes, and guns that are

* The 'Times,' August 15th, 1881.

† September 10th.

warranted to burst the first time they are discharged. Mr. Chamberlain also referred with contempt to certain weak industries, 'such as those of Coventry and Bethnal Green, in which energy was engaged which was capable of much better direction.'* Gratitude is not often a very vigorous sentiment in a man who has climbed up the ladder, but Birmingham surely deserved somewhat better treatment than this at the hands of one whom she has transformed from a local 'wirepuller' into a Cabinet Minister. We have abstained from pressing any enquiries into the state of trade in idols and rotten guns, but we have ascertained beyond all shadow of a doubt that, among the legitimate branches of industry, there is not one which is as flourishing as it was a few years ago. There are, perhaps, few outward signs of declining prosperity in Birmingham, except the immense number of houses and offices with the sign 'to let' in their windows. The brave show made by the new street-openings and other 'improvements' may in some degree divert attention from such placards, but for all these alterations the city has been run heavily into debt, and the persons who have derived any substantial benefit from them are confined to a very limited circle. Many houses were demolished, and large sums of money were paid in compensation. Those who received this money make no complaints—on the contrary, they are thoroughly satisfied with all the 'signs of the times'; but the artizans, for whose advantage in a great degree these improvements were said to be intended, are unable to see what they have gained. They complain that the only effect of uprooting their old homes is to leave them without any in the city, and that hence they are driven to live at a greater distance from their work than is either convenient or profitable to them. They are unable to recognize a full equivalent for the inconveniences thus occasioned by the greatly improved circumstances of the lucky few to whom compensation money was awarded. If any good, however, has been effected by the new street-openings, it is no more than just to assign to Mr. Chamberlain the chief credit for it. It was by his help that the requisite money was obtained from the Government, and largely under his advice that it was spent. He was Mayor of the city when the new works were projected, his brother is Mayor now, and he or his friends and connections have done with Birmingham of late years pretty much as they pleased. He pressed on the street improvements with an energy which even for him was remarkable. In 1879, the Government of the day seems to have contemplated with

* Speech in House of Commons, August 13th, 1881.

uneasiness the increasing demands for State aid made by various local bodies. Sir Stafford Northcote stated * that in 1869 the loans thus granted amounted to 773,000*l.* In 1874 the total sum had increased to 2,070,000*l.*, and in 1878 to 4,300,000*l.* He added that Birmingham had asked, in one application alone, for the grant of a million and a half. A Bill was brought in for placing some restriction upon these grants, and Mr. Chamberlain hotly opposed it. 'It was monstrous,' he said, 'that the Government should at one fell swoop deprive all the local objects to be effected of the State aid they had hitherto received.' Moreover, 'he could not account for the change which had come over the Chancellor of the Exchequer, unless it was that when he visited Birmingham he got into wrong hands'—that is, not into the hands of Mr. Chamberlain. What Sir Stafford Northcote had seen or heard in Birmingham he did not explain, but to that Mr. Chamberlain attributed the change which had 'come over' him. The Bill was urged forward, and on the 12th of August Mr. Chamberlain and a few congenial allies put in force against the Government those obstructionist tactics which he at present regards with so much aversion, and which Mr. Gladstone, who has many a time looked on them in silence, if not in open approval, now denounces as the very chief of the cardinal sins. By incessant motions to report progress, the Ministry were compelled to send their supporters marching through the lobbies till six in the morning, when Mr. Chamberlain was finally beaten. It was doubtless his experiences of that night which brought him to his present conviction that obstruction is an evil too great to be borne by any Government—that is, any Liberal Government. No word of censure was ever directed against it by Mr. Gladstone when it was used as a weapon against a Conservative Administration, and Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke practised it together with great animation on the night to which we have referred. Now it must be suppressed, even if liberty of discussion is suppressed with it. Sir Stafford Northcote's Bill was passed, but Birmingham has little reason to complain of it, if, as we are informed, she has already obtained grants to the amount of something like 2,000,000*l.* from the State.

This money has not done much for local industries in general, and it cannot be denied that employment is not so easily obtained, or so well remunerated, as it was half-a-dozen years ago. Many mechanics are unable to earn more than half their old wages. Unluckily for them, it is not always possible to run

* House of Commons, 11th August, 1879.

away from a 'weak industry' and learn a new trade. The gun trade is a very important one in Birmingham, and almost every maker is now obliged to confess that his business has fallen off. The Birmingham 'Small Arms and Metal Company' has long been a most prosperous concern, as may be judged from the fact that its shares stood at fifty per cent. premium. This year it has not been able to declare any dividend whatever, and its shares are at a discount. Other and smaller companies in the same business find themselves surrounded by equally discouraging conditions. Another leading industry of Birmingham is that which is connected with the manufacture of various descriptions of fittings for railroad carriages. The principal works engaged in the trade find this year that their returns have fallen off twenty per cent., while a similar establishment has experienced no small difficulty in paying a reduced dividend of five per cent., and a third has been placed in the unpleasant position of passing over its ordinary dividend altogether. Another representative manufactory has conducted for a long period a most successful business in railway wheels and axles. It had a large reserve fund, but declining trade led to great demands upon it, and it is at length exhausted. This year, there being no longer a reserve fund to draw upon, the shareholders have been compelled to go without a dividend. The Patent Shaft Company pays only two per cent., in place of the much larger profits which it formerly divided among its proprietors. In every one of these trades the smaller firms have suffered to a much greater extent in proportion to the capital they employ, and as a matter of course, they are far less able to bear the heavy strain to which they are now subjected. We have purposely taken one of the most flourishing of the establishments connected with various representative trades of the city and district, and in every case our information is obtained from unquestionable sources. Of what value are miscellaneous statistics and 'abstract arguments' against the evidence of such facts as these? If we turn to the iron trade, we shall find that it is in no better condition than the other staple industries of Birmingham. The price of iron is lower now than it has been for many years past, but, according to the city editors and economists, we must take 'quantities' and not 'values' as the test of a profitable business.* This is not the opinion of practical men. They know perfectly well that a large trade may be carried on with scarcely a vestige of profit, for it is better in many instances to do that than to close

* 'It must be obvious to every one that quantities are the material point.'—*'Times,'* August 16, 1881. And again: 'Quantities are always a better test than values.'—*'Times,'* Sept. 21st.

important

important works altogether. The suggestion that we are to look only to the quantities sold, and not at all to the prices they bring, is worthy of the empiricism which disguises itself in the present day in wild excursions into the nebulous regions of a spurious political economy, but it cannot deceive the commercial classes, nor convince the half-employed operatives that they are better off than ever. Those who are engaged in the iron trade are well aware that profits have been declining, no matter how much 'quantities' may have increased. Mr. Chamberlain has probably heard that the company known as John Bagnall and Sons was formerly one of the most prosperous in all the Birmingham district, and we presume he also knows that the directors have found it necessary to apply for extra capital to enable them to carry on the business. It was acknowledged at a meeting of the shareholders, held on the 25th of August last, that the sum of thirty-two thousand pounds stood then upon the Company's books as losses, and the directors stated in their report that 'it is admitted by all that the losses which the Company has sustained are the result of the bad times, and not either of bad management, or of any inherent defect in the works. It is, in fact, beyond dispute that, as an iron-making concern, the works are capable in a prosperous, or even an ordinary, state of trade of earning large profits.' With twelve thousand pounds more, they hope to carry on the works for another twelve or eighteen months, during which the long promised revival of trade may 'have developed to such an extent as to permit the manufacture of iron at, at least, a moderate profit.*' The Directors, moreover, speak of having 'piloted the concern through eight and a half years of unprecedented depression and difficulty.' Throughout the whole of that period the 'Times' and other papers steadily denied that any depression whatever existed, and pointed to the Board of Trade tables in proof of their theory. So long as quantities went up, it did not matter how much values went down. What right have the authors of these assumptions, based, as they evidently were, upon entire ignorance of facts, to expect the public to place implicit faith in them now? What is there in their past teachings to make us yield a blind deference to their present doctrines? They have deceived themselves, no doubt, but it was a needless deception, for a little research beyond the precincts of the Board of Trade would have sufficed to show them that there must be something wrong either with the statistics or with the deductions made from them. The firm of

* Circular of the Directors, 19th August, 1881.

John Bagnall and Sons—now a company—is not in an exceptional position. The large ironmasters generally would have much the same tale to tell. Wolverhampton is no better off than its neighbour, Birmingham. Yet in a speech avowedly designed to present a comprehensive view of the trade of the country, and as such reproduced and circulated by the Cobden Club, Mr. Chamberlain could deliberately conceal these circumstances, and affect never to have heard that employers were being impoverished and working men brought next door to want. The only thing he has heard said about Birmingham is that it does a roaring trade in wooden idols and rotten guns. Is he, then, ignorant of the actual state of affairs in Birmingham? That cannot be the case, for it has been repeatedly brought to his notice by his own Radical associates, some of whom are as anxious as the working men themselves to find a remedy for present evils before they get beyond remedy altogether. But the President of the Board of Trade dare not, with Mr. Bright by his side, even admit the possibility of a doubt as to the success of a system of trade which we call free, but which in reality is trade in fetters. Therefore it is found convenient to close the eyes to facts, and Mr. Chamberlain is encouraged to keep them shut by the 'Times,' which assures the English people that they never were doing better than at present. 'The depressed talk which is so current is, in fact, most unfounded. The real prosperity of our national industries, and the real well-being of the people at the present time, ought to be generally recognized.*' And this cry will be kept up till the crash comes, or till the nation makes up its mind to take measures to avoid the crash.

It is difficult to convince men of business who reside in manufacturing districts that influential journals in the 'centre of intelligence' dispute the existence of circumstances which confront them every hour of their lives. The theorist sits in his room playing with figures, and satisfies himself that there is 'no depression.' If he were to walk into the open air, and enquire into the condition of the men and women who are alive and walking about, the cobwebs of his brain would be speedily swept away. In Sheffield, for instance, there are upwards of five thousand houses now standing without tenants, and in Birmingham there are over ten thousand. In Edgbaston and Moseley, favourite suburbs of Birmingham, there never were so many empty dwellings as at this moment. An agent of long experience asserts that numerous houses of all sizes and rents

* The 'Times,' August 1, 1881.

are upon his books, and that it is most difficult to obtain a tenant. It may be said that this is due to over-building, but there would have been no complaints of over-building if trade had continued to move in the channel which it had found only a few years ago. The complaint of over-building is sometimes in itself one proof of a change for the worse in commercial affairs. But the number of unlet houses and offices in Birmingham far surpasses anything that could be allowed in reason even for speculative over-building. It is to be accounted for, in the opinion of men in Birmingham whose opinion on the subject is entitled to the greatest weight, by the simple fact that the great industries of the neighbourhood are no longer in a progressive state. People who are still endeavouring to weather the storm are placed in a very different position for forming a judgment on this point from those who, with a keen eye to the future, got safely into port with large fortunes some years ago. The Banks have been making smaller returns, and every large retail house in the city has had to record a falling off in its business, though some, as may be supposed, have suffered much less than others. The operatives are becoming dissatisfied, and the belief that duties ought to be placed on foreign manufactures, at least sufficient to lighten domestic taxation, is spreading among them with a rapidity which menaces even the once formidable power of Mr. Chamberlain. These are facts, again, of which he is not ignorant, for they have been repeatedly brought to his knowledge by his own political associates. Will he venture to deny that even in the 'caucus' itself the alarming schism has not worked its fatal spell upon several of the brethren? Has he not been expressly informed that the artisans are beginning to ask impatiently what their Radical leaders propose to do about Fair Trade? If he has heard anything of this kind, he took great pains to withhold all reference to it in his speech in the House of Commons. No one would have gathered from his remarks that the working men of his own city, notwithstanding the million or two spent in tearing down old houses and opening new streets, are finding it a hard matter to obtain profitable employment, and are consequently relapsing into discontent. It is, in fact, by a policy of suppression and misrepresentation that politicians of the Chamberlain school are now seeking to mislead the nation in regard to its position and prospects. From 1874 downwards, the 'Times' has systematically denied that any depression whatever has existed in trade, just as it does at this moment. It is only by an occasional accident that the truth has leaked out—as in the following instance, where the amazing admission is made, not only

only that depression exists, but that it is partly caused by the hostile tariffs of other countries. People who still put their faith in the utterances of this oracle, and imagine that it must know more about trade than merchants and manufacturers, will do well to consider the following deliberate expression of opinion which it published on the 30th of March last:—

‘Although the special falling off in our exports to foreign countries may be partly explained by the foreign loans collapse of the last few years and in other ways, which do not imply a diminished taste for our manufactures abroad, the *decline seems so general and so large* that there can be little doubt of its being produced to some extent by the *hostile tariffs of foreign countries and the advances they have themselves made in manufacturing*. It is becoming important, therefore, to have attention directed to new markets.’

Now compare this with the following equally positive statements from the same source:—

‘The depressed talk which is so current is in fact most unfounded, and the real prosperity of our national industries and the real well-being of the people at the present time ought to be generally recognized.’—*The ‘Times,’* August 1, 1881.

‘We must repeat, then, that there can be no greater mistake at the present time than to speak generally of the trade of the United Kingdom as depressed.’—August 15, 1881.

‘There is hardly a trade or manufacturing district of the country, excepting always agriculture and the Bradford woollen trade, which is not doing well. . . . Those who have talked so loudly about a depression which does not exist have probably done more to encourage foreign nations in their protectionist delusions than has been done by all the writing of theoretical protectionists. We should have had the complete free trade they are so anxious for much sooner than is now likely if they had not bewildered foreign nations by the absurd talk of depression.’—September 21, 1881.

In March, then, we have this magisterial authority warning us of a ‘large and general’ decline in trade, and attributing it greatly to the very cause which the working men believe has produced it—foreign tariffs. In August and September all such admissions are condemned as likely to scare foreign nations from adopting Free Trade. We ought, it seems, to pretend that we are doing a ‘roaring trade,’ and make the greatest show we can of taking money all the day long. Then the ‘bewildered foreign nations’ would perhaps have joined the decoy, and we could have sallied forth and taken them as trophies. We do not know for whose benefit these remarkable views are intended. They cannot deceive merchants or tradesmen, for they know by their ledgers and account-books in which

direction trade is moving, whether upwards or downwards. They must, we presume, be designed for the use of 'statesmen,' especially of statesmen who have no eye for anything but figures, and take even their figures at second-hand. But figures, as we have seen, can be 'manipulated' to serve any purpose, and so may quotations. In July last we expressed the reasonable anticipation that 'the day will come when Manitoba alone will be able to grow wheat enough to supply all Europe, and Canadian statesmen are now keeping some such end as that steadily in view.' The passage clearly referred to the future, but what more simple than to garble it so as to make it appear to relate to the *present*? When doctored in this skilful manner the sentence presents itself in the following shape: 'Again, we find the statement made that we could very well afford to do without American corn, since Canada by herself would be able to supply our wants, just as America does. If this is true, how comes it that Canada, with the market open to her, does not supply them now?'* Probably no private merchant would like to have his accounts kept by a hand quite so cunning as this.

Let us now turn to another trade which once supported thousands of working men and their families in comfort, and which seems in these days to be in a fair way to become extinct. We refer to the manufacture of silk. There are many persons who are under the impression that this was never an industry of any importance in England; but there could not be a greater mistake. The Census of 1861 showed that there were nearly 118,000 operatives employed in silk, and at least eight large towns derived a large share of their prosperity from the trade; to say nothing of the neighbourhood at which Mr. Chamberlain, to use his own elegant phrase in the House of Commons,† 'turned up his nose'—Bethnal Green. Coventry alone gave employment to 40,647 persons in the ribbon trade. In Macclesfield there were fifty-five factories at work, employing 14,000 hands. A visitor to these towns in the present day would have no difficulty in learning for himself how disastrous have been the changes which have occurred since 1860. There are now not more than forty-six factories open in Macclesfield, employing 6520 persons. Mr. Lister, of Bradford, has publicly stated that during the last twenty years, 'there has been a loss of between fifty and sixty millions of workmen's wages on the silk goods imported during that time.' Coventry has been fortunate enough to secure a new industry—that of bicycle-making—but its old staple trades are fast dying out. American, Swiss, French,

* The 'Times,' July 15, 1881.

† Speech, August 12, 1881.
and

and German competition, carried on under conditions which the wildest fanatic on the question of Free Trade cannot venture to call fair, is killing the ribbon, clock and watch industries. In the silk and ribbon trades prior to 1860, the amount of business done was annually worth from two and a half to three millions sterling. The weekly wages paid did not fall short of 12,000*l.* The annual 'return' of ribbons and trimmings now does not exceed 600,000*l.*—instead of 2,500,000*l.*—and the weekly amounts paid in wages have fallen from 12,000*l.* to 2000*l.* The number of weavers has diminished in a similar proportion. It very seldom happens, as we are assured on the best authority, that a boy is now bound apprentice to the ribbon trade; and we were informed on equally good authority in Macclesfield, that a firm there which formerly had 180 apprentices, now has not one. This same firm once employed 1800 weavers, and now it can find work for scarcely 100. In Coventry twenty years ago there were eighty-four ribbon manufacturers; to-day it is estimated that there are not a dozen who have not been compelled to compound with their creditors. Between 1860 and 1870 Coventry stood almost alone among the towns and cities of England in showing no increase of population. Formerly its silk goods were annually exported to the United States to the value of tens of thousands of pounds; now little or nothing is sent there. 'Hostile tariffs,' as one manufacturer informed us, 'have driven us out of the field. We have sold the Americans our machinery; our goods we cannot sell them. I have never exported anything to the States since hostile tariffs came into operation.' We shall find much in further illustration of these statements in an interesting Report on 'Labour in Europe and America,' delivered to the United States Congress in 1875. 'The domestic silk trade of America,' reports the chief of the Statistical Department, 'has quadrupled since the passage of the Tariff Act of June 30, 1864.' This illustrates the 'devastating effects' of American Protection—it made a particular industry to which it was applied fourfold more prosperous than it was before. These things are beyond the power of all the 'statists' in England to explain away; and yet we are told on Radical authority that 'unless Protection is more damaging to the country which adopts it than to the country against which it is directed, Free Trade is a delusion.'* A more incautious or a more damaging admission could scarcely be made in the presence of the spectacle presented by the United States at the present moment. 'The yearly value of silk goods,' the

* 'Daily News,' August 25, 1881.

American Report goes on to say, 'now made in this country is over \$20,000,000, and there is a constant improvement in style, quality, and mode of finish.' The progress made since this was written has been still more rapid, and thus the same story, at variance though it may be with 'scientific principles,' is told of this industry, as of so many others—progress under Protection in the United States; decline under so-called 'Free Trade' in England. Various explanations of this startling fact may be given, but it would not do to go into Coventry and deny it, for there the weavers are suffering under a loss of wages averaging from thirty to fifty per cent., and it is to be feared that they would pay little respect to any one who asserted that there was 'no depression' in the silk trade, even though he called himself a political economist or a professor of statistics. The Coventry weavers, at least four thousand of whom met to protest against 'Free Trade' only last month, are at a loss to understand how it happens that their fellow-workmen across the Atlantic earn more money than they do, live in more comfortable homes, and are altogether better fed and cared for, and yet have never known the blessings of Free Trade. In Coventry, as elsewhere, the working men have taken to reasoning on these subjects for themselves; they no longer accept everything for granted which they read in the newspapers. It is a sign of evil omen for the charlatans and the demagogues. 'Our men,' as a manufacturer put the matter, 'see the way in which our commerce is treated all over the world—they see that their productions are kept out of every foreign port, while the productions of foreigners are let in freely *here*. They think this unfair. They have got that into their heads, and they will not get it out again.' There is scarcely a large manufacturing town in England in which the opinion thus concisely described is not entertained by increasing numbers of the working men; and yet, as the Radical newspapers complacently tell us, 'the figures do not show it.' They will find out in course of time that there is much besides this which figures do not show.

In Birmingham, a very few years ago, three-fourths of the silk-dress materials sold by an eminent firm were of English or Scotch manufacture. Now the proportion is not one-tenth,* and without doubt the large London dealers would have a very similar tale to tell. The same house in Birmingham used to buy immense quantities of Coventry ribbons; at present, three-fourths of the trade is French. And so with the broad-silk goods made in Macclesfield. That town shows greater signs of

* The facts here stated we also have on direct authority; they nowhere appear in 'the tables.'

decadence even than Coventry, for no new industry has yet been imported into it. The working men who were born and bred in the place are leaving it as fast as they can, and many of those who remain have no thought of 'riotous living,' but would be heartily glad if they could secure an adequate support for their families. They are looking eagerly round for some remedy for their troubles, and addresses have been delivered to them within the last few months by two of their own townsmen, whose practical experience well qualifies them to discuss the subject.* The decline of Macclesfield is traced, by these and other local authorities, to the operation of the Cobden Treaty of 1860, which nearly all parties now seem disposed to condemn. Under that Treaty, all French silks were admitted into England duty free, while the French Government imposed or retained heavy duties on the very descriptions of English silks in which we 'stood a fair chance of competing with the French manufacturers.† It is, however, by the great falling off in the home demand that Macclesfield and Coventry have suffered most. Formerly there were large dye-houses in Macclesfield kept at work by the Manchester manufacturers, and dyers were so much in demand, that silk used sometimes to be lying at the dye-house for three months at a time, waiting its 'turn.' The French have now entire control of the black silk trade, a single firm in Lyons employing fourteen hundred hands in their dye-house alone. The change which has taken place in the English trade may best be estimated from the following statement which we are permitted to publish. It is copied from the books of one of the oldest and largest firms of silk throwsters and manufacturers, and shows the annual production of manufactured silks by the firm before and after the French Treaty. We have taken every fourth year, merely for the purpose of abridgment:—

	£		£
Manufactured in 1859	250,000	Manufactured in 1871	75,150
„ 1863	66,000	„ 1875	61,700
„ 1867	56,200	„ 1878	55,000

'I firmly believe,' writes a gentleman practically connected with the trade, 'that these figures will give the key to the true state of affairs in every firm in Manchester.' Yet it is to be observed that when Sir Charles Dilke set out to negotiate a new French Treaty, he did not think it necessary to place himself in communication with the manufacturers and merchants of any

* Address on 'Free Trade v. Fair Trade' by Alderman Wright, June 14, 1881; Address on the 'Cobden Treaty of 1860,' by Mr. Edward Clarke, June 28, 1881.

† Circular issued by the Macclesfield Chamber of Commerce.

trade centre. He knew all their wants, probably, without troubling them for explanations. It may be very strongly questioned whether any Treaty that we are likely to obtain with France would place English manufacturers on a fair footing with their rivals. Owing to the difference in the price of labour, the hours during which operatives work, and other causes, the French can produce at a cheaper rate than the English, and their goods are as a rule made up to look better—although they do not wear half so well as those of English make. A Macclesfield dress would outlast three of French manufacture. In France, one pound of silk is soon made into three pounds by adulteration, but the finished article has an attractive appearance, and cheapness, not durability, is the great test of merit in the present day. It is this race for cheapness which has demoralized so many of our own industries, and brought English goods into disrepute in once valuable markets. A thoroughly good article could not be produced here at the price for which a foreign maker could sell something closely resembling it, and therefore the counterfeit was made in order that the trade might not be wholly lost. But even in the race of 'cheap and nasty,' the English manufacturer has not always been able to hold his own, and it may interest some readers to be informed that what is called the 'jewelry' trade in Birmingham presents a case in point. Foreigners can make mock pearls and diamonds to equal or surpass any competitors, and consequently the original 'Brummagem' article is not so fashionable in certain circles as it used to be. This collapse of local pinchbeck, once so much sought after, may possibly suggest to Mr. Chamberlain a vein of reflection less light and agreeable than that with which he treated the manufacture of brass idols.

In London, the adverse influences affecting trade are less severely felt, because there are no extensive local manufactures to affect the general course of business, and because a certain section of London merchants derive benefit rather than injury from the operation of our peculiar and entirely original system of Free Trade. Foreign goods can be bought and sold at a profit in the metropolis, while the looms of Bradford, Coventry, or Macclesfield, are standing idle. There is thus some superficial kind of excuse for the representations of a large part of the London press concerning the 'highly favourable' state of trade. These writers know little of any public opinion except that which is found within the metropolitan area; for the 'provinces' they retain the contempt which ran through most of the novels of half a century ago. Bradford is in the provinces, and therefore the 'Times' has but just discovered that

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some depression of trade does actually prevail *there*, and even this discovery was merely the result of the description of affairs which we gave last July. It has been almost impossible thus far to draw the attention of the general public to the condition of our home trade. An industry which finds its principal market in our own country, might be almost annihilated without leaving a trace behind it in the Blue Books. No Board of Trade Returns will show how many mills have been closed in Bradford or Manchester since 1874. They present very imperfect material for forming a judgment as to our foreign trade, but of our trade one with another—of the trade done by Birmingham with Leeds, or by Manchester with Sheffield—there is and there can be no record whatever. And yet, when does a ‘statistician’ ever tell us about anything but a Board of Trade Return? Does not that, according to his ideas, contain all that can possibly be known about British Trade, instead of only a part, and that not the most important part? We are assured by Adam Smith and other writers who really understood something about political economy, that a nation which extends its foreign trade without making a proportionate extension of its home trade, does not benefit itself. Even in London, any writer who was disposed to look beyond the four walls of his own room for enlightenment, might easily satisfy himself that ‘quantities’ are not ‘everything.’ We could mention three large houses, which are well known in the manufacturing districts, and which employ a capital of more than 500,000*l.* For the first six months of the present year they had not earned a profit of 5000*l.* One great company has withdrawn 12,000*l.* this year from a reserve fund, in order that it might pay a dividend of five per cent. Private firms or public companies are alike chary of disclosing such results as these, but writers who undertake to instruct the public may and can obtain the requisite information if they choose to seek it. They are neither willing to seek it nor to accept it when it is brought to them. In the early part of September last, the Duke of Rutland delivered a speech at the Cutlers’ Feast at Sheffield, in which he described in a very few words the condition of trade in that district. He was not likely to be tempted into exaggeration or misrepresentation, for he was addressing a body of men whose interests are all identified with the local industries. And what did he tell them—that Sheffield was in the heyday of prosperity, and that employers and employed were all growing rich? The picture which he presented was one of a very different character. ‘Profits,’ he said, ‘are a thing of the past, wages are being reduced, your furnaces are being put out, and your mills are worked either
not

not at all, or half time.* Every one present recognized this as the plain and simple truth; and yet how utterly opposed it is to all the statements which appear in the 'leading journals' of London. Either the Sheffield manufacturers do not know the state of their own affairs, or those whom Dr. Arnold described as 'the one-eyed men, political economists,' are blind to all that is going on. The trades associations of the whole country are one after another making known their alarm at the prospect before them, although the operation of the Radical gag-law prevented that alarm making itself heard at the Trades Union Congress in London:—

'When we find,' says a journal of great repute in several important trades, 'the representatives of the allied trades of the West of England; of the trades associations of the West of Scotland; of the town trades and shipping trades councils of Glasgow and Liverpool; of the trades associations of Hull and Birkenhead; of the brassworkers, the sugar operatives, the coopers and case-makers, the shipwrights, the dock-yard labourers, the watermen and lightermen of the Thames, and the British seamen, among the signatories of a public appeal made on economic grounds, it is evident that it would be worse than folly either to ignore such a symptom of the times or to affect to treat it with disrespect.'—*The Builder*, August 13, 1881.

Even this list is by no means complete, for there might have been added to it the workmen of Lancashire and Staffordshire, the weavers of Bradford and Rochdale, of Coventry and Macclesfield, and the operatives of many parts of the iron and cotton districts. The Secretary of the Ironfounders' Friendly Society—one of the oldest and largest in the kingdom—in his report issued July 1881, makes the following remarks, which are surely not unworthy the attention of Lord Derby and the political economists generally:—'When we view the present state of trade in all the centres of our staple industries, it really appears as if we had lost our lead in cotton, worsted, silk, lace, and general articles of utility in iron. Take, for instance, Manchester and its surroundings, Bradford, Nottingham, Macclesfield, and Birmingham, and view their state for the past two or three years, and we are compelled to ask, where has the trade gone? Gone? The reply of the *doctrinaires* is that it has not gone; it is where it was before, only we cannot see it. There has been no loss of capital; no diminution of trade; in fact, the public mind has merely been under the influence of 'phenomena of illusion.'† It is all a dream. Or, as another authority of high repute among the figure worshippers described

* Report in the 'Times,' Sept. 2, 1881.

† The 'Times,' Jan. 11, 1879.
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the situation in a very bad year (1877), the trifling depression had 'its roots in human nature, which lends itself to an ebb and flow, an action and reaction, in affairs.*' What we ought chiefly to desire, the writer told us, was to see foreign manufactures increase. Moreover, 'what mankind require for the greater efficiency of their labour is that the proportion of people employed in agriculture and mining should diminish.' Now these are the words of a leading interpreter of the modern mysteries of political economy. In 1877, when the pressure of distress was everywhere felt, we were given to understand that we must look for a remedy to the increase of foreign manufactures, and that we should give up growing corn, and cease to bring coals from the bowels of the earth. Four years after this wonderful theory was propounded, a letter appeared in the '*Times*' (May 24, 1881), bearing, by an odd coincidence, the same signature of Robert Giffen, in which the depression of our industries was acknowledged, and traced, not to human nature, or to an ebb and flow, but to the very cause which had been previously ridiculed—that is to say, the pressure of foreign tariffs. 'What the great masses of workmen in the United Kingdom suffer from,' said the writer, 'is not foreign bounties, but foreign tariffs. To complain of bounties and not of foreign tariffs is to direct attention from real evils to evils which are by comparison imaginary.' The theory put forward so positively at one time is repudiated at another, and yet now and always we are expected to place unlimited faith in every new theory advanced. These are the authorities who, day after day, denounce as madmen and fools all who endeavour to call attention to the real dangers which threaten us.

But we have not yet done with the 'weak industries' which the President of the Board of Trade regards with so much disdain. The glove trade once gave employment to thousands of persons in Worcester, Yeovil, and other towns. Prior to 1861, there were forty-two manufacturers in Yeovil alone. The number has gradually dwindled down to twelve. Not one-third so many gloves are made in England now as were made a few years ago. If we enquire of one or two eminent firms, we shall perhaps find that their business has not fallen off; they sell as many gloves as of old, but where are they made? When we get an answer to this question, we see once more that a trade may increase, and yet give less employment than ever to English workmen. The great glove-makers now have their principal workshops at Grenoble or Brussels, instead of at

* Mr. Robert Giffen in the '*Fortnightly Review*,' October 1, 1877.

Worcester

Worcester or Yeovil, and the English workman is left to take the course which Mr. Chamberlain suggests—direct his energies into some other channel. Well would it be for him if he could always find such a channel open. Another of the industries which a wise government will suppress when it becomes 'weak' is the pottery trade carried on in Staffordshire and Worcestershire. It has recently been stated * that in these counties 'depression is steadily increasing, and the condition of the lower classes of operatives is indeed deplorable.' Another correspondent, writing from the same district, says, 'All that English energy and enterprise can do is now being put forth here to retain our hold on the markets of foreign nations for our wares. But still we see the circle of our business possibilities steadily decreasing.'† In the United States, the manufacture of pottery and porcelain is making rapid strides, and English workmen will no doubt take an interest in learning that 'the average remuneration of American pottery operatives is fully one hundred per cent. in excess of the wages paid in Europe for the same class of labour. Even boys and young girls earn from twelve to eighteen shillings a week.' This may serve to explain in some degree to English artisans why it is that Protection is the national policy of the United States. It is because the working men find that under it they are much better off than English workmen are under single-handed Free Trade. It is they, and not the employers, who keep the United States a Protectionist country. A well-known manufacturer of Bradford, Mr. J. C. Lister, has presented the matter in a very clear light:—

'The "Times" may be jubilant and the Cobden Club *en fête*, but there is a power as certain as fate and as potent as the law of gravity itself, that will compel the working men of England to be fair-traders, even if in many cases it may be contrary to their political sympathies. That power is irresistible—self-interest. What has made the working men of the two great Republics of America and France protectionists? Self-interest. What has made all the civilized countries of the world, and even our own colonies, protectionists? Self-interest. And what will make the working men of England fair-traders, and, if not that, then protectionists? Self-interest. And no earthly power can prevent it. It is simply a question of time. When they begin to think for themselves, and see things in their true light, no power on earth can ever persuade them that foreign competition can raise their wages or shorten their hours.'—*Morning Post*, Sept. 21, 1881.

This is not the judgment of an 'arm-chair' theorist, but of a

* In a letter from Mr. J. E. Jameson, Churchill Court, Worcestershire.

† Letter to 'Morning Post,' September 5.

practical man ; and in answer to all such statements Mr. Bright thinks it quite sufficient to say that 'they proceed from 'Tories of the baser sort.' Such a Tory, we presume, is Mr. Siddall, a working shoemaker of Bradford, who took a general survey of trade last July, and gave this account of what he saw. Look, he said,

'At Macclesfield, Coventry and Spitalfields; at Leek, Preston, Manchester, and Derby; at Nottingham, Congleton, and Sandbach; at Luton, Newport Pagnell, and Tring; at Exeter and Crediton—in fact they might include themselves, and they would find that, with but few exceptions, families were not making a proper living. He could only tell them that their prospects were still gloomy, and they would continue to be so unless they put their shoulders to the wheel and demanded Protection for British labour.'—*Speech at a Meeting in Bradford, July 15, 1881.*

Another of the Tories of the baser sort, if we are to accept Mr. Bright's description, or of the victims of 'phenomena of illusion,' if we take that of the 'Times,' is Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., the Liberal Member for Bristol. He declared at a meeting of the Bristol Chamber of Commerce, held in June last, that 'there could be no doubt we were suffering from the operation of tariffs.' 'Let us boldly say,' he went on, 'that if these duties are continued, England will have to retaliate.' Another candidate for the *anathema maranatha* is the Liberal Member for Hythe, Sir Edward Watkin, who, not having the fear of Mr. Bright before his eyes, in August last addressed the shareholders of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway in the following strain:—

'I shall not surprise you when I tell you that for woollen goods and for woven articles of mixed woollen and cotton goods there is a falling off in our exports from Grimsby of 50 per cent.; that is to say, under the operation of these tariffs you carry just half the quantity of those goods for the German market that you did before. The same thing operates injuriously also at Hull and Liverpool. All these taxes upon commodities imported into foreign countries can have only one effect—namely, to diminish the saleable quantity of industrial products; and no doubt the effect will be to reduce the profits of the capitalists in the first place, and ultimately to reduce the wages of the workers. But, then, we have been for the last few years very much in this position—we have laid out, under the strong pressure of our customers, and also to some extent the strong pressure of our proprietors, a very large capital for trade that we have not yet got. Take the case of Sheffield and South Yorkshire. We have laid out a million of money there to prepare for a largely increasing trade, but owing to various causes, particularly the American tariff, you have not got it.'

Not

Not a word, it will be seen, about the 'blessed sun.' Let us now take a piece of evidence from a wholly different quarter. At a meeting of the Scottish Chamber of Agriculture held last July, one of the speakers dwelt upon the general depression of trade, and said:—

'Not only did the master suffer; the workmen were feeling the pinch, and were now beginning to see that trade was not free, and that they were bondsmen to the foreigner—that the foreign toll could only be paid out of their wages and perhaps extension of the hours of labour. To avoid this impost, large numbers were emigrating to countries where the products of their labour would not only find a free market, but also a toll to protect their labours.'—*Report in the Scotsman*, July 29, 1881.

Then, as to the general condition of the iron trade, let us take some facts brought forward by Lord Granville at the meeting of the Iron and Steel Institute, held on the 11th instant, and not easily to be challenged, even by Mr. Gladstone himself:—

'Mr. Gladstone the other day estimated the loss in bad seasons to agriculture at the enormous sum of 100,000,000*l.*, but what has the iron trade lost? If you should look at the table of the assessment of ironworks to the income-tax, you will see that that which in 1875 amounted to seven and a quarter millions was reduced in 1879 to less than two millions of money. Taking the years 1875, 1876, 1877, and 1878, you will find a reduction in the quantities of steel and iron exported from this country of something like 700,000 tons. If you look at the difference of value, there is a diminution of something more than eighteen millions from a little less than thirty-eight millions of money. That represents 25 per cent. reduction in quantity, and 50 per cent. in value, and that reduction in value represents to the iron trade of this country a net value of something like 40,000,000*l.* a year, so that during those four years no less a sum than 160,000,000*l.* was lost to the iron trade.'—*Times*, Oct. 12, 1881.

If now we find the 'figures' are in direct and hopeless conflict with such a mass of testimony as this, which would it be the more reasonable to distrust—the figures or the facts?

In the state and prospects of agriculture the past three months have brought about no change for the better. The official reports of the Agricultural Commissioners show that an increasing area of land is going out of cultivation, and there is no banker or land-agent who could not give too many practical illustrations of the hard straits to which most of the farmers, and many landlords, have been brought. In Berkshire, one landowner has four thousand acres for which he cannot find a tenant, and in Kent three surveyors report that there are ten thousand acres
which

which cannot be let, although 'vacant land in Kent was once unknown.' Mr. Little, the assistant Commissioner for the Southern Counties, says of Sussex:—

'Not once or twice, but over and over again, it has occurred to me during my visits in my district, that farmers apparently in a good position, some of them held in great repute by their neighbours as careful industrious men and good managers, have confided to me that their resources were utterly exhausted. Many of those who still have capital left are giving up or reducing their occupations, and the offer of the most advantageous terms and the most liberal conditions of tenure is generally insufficient to tempt the possessor of capital to invest it in farming.'

In Surrey, the same Commissioner reports that there are farms which are not only unoccupied but uncultivated. Here are four picked counties, and we may infer from them the condition of the agricultural interest in districts less advantageously situated. 'In our results of county sales,' says the '*Estates Gazette*' of July 30, 'the amount reached in our last issue was only 464,617*l.*, whereas last year it was 1,013,464*l.*' And the sales actually made must have been at a heavy loss, for the same journal reports that for one property on which 5000*l.* had been advanced, only 3000*l.* was bid. The decrease of sheep is enormous. According to the Agricultural Returns for 1881, the total is now 24,500,000, or about two millions less than in 1880, and four millions less than in 1879. A letter from Mr. James Caird * states that the breadth of land sown this year with wheat was the smallest known since 1867. 'The decline from 1868 is one million acres, or one-fourth of the whole extent at that time.' We should be sorry to say that it is not possible for 'truly Liberal' writers so to manipulate these figures as to prove that agriculture is highly prosperous, but to any man of ordinary common sense they tell a sorrowful tale of widespread loss and misfortune. The Radical looks upon it all as a mere opportunity for making a little more party capital. 'More Land Bills wanted' is the joyous cry of one organ of the party; 'the land doctor is abroad.'† If there is discontent, it must be allayed by revolutionary legislation. Already Mr. Gladstone, the great 'land doctor,' is ready to administer his remedies, and the first is to be 'free trade in land.' What he means by that phrase is uncertain, and what he means by it to-day he certainly will not mean at the beginning of next Session, nor at the end of the Session will he mean what he did at the beginning. Many landlords have not received one-half of their nominal rents for several years past,

August 16, 1881.

† '*Pall Mall Gazette*,' September 21.

and therefore the Irish 'message of peace' is to be prepared for them. The Fair Trade Card must be 'trumped' by an extension of the policy of confiscation. Other remedies the Radicals have none to offer. Some of them talk of deserting weak industries, others of withdrawing from agriculture and mining, others of sitting down quietly and waiting for more sun. As a last resource, if the working man still seeks for consolation and encouragement, he is referred to the 'immortal truths' of political economy. What is political economy? The working men must not be too hastily consigned to the dreary recesses of a lunatic asylum if they fail to see in this science little more than a bundle of sophisms and fallacies, which is cast aside with contempt by its own professors whenever it is found to be an inconvenient burden. Every man who has studied the subject with due attention must be well aware that the theories put forward by most of the writers of the present day derive no authority from the fountain-head—from Adam Smith, M'Culloch, or Ricardo. Take, for instance, the favourite dogma that the more your imports exceed your exports the wealthier you must become. The founders of English Political Economy give no support to this idea. Yet the 'Economist,' among other journals, ascribes the disbelief in this theory to a 'want of knowledge and sense,' and insists upon the assumption, invented by the school to which it belongs, that commodities bought of another nation must always be paid for with commodities of our own. If we are to have this question decided on the basis of political economy, we may fairly insist upon taking the fundamental principles from the highest authorities in the 'science'—from Adam Smith rather than from unknown writers. Now Adam Smith thus gives us the law:—'When one of them [i.e., of two nations] imports from the other to a greater value than it exports to that other, the former necessarily becomes indebted to the latter in a greater sum than the latter becomes indebted to it; the debts and credits of each do not compensate one another, and money must be sent out from that place of which the debts overbalance the credits.'* This is precisely what has happened with us, more particularly in our dealings with the United States. They do not take our goods in payment for theirs, but we pay them in securities of various kinds, and partly even in gold. But whatever may have happened, the 'Economist' assures us, we cannot have been paying in gold, for there 'has been no drain of gold whatever';† and then, unfortunately for the argument, the writer proceeded to quote

* *The Wealth of Nations*, Book IV., chap. ii., Part I.
 † *The Economist*, July 25, 1882.

statistics in support of it, and by those statistics he fell. They proved that during the last three years out of four, the precious metals were flowing out of the country instead of into it. Here are the writer's own figures for 1877-80, the period directly under discussion :—

		Imports of Gold.			Exports of Gold.
		£			£
1877	37,152,799	..		39,798,119
1878	32,422,955	..		26,686,546
1879	24,155,538	..		28,584,912
1880	16,253,883	..		18,889,503

Moreover, the 'Economist' had been obliged to confess, the very week before it rashly produced these figures, that the trade balance with the United States had 'been liquidated by *large imports of specie*,' that there 'are no means of knowing to what extent payment may have been made in Stock Exchange Securities, which now play so prominent a part in the settlement of international debts,' but that, 'to all appearance, the power of the United States to *take gold* from this side is *much greater than it was twelve months ago*.*' In the short space of a week, the same philosopher denied all this, and confidently declared there had been 'no drain of gold whatever.' And these are the writers who stand aghast when their doctrines are challenged and their rickety theories rejected! In this particular case, the 'Economist' is refuted by Adam Smith and the 'Economist' itself; but, lest these authorities should be condemned as labouring under a 'want of knowledge and sense,' we will cite the testimony of a writer who happened to be a man of intelligence as well as a political economist—the late Mr. Walter Bagehot. This was the opinion which he held :—

'The ordinary foreign trade of a country requires no cash; the exports on one side balance the imports on the other. But a sudden trade of import—like the import of foreign corn after a bad harvest—or (what is much less common, though there are cases of it) the cessation of any great export—causes a balance to become due, *which must be paid in cash*.'—*Lombard Street*, pp. 43, 44.

This brief passage exactly describes the general conditions under which our excess of imports has been produced—large importations of grain to compensate for our own deficient supply, for which we pay partly in gold, partly in the interest of our investments, partly in Stock Exchange securities. In either case money has to be spent abroad which ought to be spent at home. The interest or income derived from our savings goes

* The 'Economist,' July 16, 1881.

to other countries, and ceases to become a source of future wealth to the population of these islands. There must be a limit to this process. We cannot always be sending the interest on our investments to foreign nations; it may be that the investments themselves will gradually be eaten away. The financial pretenders tell us that whether we spend our money abroad or at home, it is all the same; but Adam Smith does not say so. If we buy in the cheapest market, we ought to be able to sell in the dearest, and that we cannot do. We are not free to exchange our iron or cotton for all the corn we want. We must pay in cash, or the direct equivalent of cash. That a nation can permanently prosper with a trade carried on under these circumstances no man of common sense will believe. The theorists who hold that it is good for us to be so situated seem to be compelled to resort to contrivances which have not hitherto been held in peculiarly high esteem by men who are anxious to arrive at the truth. They give a false colouring to facts as well as to statements:—

‘Our imports from America are very largely in excess of our exports. The country, it is asserted, must be the loser by the whole difference, since imports which are not paid for by manufactures must be paid for in hard cash. The inference has a commonsense sound about it. Its fault is that it is at absolute variance with facts. There is no such export of gold from this country to America and elsewhere as the theory in question would imply.’—*The ‘Times,’* July 15, 1881.

The ‘inference’ thus put forward was attributed to us. The statement which actually appeared in these pages* was, that with our investments in ‘American and other foreign bonds’ we were ‘paying for a large part of the difference between our imports and our exports.’ Before a ‘statist’ proceeds to answer this, he first of all remodels it thus: ‘It is asserted that the difference is paid for in hard cash.’ This method of conducting a controversy may be ‘free,’ but assuredly it is not ‘fair.’ It will be left, we trust, to the exclusive enjoyment of political economists. While the ‘Times’ was denying strenuously that England sent away gold to the United States in liquidation of trade debts, it found it necessary to publish the following from its own Philadelphia correspondent:—

‘The approximate trade returns of the United States for the fiscal year ended Thursday last show \$270,000,000 excess of merchandise in exports over imports, being an increase of \$105,000,000 in favour of the United States over the previous year’s trade balances. *This has been partly paid for by about \$90,000,000 of specie.*’

* ‘Quarterly Review,’ July, 1881, p. 291.

On the 22nd of August, it was again compelled to refer with 'astonishment' to the drain of gold to the United States:—

'Although the United States are a gold-producing country, and the production in the three years from January 1, 1879, to the close of the present year will have been about 20,000,000*l.*, and although the immigrants also bring a certain amount of coin annually, yet the United States had imported in the two and a half years ending June 30 last no less an amount than 35,000,000*l.* of gold. We are thus within the mark in saying that, without reckoning the amounts it is now beginning to draw from Europe, it has absorbed into its currency at least 55,000,000*l.* in less than three years.'

Simple-minded readers, who take their opinions ready-made from the daily journal, must often be confounded by what they find in its news columns. One of them not long ago stoutly maintained that foreign nations always take our goods in exchange for their own, and soon afterwards it announced that a heavy drain of gold had set in from the United States, and that we should be obliged to go to the Americans and say, 'Take what we owe you in iron or woollen goods, or other manufactures, but we want gold and mean to keep it. If the struggle does not begin at once, it will later on; it is inevitable. And something must give way when the strain tightens.'* But why should we say this, when the Americans, according to the orthodox theory, are already taking payment in kind? How is it that none of these economical quacks are able to find a theory which can be supported, with the simplest regard for decency, even two days together?

Political economy will do nothing for the working man in his present and coming difficulties. It has, indeed, been gravely suggested that 'a chapter of Adam Smith or Ricardo might serve to stay the tottering convictions of the relapsing economic heretic.'† It may be so, but it is quite evident that an expurgated edition would have to be prepared for the miserable sinner. Adam Smith disposes of the theory that excess of imports is a proof of wealth, and in the second chapter of his fourth book he shows that retaliatory duties may be 'good policy' when 'some foreign nation restrains by high duties or prohibitions the importation of some of our manufactures into their country.' Here, once more, the great doctor himself puts to confusion the brawling crowd of Sganarelles who prepare their doses in his name. Another great economist and 'thinker,' whose authority on most points is absolutely decisive with a properly-trained Radical—John Stuart Mill—declares that the

* 'Daily News,' August 25, 1881.

† *Ibid.*, July 18, 1881.

'only mode in which a country can save itself from being a loser by the revenue duties imposed by other countries on its commodities is to impose corresponding revenue duties on theirs.'* Not only does he propound this doctrine, but he utterly denies the theory that a duty on foreign imports falls upon the consumer:—

'It may, therefore, be laid down as a principle that a tax on important commodities, when it really operates as a tax and not as a prohibition either total or partial, almost always falls in part upon the foreigners who consume our goods, and that this is a mode in which a nation may appropriate to itself, at the expense of foreigners, a larger share than would otherwise belong to it of the increase in the general productiveness of the labour and capital of the world which results from the interchange of commodities among nations.'—*Principles of Political Economy*, Book v. ch. iv.

Are we then to say that John Stuart Mill was mad? Or that he was a man without sense or knowledge? Or is the 'city editor' and the 'statistician' to be allowed to bring this great prophet into contempt by defiling his solemn teachings? Working men may have the satisfaction of knowing that in demanding duties on the commodities of foreign countries which refuse to deal with us on fair terms, they have the authority of all the recognized political economists from Adam Smith to John Stuart Mill, and even to Mr. Goldwin Smith, who has recently explained that the Canadian tariff was devised to coerce the Americans into lowering their duties. He justifies this, saying: 'If the pressure were likely to be effectual, why should it not be applied? An immediate sacrifice would no doubt be made in refusing to buy cheap American goods, but it would be made in anticipation of a greater gain, and a doctrine of Free Trade which should forbid such an exercise of foresight would surely be Free Trade gone mad. Political economy is a matter of expediency; it is not like morality, which forbids us to do evil that good may come.'* This, it will be observed, is from one of the very elect, and we may turn to others of the sacred band and hear them deliver very similar sentiments—when occasion calls for them. The artisans of our large towns and cities are convinced that it has no application to them or their affairs. Their feeling on this point was boldly expressed by Mr. John Morley in an address which he delivered to some miners four years or so ago.† 'What the artisan,' he said, 'and the chief men in a trade society want to know, are the particular

* The 'Contemporary Review,' Sept. 1881.

† Reprinted in the 'Fortnightly Review,' March, 1877.

circumstances of their own trade; its fluctuations and their causes; its prices, its profits, its outlook. Now, Political Economy, as taught in the books, and as expounded by its ablest professors, sheds on these things none of the light that you need. It is an affair of tendencies and averages, of doctrines which are true enough on the conditions that the economist takes for granted. But then, *these conditions do not exist. They are not the conditions of real life.* They lead to truths that would be true if only they were not false.' Let us hope that the miners appreciated the brilliant epigram with which this passage concludes, and that its signification will also be understood by others of the 'expansive' brethren. It may save them from many erroneous estimates and false judgments. The 'Pall Mall Gazette,' for example—which does not understand that political economy leads only to truths which would be true if they were not false—has reproached us for not attaching due importance to the 'enormous growth of English shipping.' Now the fact is—one of the facts carefully concealed by the statisticians—that the English shipping trade has not always been so profitable as might be inferred from a mere return of the number of vessels which sail under our flag.

The 'Pall Mall Gazette' might not be willing to receive this view from us—let it, then, take it from an unimpeachable Radical, the judicious Mr. John Morley. In an address to a Trades' Union Congress at Bristol,* this gentleman showed that multiplying the number of vessels in our possession did not by any means necessarily imply the growth of a sound and lucrative trade. He stated that 'one of the ablest and best informed shipowners in Liverpool' wrote to him saying, 'The fact is, that we British have not only beaten the foreigner out of the carrying trade of the world, but have cut our own throats into the bargain.' Mr. Morley fully accepted this statement. 'That pungent way,' he declared, 'of putting the matter might serve for a general account of much British trade.' This was confirmed by the 'Economist,'† which said that sales of our goods had been forced 'probably at a considerable sacrifice,' and that 'owing to the extremely low rates of freight, our shipping has derived little if any advantage from the carrying trade.' It is true that all this is in direct conflict with the theories constantly advocated by the same authorities, but it is no part of our business to reduce this chaos to order. Then, with reference to the law that the interests of the consumer alone ought to be studied, let us once more hear Mr. Morley:—'The orthodox doctrine has

* Reprinted in the 'Fortnightly Review,' October 1, 1878.

† January 25, 1879.

well that the interests of civilization are not concerned with support of the evils in the commerce of the world. Therefore, for the moral and political reasons, it is better to believe that the commercial principles are not real—because, even if they were, it is better to believe that they are not. From this I deduce that Mr. May is a political economist in much the same sense as Mr. Cobden was in the 1841 act of May 1841—his is a theory of justice in Mr. Cobden's sense. It is better well to put the case as it is, rather than to say that the interests of the commerce are not in the true construction. The principle to be stated being one of equality.

On such are the political economists. We have seen have done to them that they really have, partly because they are not a few persons and more and more in second-hand places who are not interested in their professions, but in the interests of their country and the interests of the world. We have seen that they must be as wise as they seem. We have seen that they must be as wise as they seem, and a little experience they have proved. Is it to the guidance of men such as these, that a sober and reflective man would be willing to entrust the direction of his affairs? They lay down principles which all the world repudiates, and which they make sport of themselves when they believe that no one is looking on. In the midst of all this confusion the demand for 'Fair Trade' daily becomes more urgent, and the only hope of the Radical party is that it can be met and silenced by the cry of 'dear bread.' Every day their journals report that it is dead, and every day it becomes more powerful. The hope that it can be extinguished under the weight of a few leading articles and speeches is founded on an entire misapprehension of the causes which have produced it. Foreign competition will not become less keen as years go by, nor will the world be disposed to leave a monopoly of its markets to English manufacturers. Trades which we once controlled will fall into other hands, and there will again be seen that 'shifting of industries' which the philosophers assure us is all that is now going on. But it is to other lands that the industries will be shifted. Cotton manufactures will be cultivated assiduously by Germany and the United States, and the day will certainly come when the only transport of cotton required will be from the field where it is grown across the road to the mills where it is worked up. Already the Americans have erected cotton-mills at Chicago, and nothing but the temporary want of capital prevents the

* Address delivered to Lancashire Working Men. 'Fortnightly Review,' July, 1878.

extension of the industry to the south and south-west. Manchester and Oldham will find out, as Bradford has done, that there is a form of foreign competition against which, with open ports here and closed ports everywhere else, it is impossible to fight. Of these things the working men have a presentiment, because they can see and feel even now the beginning of evils for which, if they are left to grow unchecked, there can be no possible remedy. The agitation, then, will not and cannot die out, because its causes will remain, and not only remain, but become more and more urgent in their nature. All the conditions of the world's trade have changed, and we shall have to change our own system to grapple with them. Even if Free Trade had accomplished the marvels attributed to it by Mr. Bright and his followers, it does not follow that it would be adapted to our requirements for all time to come. A nation, like a merchant, must sell to the best customers it can find, and not chain itself to 'fixed laws.' It cannot say, 'there shall never be any departure from the principle now adopted,' or if it does, it will see itself passed in the race by its rivals—as England is being passed now. There is no law of 'finality' in commerce. Long ago we should have formed close relations with our colonies, instead of striving by every means which lay within our power to alienate them from us. Had we done that, the problem which will now give us so much trouble would have been solved. But the Government is taking no steps to arrive at a good understanding with our Colonies, and it will take none, for it does not believe that any necessity exists for protecting or extending the trade of this country. The foreign market must look after itself, and if the home market cannot do so, it must be surrendered to foreigners. 'Rotherham,' says the 'Evening Standard,'* which might teach its morning contemporary some useful lessons, 'is in the heart of the South Yorkshire steel trade; yet fifty tons of rails from Krupp's factory at Essen were delivered to the order of a firm in that town yesterday.' They were to be used in building a line in the neighbourhood. 'If the foreigners can thus cut out in spheres of industry which are, or once were, peculiarly our own, it is a bad look-out for the country at large.' This is precisely the opinion of the working men, and hence they desire to see some effective measures taken for the preservation of their industries. To represent their efforts as instigated by landlords and 'wealthy protectionists' seeking 'to corrupt poor men with money,' is too preposterous to deceive the most shallow demagogue who has the slightest

* September 2.

knowledge of the state of public feeling throughout the manufacturing districts. If landlords are paying any attention at all to this controversy, they are merely watching with faint curiosity and amusement the demand of the manufacturing class for the partial revival of a policy which was abolished in the hope of ruining them. So far from leading the agitation, it may well be doubted whether anything could prevail upon them to take part in it. Farmers and landlords need no argument to convince them that all measures are impracticable which could afford protection or relief to their interests. Even if the plans which are now so popular in the manufacturing districts were carried out next week, it is unlikely that the agriculturists would be directly benefited. They are to be 'operated upon,' to use the appropriate phrase of a Radical journal, in a different way. For them, Land Bills are growing on every hedge; for it is no longer deemed necessary to trouble a Ministry to draw up Acts of Parliament. The work can, it seems, be much better done by 'Conventions.' By this device, the overworked British Minister will shortly obtain abundance of leisure, for legislative details will be managed for him, and Bills of all kinds will be brought to his door ready-made. He will merely be used as the humble instrument of transmitting messages from a patriotic caucus to a docile Parliament. Two Land Bills have already been made public, and the Farmers' Alliance have shown the utmost willingness to profit by the example of successful agitation set before them in Ireland. Not Protection, but Revolution, is the watchword which they have adopted.

Wearied of statistics which are in conflict with the evidence of facts, the public looked forward with interest to the great 'demonstration' at Leeds on the seventh and eighth of October, when it was known that Mr. Gladstone would reveal his opinions on the commercial condition of the country. The din and bustle of preparation for this display had resounded all over the country for weeks beforehand. The 'four hundred' managed everything on 'the American plan;' audiences carefully sifted, tickets sold only to persons of approved principles, and to conclude all, a torchlight procession in which the faithful alone were allowed to bear a torch. We were all bidden to anticipate an unrivalled display of 'eloquence.' But, unfortunately, eloquence is not the be-all and the end-all in this world's affairs; it has quite as often led nations astray as it has guided them to the right path. Even when at its best, it cannot supply the place of foresight and sound judgment. It might have been far better for Mr. Gladstone and his country also, if the 'fatal gift' of eloquence had been less lavishly bestowed
upon

upon him. Often, however, as the country has beheld him pouring forth a vast stream of impetuous language, there is still ample room for speculation when he is announced to deliver a new speech. His previously avowed opinions, or his past career, afford no clue to the line which he may have resolved to take. All depends upon the temper and wishes of the audience which he has to address. Thus, no one could tell what sort of theory Mr. Gladstone would advance concerning the trade of the country. We have had many theories from him before, and one more or less is a matter of little consequence when the whole series can be cast aside to-morrow, amid the applause of a public which is supposed to set an almost unreasonably high value upon consistency in its public men. A few years ago, Mr. Gladstone was troubled by dark forebodings lest our coal should be exhausted before we had found time to pay the National Debt. Still later, some practical advice was given to the agricultural classes for the improvement of their fortunes. It was expressed in a somewhat vague manner, but so far as one could judge, it was to the effect that henceforth the farmers' true policy would be to grow such things as tulips and nectarines for the London markets. The only suggestion which the obedient party journals ventured to add was, that English farmers might make speedy fortunes by cultivating asparagus. A little later on, there came the discouraging prediction from Mr. Gladstone, that we should one day lose our 'commercial primacy,' and become like Venice and Genoa. Then followed the announcement that the income tax returns indicated a cessation of national progress. Then a deputation was informed that 'equality' should be the guiding principle of our trade, and that we must dismiss the old idea that the interests of the consumer should be our chief concern. Then, at one fell blow, the whole system of political economy was contemptuously sent adrift to Jupiter and Saturn. After all this, who could tell what new thing would be produced from the wizard's inexhaustible pockets? Who could have supposed that there would be nothing more to show to the impatient audience than the very same figures which have been bandied about in all the catch-penny publications of the Cobden Club, and in all the hackneyed articles of partisan newspapers, during the last three months? Surely the intelligent workmen of Leeds must have seriously questioned whether it was worth the while of the Prime Minister to come all the way from Hawarden to tell them that the trade of the country has grown since 1840, that he is 'by marriage a Welshman,' and that his fate has been 'peculiar.' If all that can be said for continued adherence to our present commercial

commercial system has been said by Mr. Gladstone, then everybody must stand amazed at the weakness of the case. We do not think highly of that case, as our readers may have gathered from what we have written; but we are forced to acknowledge that justice has not been done to it by Mr. Gladstone.

Doubtless the country has made progress since 1840; it would have been miraculous if it had not. But our progress is as nothing compared with that of the United States during the same period, measured by the statistics on which Mr. Gladstone bases his sole argument. What the people of England want to know is whether 'free ports' will serve our interests now, when all the nations of the world are placed in a very different position, with regard to manufacturing resources, from that which they occupied in 1840. They ask what our trade is doing at this moment, and what are its prospects in the future. As for the future, Mr. Gladstone has told us that America will wrest from us our 'commercial primacy,' and to console us he now adds that she will not do so till she adopts Free Trade. The ruin of England will come when Protection is abandoned by the United States, and yet Mr. Gladstone is sorry she does not abandon it—he looks upon her economical errors 'with cordial sympathy and with much regret.' The criticism which Lord Macaulay long ago made upon Mr. Gladstone's arguments applies to his Leeds speeches with the utmost nicety: 'His artillery is composed of two sorts of pieces, pieces which will not go off at all, and pieces which go off with a vengeance, and recoil with most crushing effect upon himself.' Even in dealing with statistics, he 'first deludes himself, and then his readers.' They are wide of the mark at which he should have aimed, they tell us nothing to the purpose, and some of them are even absurd in their application. 'Population has increased'—does Mr. Gladstone suppose it would have stood still if it had not been for Free Trade? That Free Trade has done everything, we have long been told, but it was reserved for Mr. Gladstone to ascribe to it the not very 'peculiar' phenomenon which has aroused his admiration, and which he may perhaps have noticed in other countries besides England. If he had wished to bring before us a true picture of commercial affairs, he would have shown us how many of the working classes are now in partial employment only, who were in full employment five or six years ago; how much capital has been lost in that time by employers in endeavouring to carry on their business; how many mills, factories, and workshops have been closed; how much interest has been earned on the capital invested. That would be the fair and business-like way of testing the question, and Mr. Gladstone,

Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as Prime Minister, has unequalled facilities for applying this test to it. We have attempted to do this work, though necessarily on a comparatively limited scale, for we cannot boast of the opportunities enjoyed by the head of the Government. We have gone direct to the manufacturing districts for information, and our facts are those of the present hour—not the dredgings of old almanacs since 1840, nor the results of flighty theories about the increase of population. But Mr. Gladstone avoids this ground; he will have nothing to do with facts or statistics, unless they enable him to bring out a comparison between 1840 and 1881. If manufacturers can scarcely pay their way now, they are told that the nation does more business upon the whole than it did in 1840, and that we were very prosperous a little while ago. It is like inviting a man to live on the recollection of last year's dinners. The country has grown since 1840, and so has every other country, but that does not prove that our present system of carrying on our business is adapted for all time, all circumstances, and all possible vicissitudes of our national life. A system may have answered well when we had no competitors, which would be utterly inadequate to our necessities now, even if it did not actually lead us to disaster. If we had no assailants to fear, we could have gone on very comfortably with wooden ships; but we changed them, and when we changed them no one thought it necessary to protest on the ground that Trafalgar was won with 'wooden walls.' In trade, as in other matters, we must study the times in which we live, and adapt ourselves to them with as much dexterity as we can command, or suffer the consequences of our own obstinacy and blindness.

The statistics cited by Mr. Gladstone are those which we have referred to frequently in the course of this article, and they do not prove any more from Mr. Gladstone's mouth than from Lord Derby's. The Prime Minister does not seem to be aware that the public now know them almost by heart, and fail to derive any assurance from them that it is an excellent thing for England to have the ports of the world gradually closed to her. We have only just begun to find out how that system works, for in 1840, or in 1850, or even in 1870, we had practically very little severe competition to face. The world could not do without our manufactures, and therefore it bought them; now it can do without them, and it does not buy them—not to the same extent. That is the condition of the future which we have to meet. Mr. Gladstone does not help the commercial classes to prepare for it by showing them that wealth, taxes, imports,

imports, exports, and population, have all increased since 1840. And yet beyond this he has very little to tell them. On one of his field days at Leeds, he treated the subject in what his followers are accustomed to call his 'witty' vein; the next day he was more serious, but not more practical or intelligible. Humour with Mr. Gladstone is a plant which has budded late, and the fruit, though it may be curious, is by no means beautiful; the thing itself is neither 'rich nor rare.' But when Mr. Gladstone desires to have it understood that he is being witty, his audiences generally are complaisant enough to laugh, as the House of Commons did at his famous 'retention' speech—a choice specimen of wit; and as the audience at Leeds did when he said, 'There is a great Christian precept that if a man strikes you on one cheek, you should turn him the other.' This was received with 'great laughter,' it is difficult to conjecture why. Surely some of the audience must have heard it in another place, although they may never have been struck by the 'humour of it' before. We search his speeches—the witty one and the one which was not witty—in vain for real light or guidance on the trade question. He is, indeed, adventurous enough to question the prosperity of the United States, and says they have not 'gone forth and possessed the world.' But he does not tell us why. He did not explain that down to within the last few years the people of the United States have found all their energies and resources required for the development of their own country—for the hard work of opening up rivers, making roads, and building towns. No wonder that they have not 'gone forth and possessed the world.' They are now only beginning to go forth, and already we meet them at every turn, and shall continue to meet them during the rest of the time the two nations are destined to endure. Because the United States, with all their land to open up and cultivate, a frightful war of four years' duration on their hands, and a gigantic paper currency to redeem, have not made so much absolute progress in their foreign commerce as England has done, Mr. Gladstone asks them and us to consider their commercial system a failure. We have had a century's start of them, and Mr. Gladstone thinks it a proof of our superior wisdom that they have not yet caught up with us. But America is, as he says, and as she has a little too often been told, a 'young country,' and twenty years hence her trade statistics will not be what they are now. Mr. Gladstone himself foresaw this in one of those moments when the prophetic gift was upon him, and then he warned us that we are doomed to fall behind her in the race. But if he desired to render his statistics complete, how was it that he omitted the following, which

which serve to explain in a very short compass what the United States have been doing during the last few years?—

UNITED STATES DEBT.

		Dollars.		£
In 1860	64,800,000	equal to	12,960,000
„ 1861	90,500,000	„	18,100,000
„ 1867	2,678,000,000	„	535,600,000
„ 1880	2,120,000,000	„	424,083,000

This little table shows that in thirteen years the American people have been enabled to reduce their debt by the large sum of \$558,000,000, or 111,517,000*l.*, besides lightening domestic taxation and resuming specie payment, and all by means of their ‘baneful policy’ of Protection. Would it not have been but fair on the part of Mr. Gladstone to have mentioned these circumstances? Are they not highly material to the consideration of the question which he brings before us? As for the relative smallness of American shipping, it ought not to be necessary to remind the Minister, who paid 3,229,166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* as damages for destruction committed by the ‘Alabama,’ that other causes may have affected that branch of trade besides Protection. Mr. Gladstone is probably the only man in England who has forgotten the ‘Alabama claims,’ and why they were made. His general argument is not only weak, but disingenuous. He takes up the cry that ‘Fair Trade’ means nothing more nor less than a return to our old system of Protection, although he is far too familiar with the truth to labour under any misapprehension in his own mind on the subject. He is not deceived, though others may be. Compare the protective duties which used to exist with those which are now demanded. On foreign woollens the duty was formerly from 50*l.* to 67*l.* 10*s.* per cent.; on cotton manufactures from 50*l.* to 75*l.*; on linen from 40*l.* to 180*l.*; on iron, 6*l.* 10*s.* per ton; on leather and earthenware, 75 per cent.—and so on. All raw materials were likewise heavily taxed—copper at 54*l.* per ton; wool at one time was taxed 6*d.* in the pound, afterwards 1*d.*; tin paid a duty of 5*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.* per cwt. The most extreme proposal of which we have yet heard from the Fair Traders is that a duty of *ten* per cent. only shall be levied on foreign manufactures, and all raw materials be admitted *free*. Is there any analogy whatever between the two systems? Is it fair or creditable on the part of a great statesman to represent them as absolutely identical?

The final effort to dispose of the arguments for ‘equality’ in trade has the distinction of being either more inaccurate or more disingenuous than any which preceded it. It appears in the

the 'Edinburgh Review' for October, and a very few words will suffice for it. The writer finds that the advocates of Reciprocity are 'a discordant throng,' bent on securing special advantages 'each' for 'their' own trade; but he admits that 'there is great dissatisfaction, discontent, and even privation' in certain 'manufacturing centres.' The critic, as it will be seen from even this brief passage, struggles manfully, if not very successfully, to express his feelings and opinions, but there is fortunately no necessity to follow him through all his intricate convolutions. We will come at once to the only part of the rhapsody which may seem to be worthy of an answer. It was stated in our last number that the 'Times' had been obliged to record a 'continuous decline in our export trade with Germany, during the past twelve years, amounting to 33½ per cent.; with Holland, to 36 per cent.; with the United States to 28 per cent.' We stated a simple fact, easily verified; there stands the passage in the 'Times' City article of May 31st, 1881. Even if the figures had been inaccurate, the responsibility would not have rested with us, and we might, perhaps, be content to leave the 'Times' to defend them against the 'Edinburgh Review.' But the figures were right as well as the quotation, as will clearly appear to any one who consults the entirely trustworthy analysis of the Board of Trade returns for the twelve years extending from 1869 to 1880.* The 'Edinburgh' declares that the decrease with Germany has been only 10 per cent. instead of 33½, with Holland 6 per cent. instead of 36, and so on. Now how does the writer mix up the figures so as to produce this result? By a very simple process. The statement in the 'Times' and the argument in the 'Quarterly,' though differing much in purpose, alike applied to our exports of *manufactures*, which alone were under discussion. The word 'manufactures' was not repeated in every line, because the whole article was virtually upon our manufacturing trade, and not upon our re-exports of colonial and other produce, the sale of which to foreign nations cannot be of any benefit to our own employers and workmen. But by adding such articles, and everything else that can possibly be raked together into the returns—including horses—the 'Edinburgh' philosopher makes up his new and improved table, leaves the reader to infer that it presents the true state of our manufacturing trade, and calmly accuses us of 'portentous blunders.' We may charitably suppose that all this is done in good faith, for there is evidence in other parts of the article that the writer is not

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really of a crafty disposition, but writes with a hearty, guileless simplicity, and a genial ignorance of the whole subject. His statement of the total imports and exports is entirely erroneous, but it is original, for it differs widely from every other estimate which has been compiled. Each new writer on this theme seems to consider himself privileged to manufacture his own statistics. The 'Edinburgh' declares that we are 'wrong' by 65 millions; but a reference to the 'annual statements' of the Board of Trade will show that the figures given by the 'Edinburgh' are wrong from beginning to end. Agricultural and commercial depression must be caused, the writer thinks, by the 'general imbroglio of Continental politics which the late Government and their precious Imperialism did so much to create and extend.' But why the evil does not disappear, now that the imbroglio and the precious Imperialism are gone, he omits to explain. He thinks that the United States cannot be called a Protectionist country, because the States deal freely with each other; so long, therefore, as we left English towns and cities to deal freely with Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, we should not become a Protectionist country, even though we laid duties of a hundred per cent. on foreign goods. Surely this is indeed another Daniel come to judgment. He says that the United States run up a national debt '*equalling at least* the debt of the mother country.' Now, in 1867 the United States Debt reached its highest point—535,600,000*l.* Our own debt in that year amounted to 803,752,501*l.* This is an example of the inaccuracy which runs through all the writer's attempts to deal with facts and figures. His own blunders have visited him in a nightmare, and on awaking from the fearful vision he has charged them upon us. When he passes into the dim cloudland of political economy, he is comparatively safe, for there no one can follow him. The statistics given by the critic are past all cure, but the conclusions drawn from them might have been expressed in intelligible language, especially as they were destined for pages which once could boast at least of literary finish.

It may now be assumed that the Radical Party has taken its stand on the simple position that no duties are to be levied on foreign productions of any kind, except the duties already in force. We shall see how long it remains convinced of the wisdom of that policy. It is certain that, for once in our history, the Radicals will fail to excite popular prejudice on a great public issue, because it is out of their power to deceive the classes who are chiefly concerned in it. It was a simple process to falsify an intricate question of foreign politics, and to asperse
the

the aims of a Conservative Ministry. But when the subject is one on which the working classes possess a practical knowledge, the Radical leaders must cease to lead, and submit to be educated by their 'masters.' This is the penance which awaits them. There is no combination of figures by which permanent prosperity can be brought back to the declining industries of Great Britain. To accomplish that object will tax the highest powers of the wisest statesmanship, and under the most favourable circumstances there is no time to be lost. The existing Government has done its utmost to open Persia and a large part of India to Russia, and to restrict the area of our own markets instead of endeavouring to enlarge it. Its settled policy has been to discourage all foreign enterprise, public or private, as aggressive and immoral. We had opened up a new pathway in India for our merchants, but it has been closed. The Colonies have long been told that we desired to have as little to do with them as possible. It is useless to disguise the fact that, while the present Administration remains in power, all hope of imparting new life to our commerce must be abandoned. Mr. Gladstone has made that abundantly clear, even if it had been doubtful before. His Ministry will concede advantages to foreign nations, but it will exact none. Time will show the working classes how little they have to expect from their Radical teachers, and meanwhile the cause which they have at heart will be continually advancing. There may, indeed, be fitful revivals of certain special trades, owing to a temporary demand for larger quantities of iron or cotton than our competitors can momentarily produce for themselves. But the nature of such a 'revival' will not be misunderstood either by the workmen or their employers, for they have seen more than one transient gleam of prosperity since 1874, and they know that it has not affected the settled direction of trade. The remedy required is one of a more thorough and a more lasting character, and it is quite evident that the working men will have to find and apply it for themselves. They will not be slow to act when, to use Mr. Gladstone's own phrase, 'facts are ripe: and their ripeness is approaching.'

INDEX

TO THE

HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SECOND VOLUME OF THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

A.

- ACHÆA, earthquake in, 91.
Agram, earthquake at, 102.
Agricultural Commissioners, official reports of the, 576.
Albert the Great, general of the Dominicans, 114, 115.
Albizzi, Maso degli, 171.
—, Rinaldo degli, 173, 174.
Alexander, Bp., on the New Testament revision, 367.
Alfriston, described by Jennings, 161.
American Protection, 285-288.
Aquinas, St. Thomas, and the Vatican, 105—Pope Leo XIII.'s Encyclical Letter, 107—miraculous legends of his birth, 110—at the Abbey of Monte Cassino, 111—at the University of Naples, *ib.*—takes the vows of the Friars Preachers, 112—imprisoned in one of the family castles, *ib.*—escape, 113—allowed to remain with the mendicant brothers of St. Dominic, 114—at Cologne under the great Albert, *ib.*—receives the priesthood, 115—sent to Paris, 116—receives his diploma, 117—lectures at Paris, *ib.*—in the theological chair at Naples, 118—his ascetic life, 119—death, 120—picture by Traini, 121—writings, 122—the 'Catena Aurea,' *ib.*—Commentaries on Aristotle, 123—his scholastic philosophy or theology, 124-129—distinctions about the doctrine of the Trinity, 130—concerning angels, 131—academical discussions, *ib.*—'Summa contra Gentiles,' 132, 133—'Summa contra Græcos,' 134—'Summa Theologica,' 136.
Attic Orators, Jebb's, 526—quotations from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 528—Greek eloquence, *ib.*—the work of writers rather than speakers, 529—

theory of Athenian democracy, 529—the regular speakers, 530—the logographers, 531-534—Antiphon, 534—his Tetralogies, 534-536—early prose writing, 535—Lysias, 537—his gift of divining characters, 537, 538—pathos and humour, 539—Isæus, 540, 541—Demosthenes, 543—Epidictic oratory, 544—Isocrates, *ib.*—his influence as an educator and a political writer, *ib.*—rhetoric, 545—international morality, 546—his 'Panegyricus,' 547—devotion to Athens, 548—appointed Professor, 549—indirect founder of an historical school, 550—an artist in literary prose, *ib.*—his rhythmical prose, 551.

B.

- Balia, the, at Florence, 197.
Bethesda, 309.
Bianchi and Neri factions, the, 169.
Birmingham, state of trade in, 558—number of houses and offices 'to let,' 559, 563—increased demand for State aid, 560—depression in various manufactures, 561—the iron trade, 561-563—failure of the jewelry trade, 570.
Bolsover Castle described by Jennings, 154-157.
Boufflers, Mme. de, describes Mme. de Staël, 20.
Bowles's dislike to Pope, 469.
Bradford, gloomy prospects of, 276-279.
Brahmins, the, described by Sir William Temple, 68.
Broglie, Duchesse de, describes her mother, Mme. de Staël, 33.
Brunelleschi, his model for the cupola of the Florence Cathedral, 200.
Brush, electric machine, the, 447. *See* Electric Lighting.

- Buonaparte, Napoleon, described by Mme. de Staël, 26, 27.
 Buondelmonte, his assassination the cause of the Guelph and Ghibelline factions, 166.
 Bürgin electric machine, the, 445. *See* Electric Lighting.
 Burney, Fanny, her acquaintance with Mme. de Staël, 24.
 Byzantine luxury and scandals, 509.

C.

- Caird, Mr., on the exhaustive agriculture in India, 55.
 Canada, the Church Establishment in, 254.
 Canning on the Corn Laws, 378—on the Constitution, 389—on uniformity of election, 390—on the interests of England, 397.
 Carruthers, Mr., his edition of Pope's works, 469.
 Chamberlain, Mr., on reform in the House of Commons, 391—the Government grant for Birmingham, 560.
 Charles VIII. of France, enters Florence, 186.
 Chase, Mr., his account of the Lisbon earthquake, 85–88.
 Chauncey MS., the, 473.
 Chilean earthquake, the, 98.
 Chio, island of, earthquake at, 103, 104.
 Choisy, *petits soupers* at, 512.
 Christian Institutions, by A. P. Stanley, 418. *See* Stanley.
 Coal-bearing area in India, 60.
 Cobden, Mr., on the defence of Canada, 394—the Corn Laws, 395—Free Trade, *ib.*—his commercial mind, 401.
 Conservative Party, the Past and Future of the, 369—their only worthy course, 371—obstacles to be overcome in public opinion, 372—the revolution of 1688 a necessity, 376—attachment to the constitutional principle of personal loyalty, 377—golden age of the Whig party, 379–382—Pitt's policy from 1784–1801, 384–387—threatened with the wrath of the People, 388, 389—reform in the House of Commons, 391, 392—the Corn Laws, 394, 395—Free Trade, 396—Social Order, 399—expansion of the principle of liberty, 400—foreign relations, 401–404—co-operation, 405—colonial policy, 406—the agricultural interest, 407—extension of the franchise, 408, 409

- County Boards, 410—Imperial representation, 411.
 Constitutional Union, Report of the, 408.
 Copper, pure, implements of, found at Hissarlik, 235.
 Coppet, Mme. de Staël at, 23, 29.
 Cotton, annual consumption in Great Britain, 279.
 Cotton Crop in India, 60.
 Coventry, depression in the ribbon trade, 566, 567.
 Cumana, earthquake at, described by Humboldt, 94.

D.

- Dante at Florence, 169—banishment, 170.
 Dardanus, tradition of, 215.
 Darwin on the elevation of the Chilean coast, 99, 100.
 Deccan, the, disturbances in, 67—causes of discontent, *ib.*—Arab element in, 73.
 Delmonico, Lorenzo, repasts served by him, 520, 521.
 De Meriten's electric machine, 449. *See* Electric Lighting.
 Derry, Bp. of, on the New Testament revision, 366.

E.

- Earthquakes, their cause and origin, 79—effects of, 81—range, 82—greatest power, 83—area, 84—Mr. Chase's account of the Lisbon earthquake, 85–88—Grecian, 88—the Phocian, 89, 90—direction of, 91—in Achæa, *ib.*—effect produced at sea, 92—electricity suggested as the probable cause, 93—at Cumana, 94—their permanent influence on raising earth's surface discussed, 96—changes of level, 97—the Chilean, 98—Hutton's theory, 100—Graham's Island, 101—at Agram, 102—Ischia, 102, 103—the Island of Chio, 103.
 Eeroyd, Mr. W. F., his political views, 294–296.
 Edison, Mr., and the electric lighting of New York, 452, 460.
 Electric Lighting, development of, 441—generators, *ib.*—the maximum electro-motive power, 443—magnets, 444—speed, *ib.*—the commutator, 445—the Siemens machine, *ib.*—the Gramme, 446—the Bürgin, *ib.*—Pacinotti's commutator, *ib.*—the Brush machine, 447—the 'Forty-Lighter,'

- 448—alternating current machines, 449—five-ring machine for lighting the South Foreland lighthouses, *ib.*—lamps, 450—regulators, 450, 451—Edison's and Swan's systems, 452—the Maxim and the Lane Fox lamps, 453—incandescent lamps, *ib.*—domestic lighting, *ib.*—M. Faure's battery, 455—meters, 456—the Volt, *ib.*—the Ohm, *ib.*—the Ampère, 457—the Coulomb, *ib.*—glare, 459—expense, *ib.*
- Electricity, probable cause of earthquakes on sea and land, 93, 94.
- Ellicott, Bp., on the old Uncials, 314.
- English Trade and Foreign Competition, 271—depression in trade, 272, 273—decline in the export trade, 274—disquietude in Manchester, 275—gloomy prospects of Bradford, 276—279—French and English operatives compared, 278—annual consumption of cotton in Great Britain, 279—depression in Leeds, Sheffield, and Birmingham, *ib.*—blast furnaces unemployed, 280—agricultural interests and depression, 281—283—uncultivated land, 284—American Protection, 285—288—excess of imports over exports, 288, 293—excess of exports over imports in America, 289—the 'drain of gold,' 291—results of Free Trade, 292—Mr. Ecroyd's views, 294—296—value of imported goods, 298—change in the commercial policy of France, 300—cheap transits and freights, 301—hostile tariffs, 303, Escorial, the, vastness of, 513.
- Esterhazy, Prince Nicholas, his extravagance and debts, 521.
- F.
- Fair Trade and British Labour, 552—Radical misrepresentations, 552, 553—Lady Bective's visit to Bradford, 554—the working man's question, 555—Lord Derby at Southport, 556—increased consumption of tea, *ib.*—exports of British manufactures, 557—state of affairs in Birmingham, 558—number of houses and offices to let, 559, 563—government grants, 560—the 'Small Arms and Metal Company,' 561—iron trade, *ib.*—Wolverhampton, 563—misrepresentations of the 'Times,' 564, 565—manufacture of silk, 566—Coventry and Macclesfield, 566, 567—effect of American Protection, 567—annual production of silks, 569—the Duke of Rutland's speech at Sheffield, 571—glove trade, 573—pottery, 574—Lord Granville at the Iron and Steel Institute, 576—Agriculture, *ib.*—the 'Land doctor,' 577—export and import of gold, 579—excess of merchandise in exports over imports in the United States, 580—their imports of gold, 581—J. S. Mill on foreign duties, 582—Mr. J. Morley on Political Economy, *ib.*—on the English shipping trade, 583—cotton manufactures in Germany and the United States, 584—demonstration at Leeds, 586—588—Mr. Gladstone's speeches, 590, 591—errors of the 'Edinburgh Review,' 592, 593.
- Famines in India, 57—causes of, 58, 59.
- Faure's, M., battery, 455. See Electric.
- Florence, 164—versatility and love of change in the Florentines, 165—assassination of Buondelmonte, 166—factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, 166—169—the Bianchi and Neri, 169—Dante, *ib.*—the Medici, 171—the Albizzi, *ib.*—war with the Duke of Milan, 172—Giovanni de' Medici, 173—Cosmo, 173—176—Rinaldo dei Albizzi, 174—Marsilio Ficino, 177—Lucas Pitti, 178—Lorenzo the Magnificent, 179—185—Pietro, 185—Charles VIII. enters the city, 186—Savonarola, 187—191—destruction of all profane works and objects of luxury, 188—Pietro Soderini, 191—Pope Leo X., 192—Pietro Orlandini, 193—treachery of Alfonso of Ferrara, 194—defence of the city, 195—Michelangelo, *ib.*—Alexander de' Medici, 197—his son Cosmo, 198—loss of its independence and liberty, 199—its hallowed associations, 200—frescoes, 202—intellectual ascendancy, 202—204.
- Fouquet's country house at Vaux, 514.
- Fox, C. J., head of the oligarchical party, 387.
- Furnaces, blast, number unemployed, 280.
- G.
- Gaye, Mme. Sophie, and Napoleon I., 27.
- George III., Spencer Walpole's sweeping judgment of, 252.
- Gladstone, Mr., letter to Sir Charles Herries, 267, 269—reply to the Trade

- Councils deputation, 273 — 'Justice to Ireland,' 370—the pliant instrument of the organized Radical Agitation, 372—at the Leeds demonstration, 586.
 Goderich, Lord, formation of his Ministry, 260-265.
 Gold, exports and imports of, 579.
 Göthe and Mme. de Staël, 41.
 Graham's Island, its rise and subsidence, 101.
 Gramme electric machine, the, 446.
See Electric Lighting.
 Granville, Lord, at the meeting of the Iron and Steel Institute, 576.
 Greek Text, the New, 308. *See* Testament.
 Guelf and Ghibelline factions, 166-169.
 Guicciardini, 197, 198.

H.

- Habeas Corpus Act, the suspension of, in 1817, 257.
 Hair, false, annual importation of, 520.
 Hardouin, Father Jean, on the Life of St. Thomas Aquinas, 120, 121.
 Hardwicke Hall described by Jennings, 152—by Howitt, 153.
 Hartington, Lord, and the Whigs, 371.
 Herries, J. C., Memoirs of his Public Life, by his Son, 263-265, 269.
 Hissarlik, 205. *See* Ilios.
 Howitt, William, 'Visits to Remarkable Places,' 148—describes Penshurst, 149—Hardwicke Hall, 153.
 Humboldt, A. von, describes the accompaniments of the earthquake at Cumana, 94.
 Huskisson, Mr., and Free Trade, 245—on reform of the commercial system, 393—the Corn Laws, 394.
 Hutton's theory of the earth, 100.
 Huxley, Prof., on the upheaval of the sea-bed, 101, 102.

I.

- Ilios, the Site of Homer's Troy, 205—excavations commenced, 208—palace and treasure of Priam, 209—the Pergamos, 210—treasures in the 'City of Gold,' 213—history of Troy, 215—lead image of Zarpanit, 217—the cow of many colours, *ib.*—Troy destroyed by Hercules, 218—legendary traditions, 219—testimony of Strabo, 222—lance-heads, 223—supposed Lydian settlement, *ib.*—

- Homeric names, 224—visits of Xerxes and Alexander, 225—Galatian incursions, 226—imperial coins, 227—evidences in favour of the continuous habitation of the site of Hissarlik, 228-230—hardened copper, 235—inscriptions, 236.
 India in 1880, 50—its present condition, 55—state of the population, 56—famines, 57—increase of trade, 58—industrial condition, 59—wasteful system of farming, 60—coal-bearing area, *ib.*—spinning and weaving mills, 61—export trade, *ib.*—domestic trade, 62—postal statistics, *ib.*—national prosperity, 63, 64—the Deccan, 66-68—Brahmin intrigues, 67—government patronage, 69—political pensioners, *ib.*—British rule unpopular, 70, 71—native armaments, 72—sources of disaffection, 73—increasing wealth, 74—inherent Conservatism, 75—intolerance of restraint, 77—want of capital, 78.
 Infallibility of the Pope admitted by St. Thomas Aquinas, 135.
 Ischia, island of, earthquake at, 102, 103.

J.

- Japan, luxury in, 494.
 Julian, Emp., his letter on the reverence paid to the temple of Athens, 227.

K.

- Kinderscout, the, described by Jennings, 157.
 Kingston, described by Jennings, 161.

L.

- Labyrinth of Egypt, described by Herodotus, 488.
 Lachmann's theory of textual revision, 317.
 Lacretelle describes Mme. de Staël teaching her son, 33.
 Lance-heads at Troy and Mycenae, 223.
 Leo XIII.'s Encyclical Letter, 105, 107.
 Lisbon, account of the earthquake at, by Mr. Chase, 85-88.
 Lister, Mr. J. C., on the Self-Interest of working men, 574.
 Lloyd's Greek Testament, 313, 315.
 Louis XVI., expenses of his household, 518—extravagance of his queen, 519.
 Luxury, Ancient and Modern, 486—its indigenous instinctive quality, 487—

- passion for adornment in savages, 488—advanced stage of civilization among the Egyptians, *ib.*—Nineveh, 489—household of a Persian monarch, 490—prolonged feasts, *ib.*—wealth of Croesus, 491—splendour of India, *ib.*—Chinese civilization, 492—silk and tea, 493—the Japanese, 494—Phoenician purple, *ib.*—female fashions and follies denounced by Isaiah, 495—Solomon's temple, 496—heroic ages of Greece, *ib.*—age of Pericles, 497—position of women at Athens, 498—Roman corruption, 500—splendour and prodigality, 501—independence of Roman women, 501—503—Roman fortunes and debts, 503, 504—Tiberius, 504—Caligula, 505—Nero, *ib.*—gluttony, 506—Domitian, *ib.*—carving, 507—salaries, *ib.*—the three Apicii, *ib.*—Elagabalus, 508—Byzantine women, 508, 509—Empress Eudoxia, 509—effect of Christianity, 510—Charlemagne, *ib.*—influence of the Renaissance, 511—baronial suppers of the middle ages, 512—forks, 513—the Escorial, *ib.*—Versailles, 514—Bretonville, *ib.*—rage for play, 515, 516—Spain, 516—'millionaires,' 517—France, 517—519—female dress in Napoleon III.'s time, 519—false hair, 520—French *cuisine*, *ib.*—Vienna, 521—England, 522—Mandeville's 'Fable of the Bees,' 523.
- Lyell's permanent elevation theory, 96, 97—the Fort of Sindree, 98—the Chilean earthquake, *ib.*

M.

- Macclesfield, depression in the silk trade,—566, 567—cause of its decline, 569.
- Machiavel tortured and banished from Florence, 192.
- Maine, Sir Henry, on the Indian Constitution, 75.
- Malatesta betrays Florence to the Imperialists, 197.
- Mallet, Mr., sent to investigate the area of earthquakes in South Italy and Calabria, 80—no trace of permanent elevation, 96.
- Malta, the retention of, 245.—*See* Walpole.
- Manchester, check in her career of prosperity, 275.
- Mandeville's 'Fable of the Bees,' 523.
- Manning's, Cardinal, official explana-

- tion of Pope Leo XIII.'s Encyclical Letter, 137.
- Medici, the, origin of, 171—merchant princes, 175.
- , Alexander, 197—assassinated, 198.
- , Cosmo, his successor, 198.
- , Cosmo, 173—imprisoned, 174—recalled, *ib.*—his spirit and position, 176.
- , Giovanni, 171—death, 173.
- , Giuliano, 192.
- , Lorenzo, 193.
- , Pietro, 178, 179.
- , Lorenzo the Magnificent, 179—his assassination planned, 180—wounded in the Church of Santa Maria, 181—appeals to the Florentines, 182—death, 184.
- , Pietro, his son, 185.
- Merveilleuses*, the, dress of, 519.
- Michelangelo's secret flight from Florence, 195—return, 196—employed for the Cupola of St. Peter's, 201.
- Mill, Mr. J. Stuart, on County Boards, 410—on foreign duties, 582.
- Millionaire*, the term first used, 517.
- Mills, spinning, weaving, and paper, in India, 61.
- Montespan, Mme. de, her rage for play, 515.
- Morley, Mr. John, on the operation of tariffs, 575.
- , Mr. Samuel, on Political Economy, 582, 583.
- Municipal Corporations Bill, the, 258.

N.

- Napoleon III., his magnificent entertainments, 519.
- Navigation Laws, the, 247, 248.
- Necker, his birth and principles, 3—financial administration, *ib.*—retires into private life, 4—summoned to Versailles, 5—banished, *ib.*—recalled, 6—character described by his daughter, 7, 8—his 'Last Views,' 34.
- , Mme., her superior education, 8—peculiar character, 9.
- New Zealand earthquake, the, 100.
- Nineveh, its extent, 489.
- Norbury, the Druids' walk at, 163.

O.

- Orlandini, tortured and beheaded, 193.

P.

- Paccinotti's, Prof., commutator, 446.
 Palmerston, Lord, described by Spencer Walpole, 246.
 Pazzi, conspiracy of the, 180.
 Penshurst, described by Howitt, 149—by Jennings, 150-152.
 Persia, *bons vivants* in, 490.
 Pitt, William, and Mme. de Staël, 19, 20—his policy from 1784 to 1801, 384-387—his financial measures, 386.
 Pitti, Lucas, his palace, 178.
 Politian's account of Lorenzo de' Medici's deathbed, 184, 185.
 Pope's Works, edited by Elwin and Courthope, 462—Moral Essays, 463, 464—his character in later years, 465—Satires and Epistles, *ib.*—the initial letters, 466, 467—'Imitations of Horace,' 467—Warburton's notes, 468—Warton's carelessness, 469—Bowles's dislike to him, *ib.*—Roscoe and Carruthers, *ib.*—Croker, 470—the Chauncy MS., 473—explanation of various passages, 473-476—the Ring in Hyde Park, 477—receipt for a Westphalian ham pie, *ib.*—the character of 'Atossa' meant for the Duchess of Marlborough, 478, 479—disingenuousness in the 'Epistle to Arbuthnot,' 481—his character of Atticus, 482—love of mystification and intrigue, *ib.*—'Epistle to Bolingbroke,' *ib.*—'Epilogue to the Satires,' 483—party spirit, *ib.*
 Popery and Presbyterianism, parallel between, 426. *See* Stanley.
 Porcelain, manufacture of, in China, 493.
 Publication Acts, the stamp duties on, 249.

R.

- Radical History and Tory Government, 239. *See* Walpole.
 Ritter, Karl, describes Mme. de Staël, 31.
 Roberts, Dr., on the 12 last verses of St. Mark's Gospel, 327—on 1 Tim. iii. 16, 361.
 Robinson's financial policy in 1823, 250, 251.
 Rocca, M., Mme. de Staël's second husband, 48.
 Roman luxury, 500-503—fortunes, 503—feasts, 504, 508—extravagance, 505—gluttony, 506—salaries, 507.
 Rutland, Duke of, his speech at Sheffield, 571.

S.

- Sarto, Andrea del, his 'Last Supper' at the S. Salvi Convent, 196.
 Saussure, Mme. Necker de, her tribute to Mme. de Staël's character, 15.
 Savonarola, Girolamo, 184—at Lorenzo de' Medici's death-bed, 185—his expositions of the Apocalypse, 187—crusade against profane books and luxury, 188—tortured, 190—burnt, 191.
 Schiller and Mme. de Staël, 43.
 Schliemann, Dr., 'Ilios,' the Site of Homer's Troy, 205—his mass of illustrative learning, 206—autobiography, 207—commences excavating, 208—thorough examination of Ithaca and its sites, 211—graphic account of the famous 'Treasures,' 212—false accusation, *ib.*—his abundant illustrations and systematic arrangement, 214—parallel between legendary traditions and the strata of remains, 219.
 Schmidt, Dr. Julius, 'Studies of Earthquakes,' 88—at Delphi, 89, 90—on the direction of great earthquakes, 91.
 Seismology, observational, 81.
 Sergy, Pictet de, on Mme. de Staël, 32.
 Sheffield, number of houses without tenants, 563.
 Siddall, Mr., on the state of trade, 575. *See* Fair Trade.
 Siemens's electric machine, the, 445. *See* Electric Lighting.
 Silk, manufacture of, in England, depressed state of, 566.
 Silkworms, cultivated in China *b.c.* 2650, 493.
 Solomon's temple, its richness, 490.
 Somerville, Mrs., on the effect of a storm near Manchester, 94.
 South Downs, the, described by Jennings, 158.
 Spain, its pomp and meanness, 516. *See* Luxury.
 Staël, Madame de, a study of her Life and Times, 1—her love for her father, 7—describes his character, 8—her awe of her mother, 10—brilliant gifts, 11—conversation, 12—her character repressed by her mother, 13—the secret of her superiority, 15—her vanity, 16—indifference to the beauties of Nature, 18—early intellect, *ib.*—intense sensibility, 19—negotiations for her marriage, 19, 20—influence with the 'Men of the People,' 21—attempt to escape from Paris, 22—at Coppet, 23—visits England, 24—returns to Paris, 25—

- acquaintance with Buonaparte, 26—describes him, 27—separation from and death of her husband, 29—society at Coppet, *ib.*—celebrities, 30, 31—conversations described, 31, 32—character as a mother, 33—education of her children, *ib.*—exile from France, 35—'Delphine,' *ib.*—'Corinne,' 36—her faith in the Italians, 37—visits Germany, 38—at Berlin, 39—Weimar, 40—criticises Goethe, 41, 42—analyses Faust, 42—respect for Schiller, 43—every copy of 'L'Allemagne' destroyed by Buonaparte, *ib.*—travels through Russia and Sweden to England, 44, 45—publishes 'L'Allemagne,' 45—returns to Paris, 46—her work on the course of the Revolution, 46, 47—second marriage, 48—death, *ib.*—character, 49.
- Stanley, Dean, 414—influence of Arnold's teaching, 415—Canon of Canterbury, *ib.*—'Historical Memorials,' *ib.*—'Sinai and Palestine,' 416—Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, *ib.*—'Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church,' *ib.*—on 'Jewish History,' *ib.*—'Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey,' 417—'Christian Institutions,' 418—former administration of the rite of baptism, 421—on the meaning of baptism, 422—424—the Eucharist, 424—posture of the recipients, 425—parallel between Popery and Presbyterianism, 426, 427—attitude of prayer, 427—the 'kiss of peace,' 428, 429—prayer of consecration, 429—Vestments, 430—432—on the Pope, his dress, 433—use of the wooden table to celebrate mass, 434—the crozier, 435—successor of the Roman Emperors, *ib.*—not necessarily a clergyman, 436—his possible action, 437—on the Roman Catacombs, 438.
- Strabo on the historic Ilum, 221, 222, 226.
- Swan, Mr., his system of lighting by electricity, 452.
- Swift on Pope's 'Use of Riches,' 466.
- Testament, New, Revision, 307—conditions on which it was undertaken, 308—provisions for the integrity of the written Word, 310—copies, *ib.*—versions, 311—patristic citations, *ib.*—lectionaries, 312—oldest extant codices, 312—314, 322—their depraved character, 314—want of agreement, 315—external evidence, 316—tests of the true reading, 317—various editors, 317—319—case of the paralytic, 323—the piercing of our Saviour's side, 324—the Lord's Prayer, 324, 325—the last 12 verses of St. Mark's Gospel, 325—328, 333—method of 'settling the text,' 326, 327—St. Luke ii. 14, 328—332—accidental causes of various readings, 334—St. Paul's company in the ship, 335—the name of Justus, 336—Capernaum, 337—*Design* in the depravations, 338—unloosing of the colt, 338, 339—branches of the trees, 339—341—darkening of the sun, 342—344—*Assimilation*, 344—Herod's perplexity, 344—346—*Mutilation*, 346—Simon Peter and the wind, 347—our Saviour's loud cry, *ib.*—the repentant thief, *ib.*—'the way ye know,' 348—St. Luke's 'second-first Sabbath,' 348, 349—instances of excision, 349—the two cups, 350, 351—the agony in the garden, 352, 353—our Saviour's prayer on the Cross, 353—355, 358—the title or superscription, 355, 356—St. Peter's visit to the Sepulchre, 356—our Saviour's greeting, 357—showing his hands and feet, *ib.*—*Transposition* of words, 358—the ears of corn, 359—on 1 Tim. iii. 16, 361—365.
- Thomas. *See* Aquinas.
- 'Times' Newspaper, the, 372—its windings and turnings, 373—on the depression of trade, 565.
- Tischendorf, Dr., his edition of the New Testament, 318.
- Traini's, Francesco, picture of St. Thomas Aquinas, 121.
- Tregelles, Dr., textual revision, 318.

T.

- Tea, increased consumption of, 556.
- Temple, Sir Richard, India in 1880, 50—his high qualifications, 52—powers of description, 53—vivid sketches, 54—evidences of national prosperity in India, 63—his sympathy with the people, 66—the Brahmins described, 68—Arab element in the Deccan, 73.

V.

- Verifier's 'Scepticism in Geology,' 97, 99.
- Versailles, extent and cost of, 514.
- Vestments, origin of, 430. *See* Stanley.
- Virchow, Prof., on Schliemann's excavations of the 'Burnt City,' 213, 233—on the skulls found there, 235, 236.

